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" No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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IN the month of June, 1828, Mr. Edward Sterling, of the Bengal Civil Service, being then at Teheran, and about to return to India by Khorassan and Affghanistan, received a letter from Sir John McDonald, our Envoy at the Persian Court, suggesting to him, that he should lose no opportunity, in the course of his journey, of obtaining information concerning "the 'condition, capabilities, and military features of those countries, 'by which an European army from the north or west could pene-'trate to India." "The only two routes," continued the Envoy, "by which a Russian army could attempt the invasion of India, 'are—1st, that which lies through the heart of Khorassan by 'Meshed, Túrbat-i-Hyderí, Herat, Candahar and Cabul to the 'Attock; 2ndly, that which proceeds from Bokhara by Balkh and 'the Hindu-Kúsh to Cabul." Mr. Sterling returned to India and collected on the journey what information he could: he saw much, and he heard more; and, although in these days it appears to us scanty in the extreme, the sum total, twenty years ago, was by no means meagre or contemptible. Such as it was, on his return to Bengal, he offered it to Government; but Government would have nothing to say either to Mr. Sterling or his information. Lord William Bentinck had no fear of a Russian invasion, and thought that, whilst there was work enough for him to do in Hindustan, he had no need to cut out for himself new troubles and anxieties, by exploring in imagination the snowy summits of the Hindu-Kúsh, or tracking the sandy deserts of Merv.

But "the whirligig of time brings in its revenges." Before

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the expiration of ten years the retribution was complete. The frigid apathy of 1828 was amply revenged by the feverish excitement of 1838. The successor of Lord William Bentinck was troubled by something more than a dream of invasion by *both* the routes indicated by Sir John McDonald; and every scrap of information, relating to the countries of Central Asia, was received with gratitude, and hoarded with care. Conolly, Burnes, and others, had, by this time, penetrated into Affghanistan from the northern countries, and accumulated piles of information, beside which Mr. Sterling's labours were mere mole-hills; and the tables of the Governor-General and his Secretaries were loaded with printed books, manuscript reports, and elaborate maps of the territories lying between the Caspian and the Indus. During four or five unquiet restless years, but little was thought of in India beyond the great events which were passing in Central Asia; and now in 1850, if we have not relapsed into the old apathy of 1830, the interest, with which we at present contemplate these countries, is derived rather from the recollection of the past, than the thought of the present, or the prospect of the future.

Still we do not think it will be altogether unprofitable even at the present time to devote a few pages of this journal to some account of a portion of that tract of country, over which it was once thought a Russian army might advance, and by which at one time was contemplated the despatch of a British army. We are not about to write of the Herat route, but of the passage along the countries beyond the Hindu-Kúsh watered by the Múrghâb and the Oxus. But we are entirely of opinion with Eldred Pottinger, and, indeed, with almost all competent authorities, that it is by the Herat route, and by that only, that the advance of a formidable European army is ever to be seriously apprehended. "Herat," said Pottinger, in a report drawn up by him for Government, when at Calcutta in the hot weather of 1840, "is situated at the extremity, or rather the passable point 'for heavy artillery, of the range of mountains, which bounds 'the whole of our northern frontier, as far as Assam; and at no 'other point could the *materiel* of an European army force its 'way across, in the presence of an active enemy. All the 'great roads leading on India converge in the Herat territory; 'and none of them could be used, unless Herat be previously 'reduced. From Cabul to Herat are many points where un-'encumbered troops may pass the range; but the artillery must 'be of the lightest description; all the provisions must be car-'ried; and, if successful, they must draw their supplies from 'the northern side of the mountains. If Herat were in the

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'hands of the opposers of this movement, it would be a most 'dangerous attempt; as a force from thence could always act 'against the line of communication to the rear of the invading 'army;—Balkh, which is the best point as a base, being only 'the same marching distance from Herat that it is from Cabul." From no part of this do we see any reason to dissent. Alexander climbed the Hindu-Kúsh from the northward, and descended into the plains of Affghanistan: but Alexander had no artillery. General Harlan, whom his American friends modestly compare with the "Macedonian madman," scaled the Paropamisan range from the southward, and carried artillery with him; but of the number and weight of his guns we are not clearly informed. We confess that the scantiness of our information upon this head is greatly to be deplored. It matters little what Alexander did, in days when artillery was not. General Harlan, we are told, crossed from Cabul to Balkh in 1838-39, with a train of artillery, and demonstrated the facility of the route. "By 'my late expedition into Tartary," he says, "from Cabul 'to Balkh, in 1838-39, an enterprise of great magnitude was 'accomplished. Commanding a division of the Cabul army, 'and accompanied by a train of artillery, that stupendous 'range of mountains, the Indian Caucasus, was crossed through 'the Paropamisus. The military topography and resources of 'the country were practically tested. Impediments, which 'were supposed to present insurmountable obstacles to the 'passage of an army, proved to be difficulties readily vanquished by labour and perseverance—and the practicability 'of invading India from the north no longer doubtful."* In another place, the Doctor-General says—"I escorted a 'caravan into Balkh, or rather a caravan was allowed to accompany my division, when proceeding in the campaign against 'Kúndúz in 1838-39. It was made up of 1,600 camels and 600 'pack-horses. We crossed the Paropamisus, viâ Bamian, Ruí, 'and Durrah-i-Esuff, debouching upon Muzar." His eulogist, in the *United States Gazette*, says for him—"Among the most 'extraordinary events of General Harlan's career was his passage of the Indian Caucasus in 1838-39, in command of a division of the Cabul army, and accompanied by a train of 'artillery. We view this expedition as an incident altogether 'unique since the period of Alexander's conquests. With this 'prominent exception, no Christian Chief of European descent 'ever penetrated so far into the interior of Central Asia under

* What has become of General Harlan, and what has become of his promised "Personal Narrative of eighteen years' residence in Asia," which was announced eighteen years ago as "in preparation for the press?"

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'circumstances so peculiar as characterize General Harlan's en-
'terprise, and we relinquish the palm of antecedent honour to
'the Macedonian hero alone." A curious passage, to say the least of it! The writer would seem to be of opinion that Alexander crossed the Caucasus with a train of artillery, and that he was a Christian Chief: or, why are we told that Harlan's passage with a train of artillery was unique *since* Alexander's time, and that no *Christian* Chief, except Alexander, had ever penetrated so far into Central Asia?

That the Hindu-Kúsh is accessible to artillery, we know perfectly well. A troop of Bengal horse artillery (the 4th troop 3rd brigade) marched from Cabul to Bamian in the autumn of 1839, and remained at the latter place until the autumn of the following year. The road was pronounced by our engineer officers to be impracticable even for light field-pieces; but the troop officers determined to persevere, and their perseverance was crowned with success. They did not, however, accomplish the journey so easily as to encourage them in the belief, that, if their guns had been of larger calibre and heavier metal, they could have overcome the difficulties of the journey. Over some part of the road, the guns were moved onward by the manual labour of the artillery-men and their infantry comrades. It was believed that, being light pieces, they might have been carried on the backs of elephants; but even horses were at some points wholly unserviceable, the ascent being occasionally at an elevation of 45°. It was with difficulty that the men working at the drag-ropes were enabled to keep their footing. An account of this march has been given in an extract from Captain Buckle's *Memoir of the Bengal Artillery*, quoted in the 24th Number of this journal: it is also referred to in Number 28. A more detailed account of all the operations of the Bamian force, and of the countries which it traversed, is to be found in an interesting and valuable series of papers, under the title of "The British on the Hindu-Kúsh," originally published in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and re-printed in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1841, and in Stocqueler's *Memorials of Affghanistan*. Another series of papers, under the name of "A visit to the Hindu-Kúsh" was published in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1844.

The writer of these papers accompanied Lieutenant Sturt in 1840, when that gallant and intelligent young officer was employed on the survey of the passes of the Hindu-Kúsh. Being out on a pleasure excursion, absent on leave from his regiment, he seems to have thought more of the picturesque and romantic, than of the military, features of the country over which he travelled. The professional part of the work was left

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to his companion, and we have no doubt that it was done effectually and well. An elaborate map of the country was prepared by Lieutenant Sturt. They went by Akrabad, Syghan, across the Dundan-i-Shikkun, to Badjgah, Ruí, Heibuk and Khúlúm. "The road to the latter place," says the writer of these papers, "bordered the river throughout the whole of the journey, 'around the bases of the hills, until we approached Khúlúm, 'when the stream rushed with impetuous violence, through a 'deep cleft of the last of this glorious range, forming a strong 'defile half a mile in length, and its greatest breadth not a 'hundred yards. One small bourj, or tower, is stationed mid-'way, and slightly elevated from the road. In defending the 'pass, a mere handful of the troops on the crags above, by 'repeatedly hurling down masses of rocks, would, for a time, 'stop the progress of a hostile army from either direction." The Mir Wulli of Khúlúm asked Sturt how long it would take our troops to capture his fortress; and Sturt replied "*About a quarter of an hour!*" It is remarkable that neither from these travellers, nor from the officers of the detachment which spent a year on the Hindu-Kúsh, do we learn anything about General Harlan's expedition, though the General, according to his own account, only a year before, traversed nearly, if not quite, the same country, with a train of artillery.

It was on this road, by Khúlúm to Balkh, that our troops would have proceeded to the latter place, and perhaps to Bokhara, if the views of Sir William Macnaghten, openly expressed in the early part of 1840, had been carried out. Lord Auckland at first expressed his disapprobation of this movement, but subsequently withdrew his dissent. There were three different objects, we believe, contemplated by the Envoy. One was the re-establishment of the authority of Shah Sujah over the petty Usbeg States, between Cabul and Balkh. Another was the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and the chastisement of the Khan of Bokhara. But, over and above these more ostensible designs, it was thought expedient that the demonstration should be made, as a counter-movement to that of the Russians on Khiva. That Sir William Macnaghten thought an advance into Turkistan a less difficult and hazardous movement than the passage of the Khyber, we have shown in an early number of this journal. The design, however, was shortly abandoned, in all probability, owing to the receipt of intelligence of the break-down of the Russian expedition. Whilst Macnaghten and Burnes were labouring under the conviction that General Peroffski had reached Khiva, the Russian leader was retiring homewards with his shattered battalions. The expedition was abandoned at the end of January. On the

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13th of March, intelligence of the disastrous position of Peroffski's force was publicly announced in St. Petersburgh, and communicated by Lord Clanricarde to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. It does not appear that the tidings of this disaster created much dismay in the Russian Capital. Count Nesselrode said, that it was, doubtless, unfortunate; for that such a check at that time might have an injurious moral effect in Central Asia; but it was believed by our minister that the Russian nobles and officers of rank, in general, by no means regretted Peroffski's failure, the expedition having been very unpopular among them. It is worth mentioning that Count Nesselrode told Lord Clanricarde, that the Russian Government wished to exert their influence at Bokhara,* to prevent any Turkoman Chiefs from joining Dost Mahomed, in the hope of obviating any occasion for the British troops to pass the Hindu-Kúsh. It was in the same spirit that Captains Abbott and Shakespear were despatched to Khiva, in order, by the liberation of the Russian slaves at that place, to "obviate any occasion" for the advance of a Russian army into the dominions of the Khan Huzrut.

It is by no means our intention, however, in this place, to enter upon the consideration of the political designs of the Russian Government. Our object in this article is mainly a geographical one; but we purpose, before we bring it to a conclusion, to give some incidental account of the relations existing, during our occupation of Cabul, between the different states of Central Asia, and of the manner in which they were affected by the movements of the English on the one side, and the Russians on the other. Great was the ignorance which long existed throughout all the civilized world, regarding the countries lying between the Hindu-Kúsh and the Caspian; and it is only since a few energetic officers of the East India Company have traversed those dreary countries, that geographers have been able to lay down the position of the different places between them with any thing like accuracy. Even now, indeed, there are considerable vagueness of delineation and uncertainty of nomenclature in the maps most recently published. It is no uncommon thing to see mountain ranges set down where no mountains are, and rivers flowing in unknown directions. It was, at one time, believed, that the Oxus emptied itself into the Caspian; and even recently, a belief has existed, that the

* But it was acknowledged that at this time Russia had no agent at or near Bokhara; that there were no means of communication with that place through Astrabad; and that the caravan route from Orenburg to Bokhara, which lies to the east of the Aral Lake, would be rendered dangerous for Russian travellers by the failure of Peroffski's expedition.

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Tartars changed the natural course of the river, and turned its direction from the Caspian to the Aral lake—the fact being, that the Aral lake was formerly conceived to be a part of the Caspian. Poor Captain Grover complained bitterly, that the Home authorities believed that Bokhara was in Persia; and he was so concerned at the mistake, that "determined," as he says, "to support the national honour," he took the trouble to address a letter on the subject to the Secretary-at-War, who was supposed to be responsible for the blunder in the Army List. We hope that the national honour does not depend upon the national knowledge of the geography of Central Asia. If it does, we are afraid that it is in a very bad way.

Had the Russian force, which baffled by cold and want stopped short at Ak-boulak, penetrated as far as Khiva, and, encouraged by success, determined to push on towards India, it is conceived that it would have taken the route by Bokhara and Balkh. We do not believe that one serious thought of any such advance ever entered the mind of the Czar, of Nesselrode, or of Peroffski. The movement was merely a demonstration called forth by our advance into Affghanistan. Still it elicited much speculation and conjecture regarding the possibility of the march from Khiva to Cabul, and the various routes accessible to an invading force. There were three routes into Affghanistan from the northward which Peroffski might have taken. He might, as we have said, have proceeded by Bokhara and Balkh, across the Hindu-Kúsh. He might have taken the western route across the desert of Merv (or Kharasm), and, thence crossing the Murghâb, have marched upon Herat: or he might have taken a middle course, crossing the Merv desert, and proceeding by Maimunah to the Hindu-Kúsh. The first of these is comparatively well known. The second is the route taken by Captain Abbott, and subsequently by Lieutenant Shakespear. The third was taken by Arthur Conolly, in the autumn of 1840, when he commenced that perilous journey to Khiva, Kokand and Bokhara, from which he was doomed never to return.

The records of this journey are of no common interest. Whether they exist any where in a perfect state—in an unbroken series—we do not pretend to know. We think it is extremely doubtful. Arthur Conolly was a profuse and rapid writer. When he was not in the saddle, the pen was almost always in his hand. He suffered nothing to escape him, and when on his travels, in new countries, kept an elaborate journal, in which he noted down everything he did and everything he said. Even in his dungeon at Bokhara, he noted down

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everything that occurred to vary the monotonous wretchedness of his prison life. But the disastrous events, which, for a time, interrupted all communication, and caused the destruction of many interesting and important records, not improbably consigned to perdition some uncopied portions of Arthur Conolly's correspondence. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, that a narrative of his journey from Cabul to Khiva, by the Merv desert, is in existence. It is of this tract of country that we desire to furnish some illustrations from the manuscript materials in our possession. At Khiva our enquiries for the present must end.

It had been in contemplation to despatch Major Rawlinson and Captain Conolly to the Russian camp, when the approach of Peroffski's force was agitating the councils of our Affghan diplomatists. There was something in such a mission peculiarly grateful to the ardent romantic temperament of Arthur Conolly. Disappointed upon this occasion, he never ceased to long for another opportunity of penetrating into Central Asia, and facing the difficulties and dangers of a journey among a barbarous people and in an almost unexplored land. Nor was it the mere excitement of adventure that he coveted. He had great ideas in his mind about the consolidation of the Durani Empire; and he thought it not improbable that, if by any means we could reclaim those unsettled border-chiefs, who were eternally transferring their allegiance from one monarch to another (keeping themselves and their neighbours in a state of perpetual unrest), and so permanently fix the boundaries of the kingdom of Cabul, we might in time work out a great moral revolution, ending perhaps in the conversion of the Affghans to the pure faith of Jesus Christ. It is not improbable, that we may, on some future occasion, discourse more at length on the character and career of Arthur Conolly. At present, it is enough to say, that he obtained, in prosecution of his long-cherished schemes, permission from his friend and relative, Sir William Macnaghten, to proceed to Khiva and Kokand. When we say that he obtained permission to proceed to these places, we do not mean that he proceeded as an amateur; that he was merely—what Lord Ellenborough in a letter to the Khan of Bokhara described him as being—"an innocent traveller." He was delegated by the Envoy and Minister to carry out certain objects in Turkistan, involving a journey to Khiva and Kokand, and, conditionally, to Bokhara; but it is doubtful, whether either Sir William Macnaghten or Lord Auckland really approved of the mission. The former, in all probability, succumbed to the wishes of Arthur Conolly; and the latter, somewhat reluctantly, yielded

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his assent, on the representation of the Envoy and Minister. The Governor-General disapproved of Abbott's mission to Khiva, and thought little better of Conolly's; but the latter was sanctioned in "a private letter from authority," and cannot justly be regarded as an amateur expedition. Lord Ellenborough, however, always insisted on regarding it in this light; and, when General Pollock made an application to Government on behalf of the servants attached to Conolly's mission, Lord Ellenborough replied, that he had no knowledge of that officer's mission to Kokand having been authorised; "on the contrary His Lordship was informed by the late President of the Board of Controul, that Lieut. A. Conolly was expressly instructed by him not to go to Kokand." Be this as it may, in September, 1840, Arthur Conolly started for Khiva and Kokand, carrying credentials to both places. The countries of the Hindu-Kúsh were then in so unsettled a state (for Dost Mahomed had escaped from Bokhara and was raising the Usbegs) that the Envoy believed that he would be obliged to proceed by the Herat route. However, he joined the 35th N. I., which was then proceeding to re-inforce the Bamian detachment; and was present at Brigadier Dennie's brilliant action with the Ex-Amir and the Wulli of Khúlúm on the 18th of September. He started, full of "heart and hope"—full, too, of the noblest and purest feelings of humanity, earnestly hoping that the British Government would be induced to play what he called the "grand game," and embrace in one great net-work of benevolent diplomacy all the countries of Central Asia, meting out the amplest justice to all, protecting the weak, coercing the tyrannous, and restoring peace and prosperity to countries long harassed and desolated by strife.

We purpose to follow the "innocent traveller" from Bamian to Khiva. It should be noted here, that he was accompanied by an Afghan Elchi, bearing letters from Shah Sujah to the different Chiefs upon the road. This man's name was Allah-dad Khan. He belonged to the Upulzye tribe, and was held in some repute at the Cabul court, especially as a skilful intriguant. It was long before the Shah could make up his mind whom to dispatch upon this mission; and the difficulty of selection delayed Conolly's departure longer than was pleasing to his enthusiastic temperament. The choice, that was at last made, seemed satisfactory to all parties; and the Mussulman and the Christian travellers set out on their journey. Allah-dad Khan was a little, scrubby-looking, sallow-faced man, with a busy look and a restless eye; but it was believed that he would be true to the interests of his master, especially (as the Shah himself suggested)

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as he left behind him his family and much valuable property at Cabul, which would prove the best guarantees for his good conduct in Turkistan.

We shall now let Captain Conolly speak for himself. "The 'Hazareh and Eimák countries, which we traversed," he says,* "between Bamian and Maimuna, consist of high unwooded 'mountains, covered with grass and various shrubs and herbs, 'which serve for spring and summer pasture and winter fodder, 'and vallies at different elevations, in the highest of which is 'sown only the naked Thibetian barley, and in the lowest, 'barley, wheat and millet. The Hazareh portion is the coldest 'and the poorest; and the natives with difficulty eke out a 'living in small villages of low huts, where they herd during 'the long winter season under one roof with the cows and 'sheep, using as fuel small dry shrubs, and the dung of 'their cattle. An idea of their privations may be formed from 'the fact that the mass of the people do not use *salt*. There 'is none in their own country; and, as they cannot afford the 'price, which would remunerate importers of this heavy article 'from Tartary and Affghanistan, they have learned to do with-'out it. Their best bread is consequently very tasteless to 'a stranger."

Captain Conolly's party found the Hazarehs "unblushing beggars and thieves," but mild in their manners and industrious in their habits. The Chiefs he felt inclined to describe, somewhat in the same terms which Elphinstone applied to the Amirs of Scinde—"Barbarians of the rudest stamp, without any of the barbarian's virtues." Of the military tribes he says:—

The soldiers of both tribes are cavalry, mounted chiefly on small active horses of native breed, though some ride horses imported from Turkistan. Their arms are swords and matchlocks—the last weapons furnished with a prong for a rest. There are clans of military repute among both people; but the best of them would not stand in open field against Affghans. Their strength lies in the poorness and natural difficulty of their country; but this last defence is, I imagine, greatly over-rated. Parts of the interior are described as much more steep than that which we traversed; but this portion, which is the most important, as being on the high road to Herat, is by no means so inaccessible as it has been reported; and, were the Governments of Herat and of Cabul settled and of one mind, this route might soon be safely re-opened.

Neither among the Hazarehs nor the Eimáks is money commonly in circulation. The ordinary currency is *sheep;* and business is conducted in a very primitive manner. Traders from Herat, Candahar, and Cabul repair to the residences of the

* In a letter (dated Merv, November 16, 1840) containing a running abstract of his private journal. The journal itself, full of geographical memoranda, was to have been fair-copied at Khiva, and sent to Lieut. Broadfoot of the Engineers, with a request that he would shape the rough surveys into a presentable map.

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Chiefs, and barter their cotton cloths and chintzes for sheep. The Turkish merchants take, in exchange for their articles, *human* currency. "The articles," writes Captain Conolly, "which 'the Hazarehs and Eimiáks take to market are *men and women*, 'small black oxen, cows and sheep, clarified butter, some 'woven woollens for clothing, grain sacks and carpet bags, felts 'for horse clothing, and patterned carpets, all made from the 'produce of their flocks; for they export no raw wool." When further advanced on his journey, in the neighbourhood of Maimuna, Captain Conolly found that slaves were the representatives of value in those parts, a man having offered him a horse for a young male slave and a poney. When the English officer asked him, if he was not ashamed of dealing in God's creatures, he said that he could only do as others did, but that he did not mean in this case to imply that he required an actual slave, but the value of one—"showing," adds Captain Conolly, "that men are here a standard of barter, as sheep are among 'the Hazarehs."

Having contracted with a native of Herat, who had resided long among the Hazareh and Eimák tribes, for safe conduct from Bamian to Maimuna, Captain Conolly proceeded to Yaikobung, the valley of which is watered by a clear trout-stream running from the far-famed "Bendimir," of which the poet of *Lalla Rookh* has given us so romantic and refreshing an account. There was very little of romance, except of the brigand kind, in the character of the Chief of this place. "The present Chief 'of Yaikobung," writes Captain Conolly, "is Mir Mohib, a vul-'garian of the coarsest order. He put Shah Sujah's letter to 'his head with a fair show of respect, and came to pay his res-'pects to us as the bearers of it, when we gave him a suitable 'present. Having taken leave, he sent to beg for my furred cloak; 'and, on my giving his messenger a note, which would pro-'cure him one from Bamian, he sent to say that he must have 'my girdle, shawl, and a thousand rupees, and he would permit us 'to depart. We were too many to be thus bullied; therefore, 'replying that the Mir seemed to misunderstand our condition, 'we marched away at once, without his daring to interrupt us."—*MS. Records.*

Following "the course of the Herat river in its clear quick wanderings through different breaks of the limestone valley, which forms its bed," Captain Conolly's party made their way to Deh-Zungi, where they were hospitably received by Sadok Beg, with whom the English officer discoursed freely on the disadvantage resulting from the constant internal feuds which were distracting the country. The Chief said that he was

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deeply impressed with a conviction of the truth of Captain Conolly's assertion; and that, if Shah Sujah would only send him a regiment and a couple of cannon, and make him chief Governor of the Hazarehs, he would undertake to keep the road between Herat and Cabul more open than it had been since the days of Mahmoud of Ghuzni.

There was a war then raging between certain Eimák and Hazareh tribes, and Captain Conolly's party were in considerable danger from the predatory bands, which were loose about the country. We have an account in the journal of the origin and progress of this little war; but we pass it over to give an extract relating to the personal adventures, which befell the travellers, on coming across the skirt of the storm:—

"When we had got two miles down the valley," writes Mr. Conolly, "we were met by sixty horsemen, who called out to us to stop and pay *zucat*. The Atalik's brother riding ahead, and explaining that we were Envoys on the King's affairs, and not traders, our way-layer replied, that we had paid our way to others, and why not to him. 'They are guests of the Atalik,' replied his brother; 'and by God and the Prophet, they shall not give a needle, or a chillum of tobacco.' 'Then, by God and the Prophet, we will take it!' rejoined the robber. Whereupon he ranged some of his men in line to face us, and caused others to dismount upon a rock behind, and to set their guns in rest. We lost no time in getting ready for defence; but the Atalik's brother, riding out between our fronts, called a parley, and drew a line, which neither party were to pass till a war had been decided on. Three quarters of an hour were consumed in debates, which were thrice broken by demonstrations of attack; and by the end of this time thirty or forty men of the same tribe had collected on foot from a near encampment with the evident intention of making a rush at our baggage in the event of our becoming engaged in front. We had dispatched several messengers to bring up our host; and, just as the affair had assumed its worst look, a cry was raised that he was coming. Looking back, we could see horsemen pouring out like bees from the tents surrounding Dowlutyar, and also hastening in our direction; but, whilst our Eimák escort exclaimed that the Atalik was coming in force to the rescue, our opponents cried out in scorn that Hussan Khan was coming to help them to plunder us; and each party raised a shout for the supposed reinforcements. After about ten minutes of the most intense anxiety, during which we and our opponents, as if by mutual agreement, waited to see whose conjecture was right, we were relieved by the arrival of the Atalik, who, galloping up ahead to us at the utmost speed, exclaimed, that he had brought Hussan Khan to our defence. The announced ally was not long in following with three hundred men, and our enemies were made to understand that they must abandon all idea of attacking us—Hussan Khan declaring that we were Envoys recommended to him by the Shah, whose slave he was, and that he would allow no one to molest us."—*MS. Records.*

Such are the rude chivalry of the Hazareh and Eimák countries! Captain Conolly and his party were conducted safely along their road out of the reach of danger; but Hussan Khan had evidently some misgivings, as to the part he was acting, for when he took his leave, he limited his benedictions to those who were true followers of the Prophet, and afterwards expressed his belief, that the English designed to subvert all Muhammadan powers; "a notion," adds Captain Conolly, "which seems to

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'have been industriously propagated among all the tribes, which 'dwell between the Indus and the Oxus."

The party spent four days at Bajgah,* where they were hospitably entertained by the Atalik. Here our travellers were in some danger from the attacks of Kuvar Beg, a neighbouring Chief, who would have spoiled Conolly and his friends with little compunction, but for the good offices of their host, whose alliance this man found necessary to his existence. Kuvar Beg was at war with another and more powerful Chief, whose son he had murdered in his own house. The character of this man is well described in Conolly's journal:—

Wednesday, October 7.—Kuvar Beg came to visit us in Allah-dad Khan's tent, which we had pitched, as the largest, a little outside our camp, that our guests might not have opportunities of stealing, or of too closely observing our property. He was a worn, hard-looking, sarcastic old man; and his evident object throughout the interview was to bully us out of our confidence, and to lower us in the opinion of our host and his relatives, so as to lessen their scruples about treacherously spoiling us. He, first, after a few cold compliments, attacked the Urghenj vakil, by asking why he had not sent assistance to Herat, when it was besieged by the infidel Persians. Yakub Bhai promptly said that, but for the food supplied from Merv, Yar Mahomed Khan could not have held out. "A shop-keeper might call that aid," was the rejoinder. "The aid I alluded to, was of men, swords, guns, &c." "After all," he continued, "though the people speak ill of the Wuzir, to my mind he is one of the few men, who remain in these countries. He holds his own, and turns his neighbours to account. They say, God knows with what truth, that he keeps a Feringhi at Herat, from where he draws a lakh of rupees every month." I briefly explained why a British agent was resident at Herat; and that the money, from time to time disbursed through him, was given for the defence and restoration of a place, which we had encouraged him to hold out at every sacrifice, being interested in preserving it to the Affghans, with whom we had renewed the alliance made thirty years before, for the purpose of mutual defence against foreign encroachments. "Aye; the Affghans!" remarked our visitors, "they cannot do without help now; they have ceased to be soldiers." Allah-dad Khan here replied, with gentleman-like firmness, that if, which God forbid, the Beg should ever find himself opposed to Affghans, he would see that they could still use their arms manfully; and, after a lame attempt to turn Dost Mahomed's defeat into a victory, in order to make light of Shah Sujah's power, Kuvar Beg retired, foiled in both his endeavours, exclaiming, in the hearing of some of our people, as he mounted to return home, "Alas! alas! I have no relations. It has been shown to me in a book that the plunder of such is lawful; and there is enough for all." We thought it prudent, as well as politic towards the Atalik, to send this ruffian a present of moderate value, as he had made himself our guest—admitting our host's apology for his insolence in the common excuse that he was half mad.—*MS. Records.*

Emerging from the Heirrúd valley, the party now proceeded northward up the Hindu-Kúsh, and, passing over an undulating plain, crossed the summit of the main ridge of mountains. Descending, they came upon a deep and rapid brook, called the Tungun, which led them four miles down the cultivated valley

* This place must not be confounded with the fort of Bajgah, north of Bamian, where Captain Hay's detachment was stationed in 1840.—ED.

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of Ghilmí, to the mouth of a deep and close pass, called the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh*, or the "hare's defile," which proved to be at an elevation of 5,700 feet. Proceeding through this defile, on the following day, they journeyed some thirteen miles between "perpendicular mountains of limestone, the defile 'running in acute zig-zags, which, for the most part, were not 'more than fifty or sixty yards long," and having only breadth enough for a path and for the brook, which they were continually obliged to cross. "Burnes, I see," writes Arthur Conolly, "states that after crossing the Dundan-i-Shikkun, he travelled 'on the northward to Khúlúm, between frequently precipi-'tous rocks, which rose on either side to the height of three 'hundred feet, and obscured all stars at night, except at the 'zenith. I am afraid of exaggerating the height of the cliffs, be-'tween which our road here lay, by guessing at their height in 'feet; so I will only say that their precipitous elevation made our 'horsemen look like pigmies, as they filed along their bases in the 'bed." After expanding to a width of about fifty yards, the defile again contracted to that of thirty; through which Conolly and his associates wound for about five miles, when the Tungun discharged itself into the River Murghâb, which came from the east, in a bed of good width through a similar deep pass. The passage through the defile is described as winding to such an extent, that it occupied the baggage ponies four hours to accomplish a distance, which, in a straight line, would have been little more than six miles; and that the portion of the road, which lay in the bed of the stream, crossed the water thirty-four times. The journal-writer thus describes the Deriah-i-Khurgosh:—

What is called the Deriah-i-Khurgosh ends at the junction of the Tungun with the Murghâb; but the narrowness and difficulty of the Pass continues for a mile further down the left bank of the latter stream, which we forded when the water was up to our ponies' shoulders, running at the rate of, I should imagine, 3½ miles per hour. A steep road, which laden ponies take, ascends a little above the entrance of Deriah-i-Khurgosh, which runs down again just below the junction of the two streams; therefore it may be crowned without much labour thus far on the left side; but, take it all in all, it is, I suppose for its length, as difficult a Pass as exists. I have seen nothing like it except some upper portions of the valley of the Ganges in the Himalaya mountains, and its impregnability, according to Asiatic notions of warfare, fully warrants the saying with which Eimáks are said to have answered the threats of kings,—"Oppress us, and we'll flee to the Hare's defile."—*MS. Records.*

Continuing northwards along country still precipitous, the party, on the 11th of October, was attacked by a band of horsemen:—

Our foremost riders had nearly reached this point, when a number of armed men, rising with shouts from their ambuscade above and on either side of us, began with one accord to pelt stones at us, and to fire their guns; those, who were on our flanks also loosening pieces of rock, which came bounding down

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the shingle bank with force enough to bear away any thing occupying the path. Fortunately, the Kafila was far enough behind to avoid the first of the attack; and we retreated to an open part of the Pass, when, making ourselves masters of the shelving flank on each side, we entered into negociation with our assailants ahead. After much time had been lost in parley, our aggressors agreed to take a few pieces of chintzes and forty rupees (as we had no more goods), and invited us to advance: but we had scarcely reached the old points when our Envoy, sent with the cloths and cash agreed to, came running down to us, stripped and beaten, and the attack upon us was renewed. Our skirmishers having kept the shelving flanks, we had not to retreat far, and, having briefly consulted in turning again, we decided that there was nothing for it but to force our way. So, advancing with our best musket-men on foot, while those left with the Kafila followed in close order, firing over our heads at the cliffs above us, in less than ten minutes, we made ourselves masters of the narrow passage from which our enemies retreated over the hills. Some of our men and horses were severely bruised by the stones, which were rained upon us during this push, but no bones were broken, and the only gun-shot wound, that could be found, was in the cloak of one of my Hindustani servants. I am happy to believe that none of our cowardly enemies were killed, or seriously wounded, for we found no dead men on the rocks taken, and they retreated too fast to carry off any, who were much disabled.—*MS. Records.*

After this adventure, the party proceeded on quietly to Maimuna. Mehrab Khan, a keen sportsman, was then out "on his annual *batta*;" but his brother received and entertained Conolly with all possible hospitality. After a delay of four days, the Wulli returned, and next morning called upon the British officer, when, after presenting to him Shah Sujah's letter and dress of honour, Conolly "quite won his heart," by giving him, in the name of the Envoy and Minister at Cabul, a double-barrelled gun. Next day the Embassy went to return his visit:—

Mehrab Khan bade us frankly welcome, and ordered in breakfast of bread, fruit and cream tea, of which we partook together, our servants carrying off parcels of fine green tea, imported from Yarkhund, and large loaves of Russian refined sugar, which were set before us upon long platters of dried fruits, as the host's offering. After breakfast, the Wulli, without thinking it necessary to dismiss any of the mixed servants who stood in the room, began to talk about his political situation, which he described with some humour, begging to know if we could give him hope of any arrangement that would enable him to rest under one master. "No doubt," he observed, "you know the saying, that it is difficult for a man to sail with his legs in two boats; but how can any man hope to escape drowning, who is obliged to shift them among five, according as the wind changes? My ancestors were content to serve the king of Cabul; and, when members of that house fell into misfortune, they found hospitality here. Shah Sujah is again upon his throne at Cabul; but now another Suddozye king calls upon me to submit only to Herat, and your English Agent advises me to send my son there. On the other hand, the Commander of the Faithful claims allegiance for Bokhara: the Khan Huzrut desires me to put myself under him; and you know how I was forced to act, when the Persian Asoph-ud-dowlah crossed the Murghâb.—*MS. Records.*

Upon this, Conolly, congratulating him on the skill which he had shown in keeping so well in his own boat, said that Shah Sujah by no means meant that he was to put himself in immediate subjection to the throne of Cabul, rather than to that of Herat; but that he hoped he would give no support to Dost

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Mahomed, or any of his Turkish allies. "I gave a plain answer," replied Mehrab Khan, "both to the Dost and his supporters; I told him I had seen enough of petty leagues against the armies of kings, and would not compromise myself for any one. I had nothing to say to Dost Mahomed Khan when he was in power. Why should I take up his cause against one, whom God has restored to his former throne?"

We must pass over the long and not uninteresting account of the history of Mehrab Khan and the internal state of his dominions given in Arthur Conolly's journal, and accompany the travellers on their journey to Merv:—

"We made five marches," writes Mr. Conolly, "to the southward of west, *viâ* Alma Kusu and Charshumbel, from Maimuna to the River Murghâb, encamping on its bank at the fort of Kaisul Khauck, a few miles below the fort of Bala Murghâb, which we did not see. In view, upon our left, during these five marches, was the south-west ridge of the Hindu-Kúsh mountains, from which we descended behind Maimuna. Our road lay upon easy rises and falls through hills of a light clayey soil, enclosing many well-watered valleys and glens, in which is cultivated wheat, barley, millet, sesame, flax and cotton; vineyards and gardens flourish about the villages, at the chief of which, brisk little fairs are held twice a week for the convenience of the country round. It is a fruitful country, which only requires more inhabitants to be very valuable: and I learn that the districts on towards Herat, as well as those under the mountains eastward of Maimuna, are of similar character."—*MS. Records.*

As they proceeded onwards, several Kafilas passed them on their way to Bokhara, or met them on their way to Maimuna for grain; and they encountered several single Turkomans on their way to the latter place, riding horses, which they were about to exchange for slaves. A melancholy account is given of the traffic in human flesh, which disgraces these parts of the country. "Every defenceless person," it is said, "who can be used for labour, is carried off to the insatiable markets of Tartary. We were followed by a small Kafila of slaves from Maimuna, consisting of Sheahs, Hazarehs and Suni Eimaks, of all ages, from five to thirty: and we actually discovered that four children of the lot had been purchased on a speculation by our colleague, the Khivan Envoy, whilst towards us he was reprobating the practice as irreligious and impolitic, and expressing hypocritical hopes that it would soon cease in all these countries."

Fording the Murghâb at Karnaoul Kazeh, their march then lay along its left bank, for eight marches to Merv. The waters of the Murghâb are described as muddy, flowing with frequent eddies, at a rate of about a mile and a quarter in an hour, and having many dangerous quicksands. The banks are thickly fringed with tamarisk bushes.

Captain Abbott, who crossed the Murghâb at another spot, and in a different season of the year, describes the river as "a deep stream of *very pure* water, about sixty feet in breadth

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'and flowing in a channel mined to the depth of thirty feet 'in the clay soil of the valley." "The banks," he adds, "are 'very precepitous and fringed with tamarisks and a few reeds. 'The valley itself is, at Punj-deh, about nine miles in breadth, 'but narrows as we advance. Here it is about three-fourths 'of a mile in breadth. On the east bank are sloping sandy 'hills, about 600 feet higher than the valley. On the west 'is the desert—a high sandy plain over-run with low bushes 'and camel-thorn, and extending to the mountain barrier of 'Persia. The valley of the Murghâb has once been well 'cultivated, but is now from Punj-deh to Yullatun utterly 'deserted, owing to the late distractions of the country." Sir Richmond Shakespear says—"This river, when I saw it (in 'March) was muddy, deep and rapid, and full of quicksands. 'The only boats on it, I believe, are the ferry-boats. I was told 'that, even near Punj-deh, the river is at times fordable. Much 'cultivation is irrigated from the Murghâb at Yullatun, and 'the greater portion of its water is wasted on the desert." The distance from Yullatun to Merv is 22 miles. Shakespear says it is an "excellent road over a hard, flat plain—water to be found occasionally—grass and wood both scarce."

Merv is the head-quarters of the slave-trade of Turkistan. Arthur Conolly sighed over it; but felt himself powerless:—

"I have found it necessary," he writes, "even to repress the expression of our sympathies for the strangers, who are so unhappily enslaved in this country; for the necessary interference of Abbott and Shakespear for the release of the Russian captives has given rise to an idea, which has spread like wild fire through Turkistan, that the English have come forward as deliverers of all who are in bondage there—a notion, which, grateful as it may be to our national reputation, requires to be corrected by all who come to Usbeg Tartary in any political character, lest it should excite the enmity of slave-owners against all our efforts for good among them, as well as increase the unhappiness of the enslaved. To you, however, I may mention that the state of affairs here is pitiable in the extreme, and such as to make every Englishman, who witnesses it, most earnestly reprobate the idea of our consenting to its continuance for the sake of any political contingency whatever. Judge only from the following note:—

As we came out from visiting the Bhai (Governor), a party of Zekkat Turkomans entered, bearing three blackened human skulls upon the point of lances, and thirty bound persons from Khelat-i-Kadur, who, with thirty-six horses, had been recently captured in a *chapao*. When they had reported the success of their expedition, these bandits gave the Governor two men and two horses for his share, excusing themselves from paying the full proportion of one in ten, on the plea that they had lost or injured some of their own horses. They then presented the heads of their victims, and, having received five tillahs for each, received orders to parade them through the bazar (it being market-day), where I, an hour afterwards, saw them again hung by the beard to a pole. Determined to examine into all the sins of this place, which had been reported by my servants, I ordered my horse, when the market was warm, and, riding through every corner of it, saw enough to sicken and shame the coarsest heart. The camel and horse fair was conducted on level spots outside the skirts of standing shops, in which the necessaries of life were displayed among a few luxuries by the resident traders. At the doors of many of these shops, females of different ages, under that at which

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they could no longer be recommended for their personal attractions, were placed for show, tucked in good clothes put on them for the occasion, and having their eyes streaked with antimony to set off their countenances. Others past their prime, with children of poor appearance, were grouped, males and females together, in the corners of the streets, and handled like cattle; and I was shown small mud pews, a little above the height of a man, enclosed on all sides, into which intending purchasers take either male or female captives that they fancy, for the purpose of stripping them naked to see that they have no bodily defects."—*MS. Records.*

Merv* was once a place of considerable importance; "a second 'Palmyra," says Mr. Sterling, "standing an oasis in the midst 'of the Turkoman desert, lying between the Oxus and the culti-'vated parts of Khorassan." Abbott says of it, that it was one of the most ancient cities of Asia.

It was situated in the plain, about twelve miles east of the little bazar, which at present bears its name. It was founded by fire-worshippers, of whose fort, called Killah-Ghubbah, there are yet remains; and it long formed a portion of the Persian Empire, whose boundary on the east was the river Oxus. Its vicinity to this boundary, and its disjunction from the inhabited parts of Persia by wide deserts, must have early rendered it obnoxious to molestation from the Turkish and other tribes; and Merv has probably changed masters as often as any city in the world. Latterly, as the Persian dominions have shrunk upon their heart, Merv has always belonged either to the Turks, or to some of the petty principalities of the neighbouring mountains. It has, within a few years, been wrested from Bokhara by the Khan of Khiva, and forms one of the most important districts of Khárism. During the misrule and anarchy of the last sixty years, the ancient dam of the Murghâb was neglected and carried away. The city in consequence became uninhabitable, and was utterly abandoned. The dam is again set up and the lands are brought under culture; but the ancient site continues a deserted ruin. The present Merv is an assemblage upon the Murghâb of about one hundred mud huts, where a considerable bazar is held. The entire waters of the Murghâb are dispersed over the sandy plain for the purpose of irrigation. This profusion of waters renders the soil productive; but it has not strength to bear any but the poor kinds of grain. The plain is perhaps an area of sixty miles by forty, or 2,400 square miles, running on every side into the desert. About 60,000 Turkomans are said to live upon this plain, chiefly as cultivators. The trade passing through Merv is very considerable—Merv connecting Bokhara and Persia, Khiva and Affghanistan. Indeed, the position of Merv is so important that it will never be long abandoned, and might with judicious care rapidly rise from its dust into wealth and importance.—*MS. Records.*

So too thought Arthur Conolly. Looking out upon the traces of desolution which every where surrounded him, and mourning over the ruins of past prosperity and magnificence, his benevolent and earnest mind grasped the idea of the restoration, through British agency—himself perhaps the chief agent—of the pristine glories of this once celebrated place. Of all the benevolent single-minded men, who took an active part in the memorable events of the great Central-Asian drama (and whatever we may think of the policy out of which those events arose, there were many humane and honest men concerned in its

* It is supposed to occupy the site of Antiochia Margiana.

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execution), there was not one more benevolent, or more single-minded, than Arthur Conolly. That he was very speculative, we know. Indeed, it is not to be denied that he was something of a visionary; but his visions were of the purest, the most benevolent kind, and we could better have spared a more practical man. What can be more characteristic than his speculations among the ruins of Merv? He had no misgivings about "our grand move across the Indus." He was always earnest, sanguine, speculative—always full of grand schemes for the regeneration of Central Asia; and now the sight of the departed glories of Merv stirs up all his benevolent desires. Leaving the modern city—if so it can be called—he visits the ruins of the ancient habitations, many of which he describes as still in a state of tolerable preservation.* This is a double city; and, at the distance of about a mile and a quarter, he alights upon a third. "There remained in this citadel," he says, 'the mounds of two immense sloping bastions. We were able 'to ride up to the top of the highest; and from it looked 'down upon the desolation of four fortified cities, standing in 'the midst of devastated fields, gardens, valleys and castles of 'various times, the ruins of which extended to the horizon discernible from this eminence. It was a melancholy view; but 'the regret, which it excited, was lightened by a gratifying conviction, that there existed no physical obstacle to the speedy 'restoration of every thing that had been destroyed within this 'wide extent of once flourishing country. *Notwithstanding the 'years that the plain of Merv has been deserted by the multitudes 'who used to till it, and the destruction of every tree that helped to 'give it shelter and moisture, the proverbially fertile soil has not been 'invaded by more drifts from the desert, than would disappear under two years' ploughing.*† And there are thousands, who would 'willingly make this land their settled home, if they could be 'protected upon it—to say nothing of a yet entire colony of 'industrious people, who sigh for it at Bokhara. Shall we not, 'some of these days, exert the influence, that our grand move 'across the Indus has gained for us, to make Merv once more '"a king of the Earth," by fixing its borders in peace between the distinctively hostile parties, who now keep up useless

* "An arched gate of burnt brick," he writes, "placed in the western centre of a bastion wall, 700 yards wide, which was faced by a ditch, admitted us into a street of shops running though the middle of a deserted town; the red brick walls of which on either side, and of a dense mass of houses behind them to the foot of the ramparted wall, were still in a great measure standing. One fine double-domed public Bath was in such a good state of preservation, that very little repairing would have fitted it for use."—*MS. Journal.*

† The italics are the writer's.

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'claims to it, and causing the desolate city to rise again, in the 'centre of its natural fruits, as an emporium for commerce, 'and a link in the chain of civilizing intercourse between Eu-'rope and Central Asia?"

The route from Merv to Khiva followed by Arthur Conolly was the same as that taken by Sir Richmond Shakespear. It is known as the Rah-i-Tukht. Captain Abbott had taken another route to the westward of this, known as the Rah-i-Chusmah. For about twenty-eight miles, along the banks of the Murghâb, the country is cultivated and fertile. Wood, water and grass are abundant. But here the cultivation ceases, and for some fifteen miles the road lies over a hard level plain; "no water —little grass—wood scarce." Wood and water then become again more plentiful, but grass continues very scarce, and (what little there is) of a very indifferent kind. The next fifteen miles of the road are along the river, over a sandy soil; wood abundant, grass scarce. Here the traveller, crossing the Murghâb, strikes into the desert, that lies between that river and the Oxus. As this is an important tract of country, in relation to the great question of the passage of an army from the Caspian to the Hindu-Kúsh, we shall do some service, perhaps, by recording the descriptions given of it by Shakespear and Conolly. The former writes—"Across the desert 'the soil is sandy and the surface very uneven, generally 'covered with stunted bushes of tamarisk; but occasionally 'large sand-hills are crossed, composed of the loosest sand. 'In the spring, the Turkomans feed large flocks of sheep on 'the grass of the desert. I was fortunate in having a guide, 'who brought me in a very surprising manner across the 'monotonous sand-hills to two pools of water, 20¼ miles from 'the river; and on the borders of these pools a little coarse 'green grass was found for the cattle. From these two reser-'voirs, we marched over the same uneven sandy ground, covered 'with the same ugly bushes, twenty-eight miles; when in the 'middle of the night and without a moon, the Turkomans of 'the party asserted that we were on the direct road from 'Meshed to Bokhara. I tried hard to discover some traces 'of the road but failed; and, even by daylight, it is hardly 'possible to discern the track. The bones of dead camels 'are the only sure marks. These are occasionally fixed in 'conspicuous places. One or two piles of wood are also 'placed as marks; but for these there is no definite road, as the 'loose sand drifts with every breeze, and obliterates the marks 'of the cattle in a short time. We moved twenty-seven miles 'along the road from Meshed, and then hit upon the Rah-i-

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'Tukht, at a well of bad water. I am ashamed to say that 'I cannot decide whether this water was impregnated with 'soda or saltpetre; but it was of a most offensive smell and 'taste.* The Affghans drank it in large quantities, as did 'the Turkomans—the latter affirming that they preferred it 'to river water, and asserting that it quenched the thirst and 'cooled the blood. The horses and cattle drank of it very 'greedily, and neither man nor beast suffered from it. At 'thirty-six miles from this well, we came to another of excel-'lent water. A large flock of sheep and a khail was found here. 'The place is called Bi-khuppa, and is off the direct road, which 'we left at twenty-one miles from the well of bad water, and 'joined again at twelve miles from Bi-khuppa. At the Tukht 'we found another flock of sheep. The servants said that 'there was but a very scanty supply of water here; but cir-'cumstances prevented my visiting the spring. The sand is 'very loose and deep for many miles before and after reaching 'the Tukht. At 18¾ miles, the soil becomes harder, and the 'sandy hills take a more regular firm; and at twelve miles 'from the Oxus, there is an old well of great size built of '*pucka* brick. This well is nearly filled by the drifting of 'the sand. Khuppa-killah must have been a fort of considera-'ble size; but at present it is hardly possible to trace the plan 'of it. Some of the ruins of the bastions are still eighty or 'a hundred feet high."—*MS. Memorandum.*

We shall return presently to the general remarks of this able and enterprizing officer, upon the practicability of the road—remarks which derive an additional value from the fact of their being written by an artillery officer—and in the meanwhile transcribe Arthur Conolly's account of this formidable desert. "Our route from Merv to Khiva," he writes, "struck into that 'taken before us by Shakespear. From the canal beyond the 'Murghâb, at which we halted to lay in water, we marched 'seventeen miles north to camp in the desert. In the first ten

* This is, in all probability, the same well as is thus described in Conolly's journal:—The well was but three feet in diameter, and seventy-seven feet deep: the water was blackish, bitter and stinking, and there was so little of it, that we were obliged to send a man down to the bottom to fill the small buckets that were lowered to him. It being evident that we formed too large a party to arrive together at any such watering place, Allah-dad Khan and the Khiva Envoy went a-head, while I halted a day, to put a march between our two divisions. We made our third march of twenty-one miles into the desert, with skins filled with this water. The first third of this stage was over finer soil, the next one over moderately deep loose sand, and the last through fatiguing sand-beds. The fourth march took us twenty-two miles over hillocks of heavy sand to the Well of Sirt Sali, which contained abundance of water at a depth of twenty-one feet. This water was brackish, but had no bad smell. It served us for the fifth march of twenty-one miles, which was all over undulations of sand that lay fetlock deep.

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'miles were visible in all directions the ruins of former little 'castles, about which lay broken bricks and pottery. After 'the first two miles, we found thin drift-sand lying here and 'there upon the hard clay plain; but there was none to signify, 'even to the end of the stage; and it may be inferred that 'if, after so many years of abandonment, so little sand has been 'collected here, the annual drift in time of full habitation and 'tillage would not be felt. Next day we marched eighteen miles 'north to the single well of Tereh, the road generally over 'sand, which lay half hoof deep upon the hard plain, though 'occasionally we had to pass deeper beds, gathered loosely upon 'this foundation. Every now and then a patch of the hard 'soil appeared quite bare; and we could observe here and 'onwards to the Oxus, that in soil of this description are set 'the roots of nearly all the bushes and shrubs, which cover 'the surface of the wilderness. * * * * The sixth march of 'twenty miles over similar sandy and undulating plain took 'us to Tukht—a spot from which this road is named—marked 'by a broad belt of bare loose sand-hills, which rise over each 'other towards the centre, from the length of twenty to eighty 'feet, and serve as reservoirs for the snow and rain-water, that 'fall upon them. We found holes about three feet deep, dug 'at the bases of the most sheltered sand-hills, containing a foot 'or more of filtered and deliciously sweet water; and it was only 'necessary on draining a hole to scoop a little more sand from 'its bottom, and to wait a while for a fresh supply to rise into 'it." The seventh march carried him on fifteen miles with the same excellent supply of water. The eighth took him the same distance to the "broad dry bed of the Oxus," in which he encamped "amongst reeds and jungle-wood, near the left bank 'of the actual river, where the stream was 650 yards broad, 'flowing in eddies, with the dirty colour of the Ganges, at the rate 'of 2¾ miles an hour." "Noble stream," adds Captain Conolly; "but, alas! without anything in the shape of a boat upon it."

The entire distance between the canal of the Murghâb and the river Oxus is, according to Conolly, 130 miles. "This is not," he says, "the difficult journey, that the Turkomans love 'to represent it. Small parties of travellers, carrying their 'baggage on ponies, can easily accomplish it in *five* days—with 'exertion in *four*; and it might be made both easier and 'shorter for caravans, for it winds considerably. Small detach-'ments of light troops, well supplied with camels, might, on 'emergency, be pushed across; and I conceive that 12-pounders 'might be drawn over the sand by camels on sledges, if not 'upon wheels; but it is not a road, which a regular force

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'of any size or description would take in ordinary circumstances."

Shakespear seems to have entertained a still stronger opinion of the difficulties of the passage. Looking at the Merv desert with a soldierly eye, he summed up his opinions, of the impracticability of the route for a large army with guns, in a few pregnant sentences, rather regarding, it would seem, the question of an advance from our side than towards it. "At Merv," he says, "very large quantities of grain might be procured, and, 'as in the early spring, grass would be very abundant, it 'appears possible that cavalry could move across this desert 'without any very serious difficulty, if sent in small detachments. Infantry, in the same manner, might cross; but 'to bring artillery would be very difficult indeed. I do not 'like to say it would be impossible, as with a considerable outlay of money in purchasing animals to convey water, and 'with proper arrangements, this desert *might* be crossed by artillery: but the wells are generally thirty-six miles apart, and 'the sand is so heavy, that this distance could not be done 'in less than *four* days; and even then the cattle would 'suffer much, so that between the wells, water must be carried 'for men and cattle for two days. I would, in case of such a 'thing ever being necessary, propose that but a few rounds of 'ammunition be carried in the limbers, and none on the waggons; 'that both gun and waggon be lightened in every possible 'manner; and that the native mode of marching be adopted— '*viz.*, if the distance to be crossed is twelve miles, that six 'miles should be marched in the early morning, and six in the 'evening. It is the last part of a march through sand, that 'kills the cattle. The difficulties may be said to be conquered 'when the Oxus is once reached; as from that time, wood, water 'and grass are all to be found, and there is a cart road the 'whole distance."

Conolly was of this opinion too; and he points out, moreover, that along the line of the Oxus, there is a large available supply of rude native carriage, well suited to the country, which would be of immense service to an invading force. The passage is worth quoting:—

We made six easy camel marches down the left side of the Oxus. Our road sometimes lay in its bed, and sometimes on the bank above it, but we always halted, except on the last march but one, so as to get water from the river. I observed its breadth to vary from 650 to 300 yards,—the stream being frequently divided by sand-banks. Many portions of the bed retained traces of former river beds; and the banks were here and there dotted with the ruins of forts. On the fourth march, we found the remains of burnt brick caravanserais, indicating that these buildings were situated on a line of trade. All this road along the

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Oxus can be travelled by the carts of the country, rude vehicles put together without iron nails, but which run smoothly on very high wheels, in which are set well greased axle-rings, the best of cast iron, *imported from Russia*. The body is of plank, generally about three feet square, set in the circumference of the wheels, and two feet more of length, by running out boards to notches on the shafts. The wheels have as much as 6½ feet diameter, and 3¼ inches breadth of run, which is not tyred. There are eighteen, or nineteen spokes in each, set six inches a part' and tapering from a breadth of three to two inches, from under the nine inches, deep run to the heavy nave, 3½ feet in circumference, in which they are set. The axle bar itself is not shod, but turns without creaking in the well-greased iron ring mentioned. Add a chimney pair of shafts, 12½ feet long, and fourteen inches in circumference, of which half a foot sticks out behind—and you have the Khiva *Araba*, which, notwithstanding the smallness of its body, is made to convey two camel loads, or even more at a pinch. The height of the wheels makes it difficult to overturn this narrow vehicle, and a pony generally manages to pull it along at a good pace, harnessed by a collar and a small wooden saddle; if the load is unusually heavy, or the road bad, a second pony is put on Tandem fashion, and a man or boy rides the leader. When we had entered the Oxus, we passed endless files of these carts. There must be an immense number of them altogether in this country. Even in their present state, they would be of immense service to an invading force in want of transport, and their seasoned material would come into much use for carriages of other build.—*MS. Records*.

Shakespear describes these carts, as of very clumsy construction, drawn by a single yabu; but Conolly thought, that clumsy as they were, they would be a great improvement upon the common native hackery. "At least," he adds, "the iron "axle-ring might be introduced." Both writers state that wood and grass are plentiful. "Shakespear," writes Arthur Conolly, "in one of his letters to Todd, remarked, that if the Russians 'came here to invade India, they would find plenty of timber, 'either for land or water-carriage." And then he characteristically adds—"I have only to confirm this statement; but I will add a hope that, ere many years, both we and the Russians shall see the resources of Khárism called forth for a very different purpose." The road is for the most part good, but sandy. Two or three marches from Khiva the most luxurious vegetation commences, and "extends in one unbroken sheet to that city." "According to the best information," adds Shakespear, "this cul-'tivation extends for three hundred miles with an average breadth 'of twenty-five. I have seldom passed a portion of ground more 'highly tilled or better wooded. The farm-houses are very nu-'merous, the gardens are extensive and well kept, and the people 'are evidently wealthy. This ground is densely populated, and 'the carts of the country meet you at every turn. The climate 'is delightful."

Conolly gives a very similar account. "One easy stage," he says, "took us hence (from Phitunk) to Heizarash,* an open

* Khizarist, or Hazarasp?

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'town surrounded by very industriously cultivated fields, 'the proprietors of which scatter their houses among them 'like tents, rather than reside in close villages. Such is 'the nature of the country all the way on to Khiva, and 'beyond to the end of the oasis, north and west, chequer-'ed by occasionally tracts of marshy or sandy grounds.— 'Water, in all tracts of the oasis that we have seen up to Khiva, 'lies only 4 feet below the surface, and the wells are mostly 'completed by setting up hollow trunks of trees, a foot or two 'above the earth, through which water is drawn by the hands, 'by means of a small leather bucket attached to a straight 'pole."

Conolly found the petty Chiefs in the dominions of the Khan Huzrut of Khiva somewhat grudging of their courtesies and hospitalities. At Merv, the Governor excused himself for his misbehaviour, by alleging that it was not the custom of the country to behave better; and the English officer found, as he advanced, that the man had spoken the truth. As he approached Khiva, matters appeared somewhat to mend, as it became known that the Khan, who was then out on a hunting excursion, was disposed to receive him hospitably. Messengers had been sent forward from the royal camp to invite the ambassadors to the presence, and, under their guidance, Conolly advanced. As he neared the temporary residence of the Khan Huzrut, a new and unforeseen difficulty presented itself. He found that he had little reason to confide in the good faith of his colleagues:—

Our colleague Yakub Bhai turned out a mean creature, seeking to conceal the benefits which he had received from the British Government, and speaking slightingly of our Affghan policy, after all his fine words at Cabul. We discovered him latterly, telling his acquaintances, that Shah Sujah's Government was all a farce, his country rebellious from one end to the other, and the English only just able to hold their ground against Dost Mahomed, who would infallibly have conquered us at Bamian, had he not committed the error of sending his son a-head. This, I presume, was to soften the defeat of so many Usbegs by a handful of disciplined troops, as the notion is not a pleasing one here just now. I lectured our friend, who protested that he had been misconstrued, and promised to be more careful, taking the opportunity to beg that I would reimburse him for a horse lost in the Furrah road, when he was travelling to pay his respects to you (Sir W. Macnaghten), and for sundry articles stolen from him one night on our march through the Maimunah district. I replied, that I must make a reference to Todd about the first item, and that, for the second, we would see about it on my return from Kokand. From the little attention paid to Allah-dad. Khan in the Royal Camp, I was more than once disposed to conclude that Yakub Bhai has repeated at court the exaggerations for which I took him to task upon the road. But I am on the whole now inclined to think, that the Khan Huzrut never had a clear idea of, or much respect for, the situation of Shah Sujah. Herat is in his eyes the most important Affghan sovereignty, and will remain so, unless the king of Cabul takes up such a position north of the Hindu-Kúsh, so as to make it easy for him to reach Khiva by the line of the

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Oxus. *This is a desideratum for us and for our Chief Dúrani Ally, both on political and commercial grounds, which acquires greater claims on our attention, the more we look into the state of Turkistan at large.—MS. Records.*

The embassy was graciously received in the king's "comfortable stick and felt tent." The Mehtur Agha was present; and a Mirza, who acted as Persian and Turkish interpreter, was in attendance. The Khan Huzrut is described as "a dignified and gentleman-like person, about fifty years old,"* of gentle manners and affable address. He conveyed his meaning to his interpreter in a soft low voice, and then looked up to the person addressed with a smile, which was said to be "habitual to his countenance." Sometimes he condescended to be jocose; and, in spite of the inquisitorial character of the Khan's language, the English officer soon felt himself at ease in his presence. The conversation, which took place on this and other occasions, is minutely recorded in the journals, from which we have largely quoted, and is, at the same time, to our thinking, so interesting and so important, as an exposition of our policy towards Khiva and the neighbouring states, of their relations towards each other, and their position in respect to the probabilities of a Russian invasion, that we need make no apology for indenting largely upon the manuscript before us. After the first courtesies had been interchanged, the Khan inquired, what were the latest accounts from Abbott and Shakespear; and then, somewhat abruptly, told the interpreter to ask which was the greater nation, the English or the Russian; and to explain that it was the intention of the Khan to compare his answer with those given by Abbott and Shakespear. Conolly answered that both nations were of the highest class: that the English was the older and the richer; but that Russia was very great, and every day becoming greater. The Khan Huzrut then asked, what was the nature of the relations existing between England and Russia: to which Conolly replied, that they were quite amicable, as they had long been—it being obviously the interest of both states, if only on commercial considerations, to live in friendship towards each other. The dialogue then continued:—

Khan.—What is your latest intelligence of the Russians, with respect to this quarter?

Conolly.—My last was, before they had heard of the restitution of the captives. They were not then minded to renew their attack this year; probably, because of the difficulty in procuring enough of camels: but it was understood, they had not abandoned their expedition, and that they were making every preparation to ensure success.

Khan.—What are the last accounts from Persia?

Conolly.—We have not now an ambassador at the Persian court. I only

* This was written just ten years ago.

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know, that the Persians hold Ghorian, and that they have not yet satisfied my Government on the points at issue between the two states.

Khan.—Will your ambassador return to Teheran ?

Conolly.—We hope that matters will ere long be adjusted, so as to allow of his return; for we have no ill will against the Persians, and the present state of things is prejudicial to them, as well as to us.

Khan.—Shakespear engaged to be back from Petersburgh in forty days, unless detained till spring—when do you think he will come ?

Conolly.—He will act as near to his word as possible; but perhaps he will not be able to return at all by that way. The Russian Emperor may decline to receive him as an ambassador from your Majesty: and it may be judged best for him to follow Mr. Abbot to London. I mention those, as *possible* events, that Mr. Shakespear may not, under any circumstances, seem to come short of his promise.

Khan.—The Russians received Shakespear at Dansh Kullah and Orenburgh, and gave back my merchants: why should they refuse to accept him at St. Petersburgh ?

Conolly.—It is not certain that they recognized him in a political character at Orenburgh. Your Majesty's ambassador was present. His interference took them by surprise. They could not reject the captives that he brought them, and they felt bound in accepting the prisoners to restore your Majesty's detained subjects. But now they may stand upon their dignity; and, although we may offer our mediation in a friendly way, for the sake of our own interests, which are involved in your quarrel, we cannot *force* it upon the Russians, if their cause is just: and now, especially, that they have failed in their attempt to reach Khiva, they may think that they owe it to themselves, to shew the world, that they are sufficient for the redress of their own wrongs. Our interference may thus be frustrated, or deferred, or thrown into another channel. However, now that the way of parley has been opened by the restitution of the captives, whom Mr. Shakespear conducted to Orenburgh, it will shortly be seen what tone the Russians will take.

Khan.—With what justice (attending to my expression) can the Russians pursue the quarrel, now that their people have been restored ?

Conolly.—The detention of those captives was only one of several charges made by the Russian Emperor against the state of Khiva, in the proclamation which he published in Europe. May I be permitted to ask what are the last distinct demands that have been made upon your Majesty by the Russians ?

Khan.—God knows what they want !

The Khan Huzrut said this rather pettishly, and the Mehtur Agha sneered obsequiously, while the interpreter was repeating it.

Conolly.—Mr. Shakespear forwarded a copy of the letter from General Peroffsky at Orenburgh, alluding both to the Russian captives in your Majesty's dominions, and to certain forts, which the Russian Government required your Majesty to destroy. Is that the last communication received?

Khan.—The last.

Conolly.—I take the liberty of putting these questions, because the Governor-General of India wishes to know the exact particulars of the case between Kharasm and Russia, that he may be prepared to advise your Majesty in every contingency, and know what to say to the Russian Government concerning this matter, if opportunity should present itself for further English mediation. His Lordship was very glad to find by your Majesty's mission to Cabul, that the policy of the British Government was appreciated ; and he hopes now, that the affairs of Affghanistan give promise of order, to establish a permanently friendly intercourse between the three countries. The letters which I have the honour to bear, will completely explain the Governor-General's sentiments with regard to Kharasm : and my colleague, who brings a friendly epistle from his Majesty, Shah Sujah, will be able to satisfy your Majesty upon every point, which concerns the relations of England with his own country, as well as regarding those which the king of Cabul desires to maintain with the states of Turkistan.

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Conolly then presented his despatches, and withdrew from the royal presence. In the evening, he forwarded his presents to the King. The next day was devoted to hunting and hawking; but, on the following, the British officer was summoned to a private interview with the Khan Huzrut. The Khan desired him to be seated; but Conolly excused himself, on the plea that he had stood before Shah Sujah; and the answer seemed rather to please the despotic Chief. The business of the interview then commenced. Conolly asked the Khan what he intended to do regarding the demands of the Russian Government upon him. The Khan asked what those demands were, and called for an intelligible explanation. Conolly met this question with another, asking the Khan what he expected would be the next demand of Russia, now that the prisoners had been released. "How can I tell," exclaimed the Khan, "what demand they will put forward? God knows! 'They may ask a hundred things; but they have no cause of 'complaint now, as I have told them." The dialogue then continued:—

Conolly.—Concerning the settlement of your frontiers, and security to Russia against future inroads.

Khan.—Shakespear will see my border; and I told him to say that, if any of my tribes committed *chapaos*, they should be given up to the Russians, on condition that the Russians would agree to give up to me any of their tribes, who might foray mine.

Conolly.—General Peroffskyin his last letter refuses your Majesty's demands, that he should destroy Dansh Kullah; but insists on the destruction of certain forts, maintained by your Majesty's subjects, which are the resorts of robbers. From Yakub Bhai I learnt that this probably refers to a place called Ak Machich.

Khan.—Ak Musjid (white mosque) is within the Kokand border. Our fort in that direction is Jynkund; but that is a place inhabited by peaceable peasants—not a robber-post, as represented.

Conolly.—The Russians, however—pardon the observation—supposing that to be the quarter referred to, are not likely to withdraw an assertion deliberately made to the world, because your Majesty's servants deny its correctness. This is a matter, in which you may need the testimony, perhaps, the guarantee of a third party. Could not the state of Kokand assist your Majesty here? It is equally with Khiva, interested in preserving the present Usbeg borders to the northward.

Khan.—We are not now on the good terms we used to be with Kokand. Only within the last year, they have themselves invaded my territory, built a fort in it, and aggressed my subjects; and I contemplate sending 15,000 or 20,000 Allamans to *chapao* their country, in return. What do you say to this?

Conolly.—Since your Majesty permits me to offer my opinion, I must say that such a course appears to me the very reverse of wise; and I regret exceedingly the information now given to me, as it throws back my hope of seeing the independence of Turkistan established by the concert of its different rulers. Syud Muhammad Zahid, the Kokand Envoy, whom I met at Constantinople, assured me, that Kokand and Kharasm were one, and that their united influence could oblige the Amir of Bokhara to come into any arrangement, that was essential to the safety of all. Therefore I considered my hope two-thirds accomplished. Now I find your Majesty on indifferent terms with Kokand, as well as Bokhara, and know not what end to expect—war within, and enemies without!

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Khan.—But would you have me sit quiet under an injury of that sort? The Kokandis would suppose that I was afraid of them; and this is the time of year for an attack. Though I sent an Envoy to Kokand, in company with the Kuzzak Khanjeh, when he passed through this, to remonstrate, and see about an agreement—only within the last month they have made an incursion upon my grounds. How can I bear this? Have you not yourselves sent to *chapao* China, because that people injured some of yours. Shakespear mentioned this. Why should you advise me contrary to what you do yourselves?

Conolly.—I would have your Majesty compare the urgencies of the dangers which exist, and at any rate make provision against the greatest. The Russians, who declare that nothing but an extraordinarily cold winter prevented their taking Khiva last year, and who will certainly exert all their great strength to effect this object in a second attempt, unless you satisfy all the demands that they show to be warranted by the laws of nations, have given your Majesty a brief interval of leisure, in which to make complete agreements with them, for the conservation of your dignity; and you propose to consume this time in a border war with a state of your own race, which you ought to conciliate, as the one that can best help you out of your most pressing difficulties. Your Majesty thinks that your honour now calls upon you to attack the Kokandis. They will think their honour demands reprisals: and so you will go on, weakening each other and widening the breach, till, the time for accommodation having passed out of hand, your foreign enemy will find it easy to do what will lastingly injure you both.

Khan.—Please God, if the enemy advances again, we will all unite to oppose him.

Conolly.—Permit me to represent that no one will then unite with your Majesty. The nearer the appearance of the danger, the more will each other state, seek to make its own escape from it. How many sent help to Herat, when the Persians invaded it, though their success there would have shackled all Turkistan? Bokhara gave you none, though entreated, when the Persians were at your doors; and Kokand chooses the very time of your distress to enlarge her border at your expense. There is only one other hope of the Usbeg states holding together and remaining free from foreign controul—which lies in their coming to a timely understanding about their individual rights and common interests, and making amicable and complete engagements with each other to secure them. Other parties may second such a measure: but the Usbegs themselves must originate it—and that soon.

The Mehtur here broke in, very sagely observing, that what God had decreed, would assuredly come to pass: and that if Kokand should assume a hostile attitude towards Khiva, the Khan Huzrut would put his trust in the Almighty, and make a stand for his own defence. To this Conolly replied, that faith in God was assuredly a great thing, nothing greater; but that human caution was something too in an emergency; else the Khan Huzrut would not have restored the Russian captives. The Khan, laughing at this retort, exclaimed, "We must have one 'good blow at the Kokandis, to shew that we are not afraid, 'and then we will make it up with them. I shall write to say 'that Mr. Conolly advises this, and send the 'Allamans' about the 'time that you proceed. What say you? Or shall I defer the 'expedition till you are across the border?"—After some further conversation, the Khan asked bluntly, what Conolly was going to Kokand for?—Probably many others, before and after, have asked themselves and others, a similar question—what was the

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object of Conolly's journey to Kokand?—Conolly told the Khan Huzrut that his Mission to Kokand had several objects; firstly, to reply to a friendly overture, made a year and a half before, on the part of the Kokand state, to the Governor-General of India; and to establish by his own explanations, and those of his Affghan associates, as complete an understanding as possible regarding British proceedings and designs in Affghanistan, which had been much misrepresented, with reference both to that country and the countries beyond, so as to obtain for his own Government, and for that of Shah Sujah, the esteem and friendship which are their due; then to ascertain how the commerce of England and Hindustan, about which we were very solicitous, could best be extended, through the country of our Affghan allies, to the remotest parts of Turkistan;—further to gain a clearer insight into the political state and disposition of Kokand, as either was likely to affect British interests in the event of endeavours being made by foreign parties to subvert the independence of Turkistan, as was to be apprehended from more than one quarter; and to urge upon that court the expediency of its helping to prevent such an occurrence, by concurring with its neighbours in measures of general justice and peace. In conclusion, Conolly, whilst admitting, that the British Government had immense interests at stake, and that the disorder and weakness of the Usbeg states were prejudicial to our position in Central Asia, declared that all our objects were honest and friendly, and that it was his desire to counsel nothing that would not be advantageous to others, as well as to ourselves.

The Khan Huzrut listened attentively to these explanations, and then asked Conolly, when he intended to proceed to Kokand. The British officer replied, that, perhaps, the sooner he went the better, as he was anxious to avoid the extreme severity of the weather, and was moreover desirous of a speedy return, as he might be able to advance the interests of His Majesty in another direction. "In what direction?" asked the Khan. "In that of Persia," was the answer. "Persia," exclaimed the Khan Huzrut with much energy, "please God, we are ready for them—ready at all times." Upon this Conolly urged that Persia was no such contemptible enemy; that European skill had organised her armies; and that in all probability her movements would not be in her own name. It was only the other day, he said, that Muhammad Shah received a very large supply of arms and a body of European officers to re-organize his troops, from the French Government, which desired to re-establish its influence with the Shah's court by doing him service. "If the Russians," he added, "remain at

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'war with your Majesty, they will probably endeavour also to 'set the Persians upon you. It would be politic in them to do 'so, because the Persians, now, must be more or less subservient 'to them; and if the Persians are, by any European assistance 'of money or military means, enabled to make a good entry into 'Kharasm, it will be very difficult to get them out again." The dialogue then continued:—

Khan.—If the Persians obtain European aid to invade me, I will employ your aid to repel them.

Conolly.—The British Government will, doubtless, do its utmost in every case to prevent the borders of Kharasm from being broken up; but it cannot take part against any of your Majesty's enemies, who may come with a just ground for invasion.

Khan.—What just ground can the Persians assert?

Conolly.—One, which no third nation can disallow;—that your Majesty's subjects carry off their men, women, and children, and sell them, like four-footed beasts.

Khan.—These *chapaos* are carried on by themselves; and probably, for one Persian that we take, they capture and sell five Sunnis.

Conolly.—I, till now, understood that the captures were almost entirely on the side of your Majesty's subjects. One thing is certain; that there are countless numbers of Persian slaves in Kharasm; and if their countrymen come as invaders, they, and probably every other slave in your Majesty's dominions, would rise and form a second army against you—a force acquainted with every resource and weakness of the country, who would help invaders to keep whatever they might conquer. But this not being the most immediate danger, the discussion may lie over awhile; though your Majesty's servants will do well to consider it attentively.

Khan.—(After a pause)—Had you not better defer your journey to Kokand, till matters are more settled between me and that State?

Conolly.—Time is now of great value.

He then went on to say, that he apprehended no danger in any part of Kharasm; and that, as according to the Khan Huzrut, Kokand was bent on disturbing the peace of the Khivan territory, it would be well to proceed to the former place without delay, to ascertain the cause of this hostility. "It is 'not impossible," he suggested, "that Russia, on going to war 'with your Majesty, may have incited the Chief of Kokand to 'take advantage of your situation, just as I supposed it possible 'that she might set Persia upon you. This is the way of all 'nations when they go to war, and therefore not to be wondered 'at." "But it would be miserable policy," he urged, "either on 'the part of Kokand, or the part of Khiva, to pave the way, by their 'misunderstandings, for the advance of a foreign power." Illustrating his arguments, by pointing out on a map, the position of England, Russia and Hindustan, and the Central Asian countries intermediately situated, he insisted upon the expediency of preserving general peace in Turkistan, and explained, at the same time, how important it was for Great Britain to keep down the ascendancy of Russia in Central Asia. The Khan

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Huzrut examined the map, and, putting it aside, turned to the Mehtur to consult with him about the selection of a proper person to accompany Conolly to Kokand; and soon afterwards the meeting terminated. The Khan spent the day in hunting, and Conolly in meditation.

Thinking over what had passed, at the morning's interview, it occurred to the latter, that he might not have been sufficiently explicit, and that there were other points on which he might have touched with advantage; and he, therefore, requested another interview. It was promptly accorded to him. When the Khan Huzrut had despatched his dinner, the British officer was again summoned to the royal presence.

After some conversation relative to the arrangements for Conolly's journey to Kokand, they reverted to what had passed at the morning's conference. Conolly then said, that he had been re-perusing the written instructions he had received from his Government; and that there were some points regarding which he was directed to obtain explicit information. In the first place, he would ask, whether all the Russian captives had been restored. The Russian proclamation, he said, mentioned several thousands of prisoners, especially instancing a party of two hundred, who had been carried off from the banks of the Caspian in the course of the preceding spring, whereas Shakespear had not collected more than 316.* Upon this, the Khan Huzrut blurted out, that the proclamation lied; and the Mehtur added, that at Dansh Kulla, the Russian officers had examined the captives brought thither by Shakespear, and had ascertained, to their entire satisfaction, that only four persons were overlooked; and these were despatched afterwards—a statement which the Khan Huzrut confirmed, declaring, that every Russian, who *chose* to go, had been sent back to his own country.†

Conolly next asked the Khan Huzrut whether, in the event of a demand being made by Russia for compensation for the expenses of the late expedition to Khiva, His Majesty was prepared to meet it. The Khan replied, with uncommon emphasis,

* The number is here under-estimated. We believe it was 420.

† And there was, probably, little untruth in this. Captain Conolly says:—"I find this to be the general impression here; as, also, that the settled Russians, who preferred to remain in the country, were very few. The panic was great, and the Khan has long been despotic. Shakespear, seeing his opportunity, was so uncompromising, that he insisted on having a Russian man and woman out of the Khan Huzrut's own household. From every slave he obtained, he made diligent enquiries about the residence of those, who were kept back, and indefatigably exerted himself, till he got possession of every individual who could be pointed out. There may be some Russians remaining against their will in the distant parts of the country, which Shakespear could not beat up; but the Khan Huzrut would seem to have sincerely done his best in the matter, and, therefore, to deserve all forbearance at His Imperial Majesty's hands."—*MS. Journal.*

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that nothing would induce him to pay a farthing. "Did I de-'sire them," he naively asked, "to go to the expense of invading 'me, that they should call upon me to pay it?" The simple logic of this would seem to be irresistible; but in practice it goes for nought. We are afraid that there have been cases, in which such a question might have been put to us.

It was urged, however, by Conolly, that the Russians would find a pretext for the demand in the acts of violence alleged to have been committed by Khiva on Russian subjects, in spite of repeated remonstrances,—acts, which had compelled the Russians to take up arms in self-defence. "But what makes you put 'the question?" asked the Khan Huzrut; "have the Russians 'said anything to your Government on this point?" "Nothing 'that I am aware of," replied Conolly;" "but, knowing that they 'made both Persia and Turkey pay on this score, I deem it not 'impossible that they may make the demand on Kharasm also; 'and I would have your Majesty anticipate every contingency." But the Khan Huzrut was firm upon this point. "I will not 'pay one black coin," he said, "but rather call Allah to my de-'fence, and resist them to the utmost." In vain Conolly went over the old ground, repeating what he had before said about the expediency of fortifying himself against distant enemies by cementing an alliance with his near neighbours, and the necessity of making ample compensation for injuries inflicted upon the people of other States. In vain he read aloud the Russian proclamation, translating it into Persian, as he proceeded—the interpreter turning it, sentence by sentence, into the Turkish, for the edification of the Khan Huzrut, who sometimes interrupted the translator, by declaring, that the proclamation contained a parcel of lies. The Khan either would not, or could not, understand the real dangers which beset him, or the advantages to be derived from the course which Conolly recommended him to pursue. It appeared to the British officer, that he was only sensible to danger immediately at his doors; and that, the crisis passed, he always relapsed again into his old state of careless confidence and apathy, pursuing any petty object of the moment, and closing his eyes against important political contingencies, that loomed large before him in the distance.

Failing to arouse the Khan to a true sense of his position, Conolly took his leave of the Khan Huzrut, and shortly after, leaving his camp, repaired to Khiva. Before leaving that place, he recorded his opinions of the probable effects of the Khan's obduracy upon the character of Russian policy.

"Whichever way," he said, "the Russians treat a disposition of this sort, they are likely to obtain their ends. If they judge it expedient to retrieve the

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military reputation, which they lost last year, by insisting again upon the rest of their legitimate demands at the cannon's mouth, the Khan Huzrut will fall at their feet; and they may make all the conditions, to which we do not object. If, on the contrary, the Russians, through our remonstrances, or their own weakness, refrain from open attack upon the northern borders of this country for a few years, and use the interval in marking their game among those intermediate tribes, whose political superiorship they have been gradually assuming, the Khivans, returning to their robberies and commercial vexations, will be sure to give the Emperor ample excuse for depriving them of the ability to continue their outrages—which, I presume, will be done by pushing on the Russian "lines" among the tribes as yet in advance of the same, but which have admitted the sovereignty of the Czar, so as to assume a military front, which will establish his Imperial Majesty's control over the best part of Turkistan." This was Russia's proper direct game, from which she was hurried by our unexpected move across the Indus, thinking it necessary to keep pace with us by striking a blow of corresponding moral influence upon the mind of Central Asia. But she did not lose sight of the tribes, which she had been quietly driving. She mentioned them in her proclamation, that we might not dispute her right to build upon them, when her opportunity should arrive: and, methinks, that her Britannic Majesty's ministers, taking a hint from the Khan Huzrut, should plainly ask Count Nesselrode, what we are to understand by the "Frontiers of the Empire," to which it is promised that the invading forces shall return, after establishing an order of things, comformable to the interests of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states?

We have every reason to expect, that Russia will push Persia into Kharasm, as soon as possible; and Muhammad Shah has all the disposition to come, with an undoubted right. Persians here, who have been for some time in the country, assert most confidently, that if their king were to advance to Merv, with anything like the military means he brought against Herat, he might dictate his own terms to Turkistan. They mention Turkoman clans that would join him, including 2,000 Gokluir families, who were forcibly brought away from their favourite pastures near Astrabad, five years ago; and twice as many Zimút families, who, though taken from the Persian frontier, twenty years ago, remain discontented. * * * * * The many slaves, possessed by these (Tikhat) tribes, would be ready to show him all the supplies of their part of the country, as well as the way on; and, by taking Merv, he would break up the nest and refuge of the "Allamans," who now are best able to harass them.

This view is, doubtless, coloured by the inclinations of those who give it; but it contains much truth. I would say, from what I have seen, that if Muhammad Shah could be furnished with *money* enough to support a small, well-disciplined army, having a select equipment of light artillery (I write from recollection of what I saw in Abbas Mirza's time), he might calculate upon great military success in Turkistan. As an enemy for a pitched battle, the Usbegs are quite despicable. A proportion of them are well mounted; but they are all wretchedly armed; and not even their Ghazis would stand for a second round of grape. Every step that Muhammad Shah could make in Turkistan, beyond Merv, would raise him hundreds of slaves, longing for deliverance from very harsh bondage (it is really severe): and their services would, probably, bear out my suggestion to the Khan Huzrut on this subject. Finally, let me observe, that the Persians would have a right to push any successes that they might obtain up to the Jaxartes, in order to exact redress for the most cruel injuries that one people can inflict upon another.

We need, then, to make Kokand, and, if possible, Bokhara, alive to the danger, which Khiva is likely to bring upon all Usbeg Tartary, and to urge them, not only to use their combined influence against the Khan Huzrut, so as to make him enter into just engagements with his neighbours, but to cleanse themselves also from their participation in the wrongs, which are committed, in the first instance, by the marauding subjects of Kharasm. Our language, throughout these Usbeg states, must, I am only the more convinced, be as high

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and unchanging as our conduct. If by our straightforward representations, we can bring about the independent peace of Turkistan—best of all; and, if not, we must just draw off—and watch the Russians and Persians redressing themselves. We shall, at least, have gained more accurate knowledge of the Usbeg states, and have put before their Governments the plain way of justice, by which they may save themselves, even after the gauntlet has been thrown down against them. Having seen such a good instance of our mediation, they will cry lustily enough for it, when they feel themselves getting worsted; and, in anticipation of this early day, we should come to the most friendly and complete understanding possible, both with Russia and Persia; if practicable, by any fair means, make Affghanistan one kingdom, and establish its northern border to the front of the military and commercial road running through the fertile hill country, which lies beyond the Hindu-Kúsh mountains, from Herat to some point which will give the Durani monarch easy access to the river Oxus.

Such were the views—as he often said jestingly himself the "enlarged views"—of Arthur Conolly. Men of a colder and more sober temperament called them visionary; and perhaps they were. We believe that the proceedings in the Khan Huzrut's camp, which we have described above, did not meet with full approbation at Calcutta. It was alleged against them, that Conolly was too eager to take the initiative. He complained, as we have seen, that the Khan Huzrut closed his eyes against the dangers and difficulties before him—dangers and difficulties, which Conolly took great pains to map out before him. It was urged that this was a mistake; and that it would have been better policy for the representative of the British Government to appear at the Khan Huzrut's court, rather as the disentangler of old, than the suggester of new, difficulties. And, inasmuch as much of our influence at the Khivan court was derived from the Khan Huzrut's confidence in our ability to extricate him from the difficulties that surrounded him, the objection appears to be sound. But it would be difficult to think otherwise, than that the objects and general conduct of the Mission were highly creditable to the British character; and that, if there were any want of diplomatic craft to be alleged against it, there was assuredly nothing to be objected on the score of benevolence of design, or honesty of execution. The Missions to Khiva of Abbott, Shakespear, and Conolly, are episodes in the great epic of our Central Asian policy, which, if it were not for the sad sequel of the adventures of the last, we should contemplate with unmixed satisfaction. Our readers, we are confident, will agree with us in opinion, that while the publication of the extracts from Arthur Conolly's journals, which form the bulk of this article, has interested and informed them, it reflects nothing but honour upon the name of the writer, and the country to which he belonged.

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ART. II.—1. *The Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, with the commentary of Sankara Achárya, and the gloss of Anand Giri.—Bibliotheca Indica. Nos.* 5—13, 16 *and* 18. *Calcutta.*

2. *The Institutes of Menu. Serampore.*

CASTE, as upheld at present by the followers of Brahminism, bears but little resemblance to the classification which prevailed in the days of Menu; still less to that which is sanctioned in the Vedas. The subjective theology of the early Rishis, (if we may so designate the hymnology, or, as it is technically called, the *Sanhitas* of the Rich, Yajush, Saman, and Atharvan,) which appears to have been the first efforts of Brahminical genius, and which, without a formal and dogmatic declaration of faith, exhibited the devotional sentiments of the writers, and, in most instances, the manners and customs of the age, contains scarcely any distinct intimation even of the four original races supposed to have sprung from Brahma,*—whilst it decidedly ignores the *mixed* classes, which now form the great bulk of Hindu society. The *Bráhmanas*, or the objective theosophy of the Vedas, speak positively of the four primitive orders, but are equally silent on the others.† As to the countless divisions of caste, which prevail in the present day, many of them have no countenance either in the *Sruti* or the *Smriti*.

The mean offices, which are assigned to the last order, and the wide gap, which is interposed between it and the first three orders, impart great probability to the supposition that the Sudras are the aboriginal natives of the soil, and that the *twice-born* are the three-fold ramifications of a conquering race. The Brahmins, on settling on the fruitful plains of Hindustan, showed no greater generosity to the earth-born Sudras, than the Normans did to their Saxon serfs in England, or than the Americans still do to the Indians.

It is singular that the most stringent rules against the Sudras are those contained in the Puránas and the Institutes of Menu. The Vedas are not so severe. The Vedas speak of the Sudras as the lowest class, but do not assign to them such servile duties as were afterwards imposed. Perhaps the Rishis had not fully organized their aristocracy, or fenced it with severe enactments

* Professor Wilson doubts whether even the Brahmins were recognized as a caste, when the first Astaka of the Sanhita of the Rig-veda was composed. That they were so recognized in the age of the Sanhita of the Sama Veda will appear presently in this very article.

† Chandálas and Paulkasas are mentioned as specimens of the lowest and basest of mankind.

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against the aborigines, when they began to chant the Sanhitas, or speculate in the Bráhmanas. Time enabled them afterwards to consolidate their power, and to define the position they desired to allot to Sudras.

The Sudras had, however, occasionally risen to power and eminence, even during the political ascendancy of the Brahmins. The honour conferred upon the shepherds of Brindaban by Krishna's acknowledgment of them as relatives and playmates, must have been appreciated by his followers. Sudra dynasties are sometimes mentioned as dominant in certain parts of Hindustan. The Brahma Vaibarta makes mention of Drumila, king of Kānyakubja, who was a cowherd and a serf. The Rāmāyana speaks of Guha, king of Sringabera, a Chandála by caste, but honored with the friendship of the heroic son of Dasaratha. Some of the Puránas also speak prophetically of certain *Abhiras*, or peasant-kings, whose caste of course is low.

The Sudra, or the fourth order, is, perhaps, no longer in existence. That appellation, with the disgrace attached to it in the Shastras, is now shared by multitudes of classes, which are all equally excluded from the privileges of the *twice-born*. These classes, though all ranking as Sudras, keep themselves aloof from one another, and live entirely isolated as distinct orders. The four-fold division of the Vedas has accordingly spun out to several scores of castes, of many of which no traces are found in the Shastras.

That the countless ramifications of the servile classes are monstrous corruptions of the original division, can admit of no doubt. But there was something in the Hindu institution of caste, which was naturally liable to corruption. It was fit for no other than *monstrous* growth. Extravagant as the present ramifications may appear, in comparison with the fundamental classification, they are the genuine developments of the original principle. The caste of the Sruti is to that of the Smriti, and both are to that in actual existence in the nineteenth century, as the acorn is to the oak.

The Hindu institution of caste was, in this respect, different from that of any other country. The Egyptians had castes not wholly unlike those of this country, but they do not seem to have established them on so grossly invidious a principle as the Brahmins. The wise men of Egypt were no doubt equally jealous with those of India of the least departures from the laws they had laid down, but the authors of the hieroglyphics seem to have enforced them more as civil and political, and less as religious and moral, institutions, than the authors of the Vedas. Both had probably the same ends in view; both aimed at the per-

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petual maintenance of the same professions in the same families; both were probably equally desirous of placing their own dignities and privileges above the competition of the lower classes; both had perhaps reasoned that those, who were rude and vulgar in their manners, should not be confounded with the learned and the polished; both had probably been guided by the mistaken idea, that the arts and sciences would thrive best by being confided to particular families, responsible for, and interested in, their cultivation and development; both perhaps thought, that, in the rude and infantine state of society in which they lived, the people would not make a judicious division of labour without the intervention of the legislature; but the Egyptian, in carrying out his principles, was satisfied with making a positive classification, and pronouncing it unalterable. The Brahmin went a step further, and based his division on an invidious representation of the creation itself. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra were of different orders, not because they were so classed politically by the civil power, which was theocratic, but because they were of *different races* from the beginning. The Brahminical division was therefore a *moral* and *religious*, no less than a *political*, institution.

This was a baneful principle in the Hindu institutes. It denied in effect the common origin of our species. It was calculated to extinguish all fellow feeling in human beings of different classes, who were brethren in no other sense than that in which men and quadrupeds might be called brethren—owing to their creation by the same Almighty Power.

The Brahmins fortified their system of caste by discouraging intermarriages between the several orders. Intermarriages were not so rigorously forbidden in the beginning as they are now; but they were considered, if not absolutely disreputable, at least improper and unworthy matches. The marriage of a female of a superior order with a male of an inferior class was especially discouraged.

But human passions are not easily restrained. The heart stops not to inquire whether the object of its affections sprang from the mouth or the arm of Brahma. Since intermarriages were not absolutely prohibited, men were not wanting to avail themselves of the liberty reluctantly given. Mixed marriages were contracted in the course of time; and that even in cases where the husband was of an inferior class to the wife. The *Gandharva* rule, which allowed the union of male and female from mere animal impulse, without waiting for form or ceremony, and the *Rakshasa* ordinance, which gave liberty to a soldier to capture the females of vanquished foes, contributed

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perhaps more than any other circumstance, to multiply the number of mixed marriages.

These marriages necessarily caused minuter sub-divisions of the four primitive orders. If the Brahmin and Kshetriya were of different races, their union must produce an intermediate race*—a half-caste, which was neither Brahmin nor Kshetriya. Similar consequences would follow from the union of the other orders. The four orders might thus soon give rise to twelve mixed classes, or *Sankara Varnas*, which, with the original pure castes, would extend to *sixteen* races. This may be illustrated by the following tabular formula:—

1.	Brahmin male,	with Brahmin female,	producing	pure Brahmin.	
2.	—	with Kshetriya —		an impure race.	
3.	—	with Vaishya —		an impure race...	The Vaidya or medical tribe.
4.	—	with Sudra —		an impure race...	The Nishada.
5.	Kshetriya male	with Brahmin —		an impure race...	The Suta.
6.	—	with Kshetriya —		pure Kshetriya.	
7.	—	with Vaishya —		an impure race...	The Kaibartha and Bagatita.
8.	—	with Sudra —		an impure race...	The Ugra.
9.	Vaishya male	with Brahmin —		an impure race.	
10.	—	with Kshetriya —		an impure race.	
11.	—	with Vaishya —		pure Vaishya.	
12.	—	with Sudra —		an impure race...	The Kayastha.
13.	Sudra male	with Brahmin —		an impure race...	The Chandála.
14.	—	with Kshetriya —		an impure race...	The Paulkasa.
15.	—	with Vaishya —		an impure race...	Ayagava.
16.	—	with Sudra —		pure Sudra.	

The twelve half-castes in the foregoing table might, in process of time, be esteemed as established races of respectability; but the irregular passions of men would not be satisfied even with these. The Sankaras might go on multiplying until the number equalled the square of sixteen, or until mixed marriages might be absolutely forbidden. Such, in our opinion, has actually been the case in India; irregular marriages have occasioned the development of caste, and exposed, at a great cost, the unsound principle inherent in it.

THE HINDU IDEAS OF CASTE.—The Hindu religion has mixed up the idea of caste with the cosmogony itself. Four orders of human beings are said to have been created at

* "In all classes they, and they only, who are born, in a direct order of wives, equal in class, and virgins at the time of marriage, are to be considered as the same in class with their fathers; sons begotten by twice-born men or women of the class next immediately below them, wise legislators call *similar*, not the *same*, in class with their parents, because they are degraded to a middle rank between both, by the lowness of their mothers. They are named in order Murdhabhishuta, Mahishya, and Karana or Kayastha, and their several employments are teaching, military exercises, music, astronomy, keeping herds, and attendance on princes."—*Menu* x. 5, 6.

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the same time with the gods, demi-gods, and demons, who inhabit the fourteen lokas of the Shastras, the upper and the lower worlds. Except their common humanity, those four orders might be considered creatures, as distinct in their origin and race, as they were in their social position in the republic of Hinduism. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra might be classified under categories, no less diversified than those of the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, and Siddhas. The Brahma Vaibartha Purána, in describing the creation, actually distinguishes the creatures that were produced, as "the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, the Sudra, 'the Yaksha, the Gandharva, the Kinnara, &c."

But notwithstanding the eagerness, with which the authors of the Shastras have sought to represent the institution of caste as coeval with the creation, it is not difficult to detect passages, incautiously inserted, which prove that the formation even of the four first orders was gradual, and that there was a time when all mankind acknowledged themselves as one race. Thus does the truth ooze out of the Vedas and Puránas themselves.* It was not Brahma at the creation, but the Brahmins long after the creation, that created the different orders, and fathered them upon their four-headed progenitor.

The Hindu theory of caste may be viewed in three different aspects. The first is that which the Sruti or the Vedas present; the second is exhibited in the Smriti, the Puránas, and other Shastras; the third is observed in the practice of the day. In other words the three primary rules of the Hindu faith are equally decisive in their doctrine of caste; though they exhibit it under different phases. The Vedas give the simplest outlines; the Smriti and the Puránas fill up the rude touches, and present a body to the system; the practice of the age has improved on the Shastras with a vengeance, and presents a monstrous picture, at which Menu himself might stare with amazement.

The reasons, for which we have placed the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad and the Institutes of Menu at the head of an article on Hindu Caste, are, that they severally represent the two great epochs, that have already passed in the history of that institution. We shall have to quote the Brihad Aranyaka largely in exhibiting the Vedic theory of caste; and Menu is the leader of the secondary Shastras, the Smriti, the Puránas, and the Tantras. Our object in this article being to trace the origin and develop-

* The Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad says, as will be presently seen, that Brahmins alone were created at first. Does not this countenance the idea that, when the Brahmins settled in India, they had no *caste*, and that this classification was an afterthought?

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ment of caste, we shall necessarily have to devote a large portion of our space to extracts from the Shástras.

ON THE THEORY OF CASTE, AS CONTAINED IN THE VEDAS.—The most learned pandit in Bengal has need to talk with diffidence of what he may consider to be the teaching of the Vedas on any point, especially when negative propositions are concerned. It may be doubted whether a copy of the entire Vedas is procurable in any part of Hindustan; it is more than probable that such a copy does not exist in Bengal. It would scarcely be modest or safe, under such circumstances, to say that such and such doctrines are *not* contained in the Vedas. We wish it therefore to be understood, once for all, that when we speak of the Vedas, we mean such portions of them as have issued in portable shapes from the European, or the Indian, press. We do not pretend to have seen, much less read, all the Vedas, nor are we acquainted with occult passages lurking in their inaccessible parts.

The Vedas are divided into *Sanhitas* and *Bráhmanas;* the former being devotional, the latter didactic. The Sanhitas appear to pre-suppose a state of society in which an order of priests was held in the highest reverence. They were considered as the repositaries of learning and favourites of the superior powers. Their enemies were denounced as spiritual outlaws, whose destruction might be piously prayed for.*

The Bráhmanas, or didactic parts, inculcate expressly the idea of a four-fold division of caste, of which the first three are separated by a broad line from the fourth. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and the Vaisya are considered races of peculiar excellency. Birth, in any of these races, is held as a reward of virtue and piety.† The Súdra on the contrary is a low and ignoble race, destitute of the privilege of studying the Vedas.

* त्वां प्रिवासः समिधान दीदिव आविवासन्ति वेधसः ॥ "The learned Brahmins take up their abode close by thee."—*Sam. Ved. San.* 1 *Prap.* 4 *Dasat.* 8*th verse.*

मार्कीं ब्रह्म द्विषं वनः ॥ "Do not respect those, who hate the Brahmins."—*Sam. Ved. Uttara. San.* 1 *Prap.*

अव ब्रह्मद्विषो जहि ॥ "Kill those who hate Brahmins."—*Sam. Ved. San.* 1 *Adh.* 3 *Prap.* The same passage occurs also in the *Uttara San.* 6 *Prap.* 3*rd verse.*

† तद्य ईह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाथ ॥ "Those who behave excellently in this world attain to excellent races hereafter, agreeably to their works, whether it be the race of Brahmins, or Kshetriyas, or Vaisyas."—*Chandogya Upanishad* 5. *Prap.* 6.

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Of the three exalted races, the Vedas of course look upon the Brahmins as the most dignified and honourable. A few passages there are, which show that the Kshetriyas sometimes contested the palm of superiority with the Brahmins; but the Brahmin is nevertheless the hero of the Vedas. Thus :—

एके चाक्षत्रेयांसो ब्राह्मणाः ॥

"The Brahmins are our superiors."—*Taittariya Upanishad* xi. 3.

The commentator expands the text by observing that the Brahmins are superior, because of their sacerdotal character.

The institution of caste is a prominent feature of the Vedic cosmogony; but the creation itself was a gradual succession of acts. Brahma, the first cause, though naturally intelligent and joyful, was for an indefinite period in a state of torpor and inaction. His 'vis inertiæ' was however overcome by the conception of the prolific and mysterious idea—*ahamasmi*, "I am." A celebrated European philosopher* deduced his existence from the fact of his *thinking*. We are not told how Brahma came to the same conclusion; but we are informed that his conception of the idea—*ahamasmi*—produced the principle of *ahankára*, or individual consciousness. This led to a desire of creation, or rather of generation; and the desire was followed by the act. He gradually created the elements, gods, demi-gods, and men.

It is said that of men he first created only Brahmins, or rather that, although he had made males and females, he did not for a while create the distinctions of castes and orders.

ब्रह्म वा ईद मग्र आसीदेक मेव ॥

"The Brahmins alone existed in the beginning."—*Brihad. Upan.* 4 *Br.* 11 *Kandika.*

Or, as Sankaráchárjya expounds the passage :—

वै ईदं क्षत्रादिजातं ब्रह्मैवाभिन्नमासीदेकमेव ॥

"The Kshetriyas and the other castes were at that time one 'and the same with the Brahmins. There was no distinction of 'orders. Brahminism alone existed."

But this state of things did not gratify Brahma, or, as we may fairly conclude, it would not have been quite gratifying to his favourite sons, the Brahmins. A world of theological doctors was not what *he* wanted, or what *they* would relish. Where every one was a spiritual guide, there could be neither dignity nor importance in the office. Accordingly—

तदेकं सन्न व्यभवत् ॥

"All being one, he did not enjoy it."—*Brihad. Upan.* iv. 10.

* Des Cartes; *Cogito, ergo sum.*

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Sankaráchárjya expounds it thus:—

क्षत्रादि परित्राणविनादि शून्यं सत्र अभवत् न विभुतवत् वर्णव माभीदित्यर्थः ॥

"He did not enjoy a state of things, in which there were no 'Kshetriyas and others for the protection of the world."

He therefore:—

तच्छ्रेयो रूप मत्यसृजत क्षत्रं ॥

"Largely created the Kshetriyas of excellent natures."—*Brihad. Upan.* iv. 11.

He not only replenished the earth with these guardian heroes, but filled heaven itself with sons of Mars.

यान्येतानि देवत्रा क्षत्राणीन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्ज्जन्यो यमो मृत्यु रीशान ईति ॥

"Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu, 'Ishána, were Kshetriyas among the gods."*

The commentator describes in detail the sovereignty of these warlike and royal gods:—

ईन्द्रो देवानां राजा ॥ वरुणो यादसां ॥ सोमो ब्राह्मणानां राजः पशूनां ॥ पर्ज्जन्यो विद्युदादीनां ॥ यमः पितृणां ॥ मृत्यू रोगादीनां ईशानो भासां ॥

"Indra was the lord of the gods, Varuna of aquatic animals, 'Soma of the Brahmins, Rudra of the animals, Parjanya of 'lightning and meteors, Mrityu of diseases, Ishána of light."

The courtly author of the Upanishad then interrupts the thread of his narration for a while in order to sing an eulogy on this newly created martial race, forgetting for a moment the over-weening arrogance with which his fraternity have, in all ages, harped on the dignity of their priesthood. He compliments the holders of temporal sceptres with a degree of Erastianism, which would shock the sacerdotal sensibilities of a Vyas or Menu; he admits that on certain occasions the Kshetriya is supreme, higher even than the Brahmins, who, from an inferior position, are to do obeisance to him:†—

तस्मात् क्षत्रात् परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय मधस्तादुपास्ते ॥

But not even did the formation of the Kshetriyas give rest

* Brihad. Upan. iv. Brahman 11.

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to the active energy of which Brahma was now possessed. The commentator says, that it was the want of a community to develop the resources of the earth, and to create the treasures, of which (by anticipation) the Kshetriyas were constituted the guardians, that continued to disturb the creator's mind. Accordingly he made a third order—the Vaisyas.

स नैव व्यभवत् स विशमसृजत ॥ *Brihad. Upan.* iv. 12.

"He created the Vaisyas for the purpose of acquiring wealth," says Sankaráchárjya.

स विश मसृजत धन वित्तोपार्ज्जनाय ॥

This earthly order too had its prototype in heaven. The celestial Vaisyas were however *companies*, not *individuals*; for, adds the commentator, "Companies, not individuals, are able to acquire wealth."*

"Still," says the Veda, "he was not satisfied," because, according to the commentator, "there was a want of servants, or slaves." "He therefore made the order of the Súdras."

सनैव व्यभवत् स नौद्रं वर्ण मसृजत ॥ *Brihad. Upan.* iv. 13.

Such is the Vedic account of the creation and the institution of caste. The Vedas do not speak much of the mixed classes, which afterwards became so numerous, and are now the great strength of the system. The Chandálas and Paulkasas alone are mentioned as most despicable races produced by the union of different castes.

चण्डाला ऽ चण्डालः पौल्कसो ऽ पौल्कसः ॥ *Brihad. Upan.* iii. 22.

The commentator says:—

चण्डालोनाम शूद्रेण ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नः पौल्कसः शूद्रेणैव क्षत्रिया यामुत्पन्नः ॥

"Chandála is the offspring of a Súdra by a Brahmin female, and a Paulkasa of the same by a Kshetriya female."—*Sankaráchárjya on the above text.*

* यान्यतानि देवजातानि गणश आख्यायन्ते वासवो रुद्रा आदित्या विश्वदेवा मरुत ईति ॥—*Brihad. Upan.* iv. 2.

यान्येतानि देवजातानि खार्थे निष्ठा ॥ यएते देवजातिभेदा इत्यर्थः गणशो गणं गणं आख्यायन्ते कथ्यन्ते गणप्राया हि विशः प्रायेण संहता हि वित्तोपार्ज्जने समर्था नैकैकशः ॥—*Sankaráchárjya on the above passage.*

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From the preceding account we may draw the following inferences:—

1. The Vedas uphold the doctrine of caste no less tenaciously than the other Shástras. We have just seen that the most philosophical parts of them—those which the followers of the Vedant consider as the cream of the Shástras to the disregard of the rest—the most solemn Upanishads themselves, inculcate the idea of a four-fold caste.

2. Agreeably to the doctrine of the Veda, caste is a religious, not a civil, institution. It was Brahma, the creator of the universe, that was the founder of caste.

3. Notwithstanding the inference just made, it plainly appears from the Upanishad itself that the institution of caste was gradual. Instead of Brahma being dissatisfied, as we are told, with a state of society in which distinctions did not exist, the truth seems to be that aspiring Brahmins gradually established the supremacy of their own order, and passed it as an ordinance of Brahma, as old as the creation.

4. The mixed races, produced by the irregular union of different castes, had already attracted notice in the age of the Vedas; but they were as yet not numerous.

ON THE THEORY OF CASTE, CONTAINED IN THE SMRITI AND OTHER SHASTRAS.—The theory of caste contained in the Smriti, and other Shástras, inferior to the Vedas, is distinguished principally by its greater development. The caste of the Smriti is to the caste of the Vedas as the full-grown tree is to the tender plant. But the full-grown tree often presents an appearance very different from its first germ. Without noticing the gradual development of the stems, it would be difficult to identify the stately Banian with the diminutive plant. Some general features are however unmistakeable. The system of caste upheld by the Smriti appears gigantic in comparison with that of the Vedas, but contains nothing which may not be traced to the original institution. The Smriti speaks more dogmatically and boldly of sacerdotal dignity, and looks down with greater haughtiness on the degradation of the Súdra. When the Vedas were composed, Brahminical ascendancy had not reached its climax. The priests were indeed honored as the guardians of literature and religion; the respect due to intellectual eminence was cheerfully tendered; they were venerated as men whose occupations were peaceful, who toiled in solitude for the improvement of literature, who chanted the Vedas, and offered sacrifices for the well-being of the State. The indignation of the whole community would

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be excited against the sacrilegious individual who would dare to injure or insult such a fraternity. All this was natural, and in some respects reasonable; but there was something in the principle of caste, which was pregnant with corruption—something so invidious in the exaltation of race above race—that it must sooner or later have broken through the restraints of reason and moderation. The Brahmins did not rest contented with the dignity due to priests. They began to arrogate to themselves divine honours. Nothing less than the title of *earthly gods*, or equal honours with Vishnu and other celestials, would satisfy their ambition.

The pretensions of Hildebrand were trifling in comparison with those of the Brahmins. He laboured to magnify the dignity of a pontiff already invested with sovereign power, and to exalt the honour of a throne already revered as the holy see. He personated a royal priest, who held the keys of heaven, but whose pretensions were owing to promotion or election, not *race*. The Brahminical theory invests every offspring of Brahma's mouth with the powers and privileges of a Pope by virtue of his birth. His person and property are declared sacred, his word immutable, his wisdom unrivalled, his powers unlimited.

The monopoly of learning by the Brahmins was the cause of such lofty pretensions. There were few readers or writers beyond the sacerdotal college. There was no public opinion to control the Brahmins; no fear of criticism to restrain their vagrancies; no community of independent readers to keep their imaginations at bay. They fancied what they pleased; and they wrote what they fancied.

The word *Smriti* is a comprehensive term, and admits great latitude of interpretation. It comprehends the didactic writings, or *recollections* of every sage reputed as inspired. The Puránas are heroic poems, recounting the exploits of kings and giving the traditions of the country. The Tantras are miscellaneous compositions, addressed by Mahádeva to Parvati.

Menu stands at the head of the *Smriti* and other Shástras inferior to the Vedas, and is of the highest authority in practical religion, morals, and politics. In representing the theory of caste, contained in these secondary Shástras, our references will principally be to Menu. We may here explain, that, in quoting this ancient legistator, we have given the passages as translated by Sir William Jones. The reputation of Sir William Jones will be a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of his version. We have not therefore cited the original. We have observed the same rule in our quotations from the Vishnu Purána, where

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we have made use of Wilson's translation. In all other cases we have given the original passages, whether they be from the Vedas, or Puránas, with literal translations of our own.

The primitive institution of caste is thus expressed by Menu:—"That the human race might be multiplied, he caused the 'Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaisya and the Súdra (so named 'from the scripture, protection, wealth, and labour) to proceed 'from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot."—i. 31. "To 'Brahmins he assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of alluring others to sacrifice, of giving 'alms (if they be rich), and, if indigent, of receiving gifts. To 'defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, 'to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are in few 'words the duties of a Kshetriya. To keep herds of cattle, to 'bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on 'trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are prescribed, '*or permitted*, to a Vaisya. One principal duty the supreme 'ruler assigned to a Súdra; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth."—i. 88—91.

This proves sufficiently that caste is a *religious* institution, the duties of the different orders being defined by the creator himself.

The Bhagavat Gita says:—

चातुर्व्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्म्मविभागशः ॥ ४ ॥ १३ ॥

"I have created the four castes according to their various 'qualifications and acts."—iv. 13.

The Vishnu Purána says:—"There sprang from his (Brahma's) mouth, beings especially endowed with the quality of 'goodness; others from his breast, pervaded by the quality of 'foulness; others from his thighs, in whom foulness and darkness prevailed; and others from his feet, in whom the quality of 'darknesss predominated. These were, in succession, beings of 'the several castes, Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and 'Súdras."—Chap. vi. *Wilson*, p. 44.

The Bráhmana Purána, in a hymn addressed to Vishnu, has these words:

मूलं त ब्राह्मणा स्कन्धः क्षत्रिया भवतः प्रभो ॥ वैश्याः शाखास्तवः शूद्रा वनस्पति नमस्तु ते ॥ ब्राह्मणाः साम्रयो वक्त्राद्दोर्दण्डात् सायुधा नृपाः ॥ पद्भ्यादिभ्यश्चोरुदेशाज्ज्ञाताः शूद्राश्च पादतः ॥ इति पाप प्रशमनस्तवे ॥

"Reverence to thee, O thou (sacred) tree; the Brahmins 'are thy root, the Kshetriyas thy trunk, the Vaisyas thy

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'branches, and the Súdras thy bark. The Brahmins with 'their characteristic fire issued from thy mouth, the kings 'with their weapons from thy arm, the Vaisyas from thy thigh, 'the Súdras from thy feet."—*Papaprashamanastava.*

The Mahábhárata puts the following words into the mouth of the creator:—

ब्रह्म वक्त्रं भुजौ क्षत्त्रं मूरू मे संस्थिता विशः ॥
पादौ शूद्रा भवन्तोमे विक्रमेण क्रमेण च ॥

वनपर्व्व १८७ अध्याय ॥

"The Brahmins are my mouth, the Kshetriyas my arms, the 'Vaisyas my thighs, and the Súdras my feet. Their powers 'decrease in gradation."—*Vanaparva*, 187 chap.

ब्राह्मणक्षत्त्रियविशां शूद्राणाञ्च परन्तप ॥ कर्म्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥ शमोदमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिरार्ज्जव मेव च ॥ ज्ञानं विज्ञान मास्तिक्यं ब्रह्म कर्म्म स्वभावजं ॥ शौर्य्यं तेजोधृतिर्दाक्ष्य· युद्धे चाप्यपलायनं ॥ दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षत्रकर्म्म स्वभावजं ॥ कृषि गोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म्म स्वभावजं ॥ परिचर्य्यात्मकं कर्म्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजं ॥ स्वे स्वे कर्म्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धं लभते नरः १८।४१।४५ ॥

The Bhagavat Gita thus describes the several castes and their duties:

"O thou afflicter of thy foes! the duties of Brahmins, Kshetriyas, 'Vaisyas, and Súdras, are distributed agreeably to their natural 'characteristic qualities. The natural duties of the Brahmins 'are subjugation of the mind and body, austerity, sanctity, 'forbearance, rectitude, divine and human knowledge, and faith. 'Those of the Kshetriyas are heroism, energy, patience, policy, 'not fleeing in battle, generosity, aptitude in governing. Those 'of the Vaisyas are commerce, agriculture, and tending cattle. 'The duty of the Súdra is to serve the other orders. By devo-'tion to his particular duty a man attains perfection."—xviii. 41—43.

The prominent features of the system of caste taught in the Smriti are: (I.) the exalted dignity of the Brahmins, approaching, if not actually amounting, to their deification; (II.) the complete depression of the Súdras; and (III.) the multiplication of the mixed races.

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I. The exalted dignity of the Brahmins appears—(1) from the sanctity ascribed to their persons; (2) the veneration due to their order; (3) the privileges and powers peculiar to them; (4) the high duties expected from them, and (5) the aggravated nature of offences committed against their persons or properties.

1. The sanctity ascribed to the Brahmins.

Menu says:—

"Since the Brahmin sprang from the most excellent parts, 'since he was the first born, and since he possesses the Veda, he 'is by right the chief of this whole creation." "The very birth 'of a Brahmin is a constant incarnation of Dharma, god of 'justice; for the Brahmin is born to promote justice and to pro-'cure ultimate happiness."—i. 93—98.

"When a Brahmin springs to light, he is born above the 'world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury 'of duties, religious and civil."—i. 99.

"What man, desirous of life, would injure those (*i. e.*, the 'Brahmins) by the aid of whom, that is by whose oblations, 'worlds and gods perpetually subsist. A Brahmin, whether 'learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a 'powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular."—ix. 316, 317.

"Thus, although Brahmins employ themselves in all sorts of 'mean occupation, they must invariably be honored, for they 'are something transcendently divine."—ix. 319.

"From priority of birth, from superiority of origin, from a 'more exact knowledge of scriptures, and from a distinction in 'the sacrificial thread, the Brahmin is the lord of all classes."—x. 3.

Thus far Menu. Other worthies speak in the same tone. We shall quote a few:—

ब्राह्मणो जन्मना श्रेयान् सर्व्वेषां प्राणिनामिह ॥
तपसा विद्यया तुष्ट्या किमु मत्कलया युतः ॥
श्री भागवत १०।८६।३ ॥

"The Brahmin is the most excellent of all creatures by rea-'son of his austerity, his learning, and his placidness; how much 'more so, if joined with my parts."—*Sri Bhágavat,* x. 86, 40.

भूदेवा ब्राह्मणा राजन् यूयं वन्द्याः सदुक्तिभिः॥
चतुराश्रमया कृत्या मम धर्म्मप्रवर्त्तकाः ॥
कल्कि पुराणे ३ अध्याय ॥

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"O king, the Brahmins are earthly gods, to be adored and honored with commendations. They pass through four states in life, and are propagators of my religion."—*Kalki Purána, chap.* 4.

सर्व्वेषा मेव वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः परमागुरुः ॥ तस्मै दानानि देयानि भक्तिश्रद्धासमन्वितैः ॥ सर्व्वदेवात्मको विप्रः प्रत्यक्ष श्चिदग्रोभुवि ॥ यस्तारयति दातारं दुस्तरे विश्वसागरे ॥

"The Brahmin is the exalted lord of all the castes. To him should gifts be made with faith and reverence. The Brahmin represents all divinities in himself, a visible god on the earth, who saves the giver in the impassable ocean of the world."—*Padma Purána, Kriyá Yoga Sára,* xx.

Again:—

सर्व्वेपि ब्राह्मणाः श्रेष्ठाः पूजनीयाः सदैव हि ॥
अविद्या वा सविद्यो वा नात्र कार्य्या विचारणा ॥
स्तयादि दोषलिप्ता ये ब्राह्मणा ब्राह्मणोत्तमाः ॥
आत्मभ्यो देविक स्तेच न परेभ्यः कदाचन ॥
क्षत्रियाणाञ्च वैश्यानां शूद्राणां गुरवो द्विजाः ॥
अन्योन्यगुरवो विप्राः पूजनीयाश्च भूसुराः ॥

"All the Brahmins are excellent and always to be honored without discrimination, whether they are learned or unlearned. Those excellent Brahmins, who are guilty of such crimes as theft, are offenders against themselves, not others. Brahmins are masters of the Kshetriyas, Vaishyas and Súdras, they are masters of one another, and to be worshipped, being earthly gods."—*Ibid, chap.* 20.

2. The veneration in which the Brahmins are held, appears from the reverence due to themselves, and from the disgrace to which their contemners were exposed. Thus:—

"The student must consider a Brahmin, though but ten years old, and a Kshetriya though aged a hundred years, as father and son;—as between those two, the young Brahmin is to be respected as the father."

"Among all those, if they be met at one time, the priest just returned home, and the prince are most honored; and of those two, the priest just returned should be treated with more respect than the prince."—*Menu,* ii. 135—139.

"Constantly must he (the king) show respect to Brahmins,

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who have grown old, both in years and in piety, who know the 'scriptures, who in body and mind are pure; for he, who honors 'the aged, will perpetually be honored even by cruel de-'mons."—*Ibid*, vii. 38.

The Mahábhárata says:—

ब्राह्मणा एवं सम्पूज्याः पुरुषं स्वर्गमश्नुते ॥

वनपर्व्व १९९ अध्याय ॥

"The Brahmins are thus to be worshipped by those who de-'sire heaven."—*Vana Parva, chap.* 199.

The *Brahma Vaibarta* says:

मुक्त्वा ब्राह्मणमपि देवताप्रतिमामपि ॥

दृष्ट्वा यः प्रणमेद् योगं नमेत् स भवेत् शूकरो भूवि ॥

प्रकृति खण्ड ५० अध्याय ॥

"He, who does not immediately bow down, when he sees his 'tutor, or a Brahmin, or the image of a god, becomes a hog on 'the earth."—*Brahma Vaibartha, Prakriti, chap.* 50.

ब्राह्मणो नावमन्तव्यः सदसद्वा समाचरन् ॥

"Brahmins are not to be despised, whether they behave well 'or ill."—*Mahábhárat Adi*, 189.

Again:—

दुर्व्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा ॥

ब्राह्मणा नावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः ॥

यथा श्मशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको नैव दुष्यति ॥

एवं विद्वानविद्वान् वा ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत् ॥

"Whether learned or unlearned, civilized or barbarous, Brah-'mins are not to be despised: they are like fire smouldering in 'ashes. As the flaming fire, though it be in a cemetery, is free 'from fault, so is the Brahmin a great god, whether learned or 'unlearned."—*Ibid, Vana Parva, chap.* 199.

"Of that king, in whose dominion a learned Brahmin is afflict-'ed with hunger, the kingdom will in a short time be afflicted 'with famine."—*Menu*, vii. 134.

ब्राह्मणं प्रथमेदद्यात् विष्णुभक्त्या नरोत्तमः ॥

आयुः पुत्राश्च कीर्त्तिश्च संपत्तत्र वर्द्धते ॥

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न नमद् ब्राह्मणं यस्तु मूढधी र्मानवो भुवि ।
तन्मस्तकन्तु चक्रेण हन्तु मिच्छति केशवः ॥
विप्र पादोदकं यस्तु कदमा वहेन्नरः ।
देहस्य पातकं तस्य सर्व्वमेवाशु नश्यति ॥
विप्राणां पादनिर्म्माल्यं यो मर्त्यः शिरसा वहेत् ।
सत्यं सत्यमहं वच्मि स मुक्तः सर्व्व पातकैः ॥
विप्रं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य वन्दते यो नरोत्तमः ।
प्रदक्षिणीकृता तेन सप्तदीपा वसुन्धरा ॥

"Whatever good man bows to a Brahmin, reverencing him 'as Vishnu, is blessed with long life, with sons, with renown, and 'with prosperity. But whatever foolish man does not bow to a 'Brahmin on the earth, Kesava desires to strike off his head with 'his *chakra*. Whosoever bears but a drop of water, which has 'been in contact with a Brahmin's foot, all the sins in his body 'are immediately destroyed. Whosoever carries on his head the 'holy things touched by a Brahmin's foot, verily, verily I say, 'he is freed from all sins. Whatever good man worships a Brah-'min, going round him, obtains the merit of going round the 'world with its seven continents."—*Padma Purána Kriyá Yaga-sára*, xx.

अनाचारा द्विजाः पूज्या नच शूद्रा जितेन्द्रियाः ।
अभक्ष्य भक्षका गावः क्रोडाः सुमतयो नचः ॥

"Even wicked Brahmins are to be venerated; but not Súdras, 'though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things 'is better than the pig with good dispositions."—*Ibid.*

3. Peculiar powers and privileges are given to the Brahminical order. Menu says:—

"Whatever exists in the Universe, is all in effect, *though not 'in form*, the wealth of the Brahmin; since the Brahmin is en-'titled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth.

"The Brahmin eats but his own food; wears but his own 'apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. Through the bene-'volence of the Brahmins, indeed, other mortals enjoy life.

"He (the Brahmin) alone deserves to possess this whole 'earth."—i. 100, 101, 105.

"From a Brahmin, who was born in that country, let all men 'on earth learn their several usages."—ii. 20.

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"A king, even though dying from want, must not receive any 'tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a 'Brahmin, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hun-'ger."—vii. 133.

"Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of 'all possible crimes. Let him banish the offender from his realm, 'but with all his property secure and his body unhurt.

"No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmin, 'and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an 'idea of killing a priest."—viii. 380, 381.

"The property of a Brahmin shall never be taken as an 'escheat by the king."—ix. 189.

4. Correspondingly high duties were expected from Brahmins. Those, who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man, who prides himself on the greatness of his origin, must admit, that it behoveth him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Brahmins have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the Shástras intended, that their austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing, however, is certain, that as the Brahmin acknowledged no earthly superior, he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his inclinations, than he himself chose to allow.

The Brahmin is required to pass through four stages in life, the first is, that of a *student*, and is called *Brahmacharya*. In this state, his principal duty is to prosecute his studies under his principal's roof, and to render implicit obedience to his order. This is the period of his education. He is subject to rules as stringent, as those by which the inmates of a Popish monastery are bound.

The second stage of a Brahmin's life is that of a householder. He is then properly a member of society, or, what Roman Catholics call, a *secular* priest. But he must not perform any mean offices for his livelihood. He must not accept gifts from a Sudra. He must not even perform sacrifices for the benefit of the servile order, nor must he even, for pleasure or gain, assist in such low and frivolous occupations, as those of music, singing, dancing. Neither must he live by his pen. He is above all such profane employments, and is bound to a life of devotion and self-denial.

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शवदाही च शूद्राणां यो विप्रो दृषलीपतिः ॥
शूद्राणां सूपकारी च शूद्रयाजी च या द्विजः ॥
असिजीवी मसिजीवी विषहीनो यथोरगः ॥
ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त प्रकृतिखण्ड २१ अध्याय ॥

"The Brahmin, who marries a Súdra, or performs funeral 'rites, dresses food, or sacrifices for Súdras, or who lives by his 'arms or his ink, is like the serpent deprived of his venom."—*Brahma Vaibarta Prakriti, chap.* 21.

"Let him neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instru-'ments, except in religious rites; nor let him strike his arm, or 'gnash his teeth, or make a braying noise, though agitated by 'passion.

"Never let him play with dice: let him not put off his sandals 'with his hand: let him not eat, while he reclines on a bed, nor 'what is placed in his hand, or on a bench."—*Menu*, iv. 64, 74.

आनृशंस्यं क्षमा सत्य महिंसा दम आर्ज्जवं ॥
ध्यानं प्रसादो माधुर्य्यं मार्ज्जवं शौच मेव च ॥
इज्या दानं तपः सत्यं स्वाध्यायो ह्यात्मनिग्रहः ॥
व्रतोपवासौ मौनञ्च स्नानं पैशुन्यवर्ज्जनं ॥
एभिर्युक्तो मुनिश्रेष्ठ यः सदा वर्त्तते द्विजः ॥
हुत्वा तु पावकं सर्व्वं परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥
पाद्मे उत्तर खण्ड १०९ अध्याय ॥

"O excellent Munis, the Brahmin, who is always distin-'guished by benevolence, forbearance, veracity, innocence, meek-'ness, contemplation, grace, suavity, rectitude, sanctity, sacrifices, 'liberality, devotion, study, mortification of the body, subjuga-'tion of the mind, vows, fastings, quietness, washings, and by 'want of espionage, will attain to Brahma by his burnt offer-'ings."—*Padma Uttara, chap.* 109.

The next two stages of a Brahmin, are those of *anchorets* and *hermits*, which are not very dissimilar from one another. In these states, he must be entirely separated from the world, and pass his days in religious contemplations.

The Shástras teem with passages, recommending the severest morals for the observance of the Brahmin. The injunctions generally prove abortive, because of their own severity, and because of the want of internal discipline. The Brahmins, though

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bound to such high duties, are accountable to none. They are left to their own good senses and their consciences. The moral precepts stand merely as samples of the fine theories of which the imaginations of the writers were capable.

5. Crimes committed against their persons and properties were held to be of an aggravated nature.

"A once-born man, who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit. If he mention their names with contumely, an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thurst red-hot into his mouth. Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lipsto be gashed. If he seize the Brahmin by the locks, or any other part of the body, let the king without hesitation, cause incisions to be made in his hands." *Menu*, viii. 270, 271, 282, 283.

Offences, venial in themselves, become mortal, if committed against Brahmins. The most fearful anathemas are pronounced against those, who knowingly or unknowingly make free with property belonging to Brahmins. The following tremendous expressions are put in the Sri Bhágavat, in the mouth of Krishna himself.

दुर्जरं वत ब्रह्मस्वं भुक्तमग्रे मयामृतम् ॥
तेजीयसोपि किमुत राज्ञा मीश्वरमानिनां ॥
नाहं हरेयमसुभिः सुपीतमपि जीवितं ॥
ब्रह्मस्वं हि विषं प्रोक्तं नास्य प्रतिविधिर्भुवि ॥
हिनस्ति विषमत्तारं वह्निरद्भिः प्रशाम्यति ॥
कुलं समूलं दहति ब्रह्मस्वारणिपावकः ॥
ब्रह्मस्वं दुरनुज्ञातं भुक्तं हन्ति त्रिपूरुषं ॥
प्रसह्य तु बलाद्भुक्तं दश पूर्वान् दशापरान् ॥
गृह्णन्ति यावतः पांशून रुदतामश्रविन्दवः ॥
विप्राणां हृतवृत्तीनं वदान्यानां कुटुम्बिनां ॥
राजानो राजकुल्याश्च तावदब्दान्निरङ्कुशाः ॥
कुम्भीपाकेषु पच्यन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारिणः ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा ब्रह्मवृत्तिं हरेत्तु यः ॥
षष्टिं वर्ष सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः ॥

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न मे ब्रह्मधनं भूयात् यद् गृह्णाय्यायुषोनृपाः ॥
परानिताद्युता राज्याद्भवन्त्युद्योजिनो ह्यधः ॥
विप्रं कृतागसमपि नैव द्रुह्यत मामकाः ॥
घ्नन्तं वज्रं यथन्तं वा नमस्कुरुत नित्यशः ॥
यथाहं प्रणमे विप्राननुकालं समाहितः ॥
तथा नमतयूयञ्च योन्यथा मे स दण्डभाक् ॥
ब्राह्मणार्थो ह्यपहृतो हरन्तं सरं यातयत्यधः ॥
अजानन्तमपि ह्येनं नृगं ब्राह्मणगौरिव ॥

"The property of Brahmins is difficult of digestion, even by 'livid flames, taking little by little; much more by kings pretending 'to power and greatness. I do not consider that venom to be 'poison, of which there may be an antidote; the property of 'Brahmins is real poison, having no antidote on the earth. Poi'son hurts the eater; fire may be quenched by water; but the 'fire, proceeding from the flint of Brahminism, burns a whole race 'up to the source. The property of Brahmins, taken with permis'sion reluctantly given, destroys three generations; if taken by 'force, it destroys ten preceding and ten succeeding generations. 'As many grains of sand as are wet with tears, dropping from 'weeping Brahmins, being liberal and with families, but deprived 'of their properties, so many years do the kings and their rela'tions, who have robbed the Brahmins, rot in hell without remedy. 'Whosoever taketh property belonging to Brahmins, whether it 'was given to them by himself or by others, is born as a worm 'on a dunghill for sixty thousand years. May I never take pos'session of Brahmins' property, by coveting which many kings 'have become short-lived and been defeated and deposed, and 'eventually born in another world as fearful serpents. Oh my 'people, do not hurt a Brahmin, even if he be a delinquent. Bow 'to him constantly, even if he commit homicide, or curse much. 'As I bow devotedly to Brahmins at all times, do you also the 'same; whosoever does otherwise shall be punished. If Brahmi'nical property is taken unwittingly, it throws the possessor 'down to hell, like as the Brahminical cow did to Nriga."—*Sri Bhágavat*, x. 68, 20, 27.

II.—The complete degradation of the Súdras, is evident from various passages in Menu and the Puránas. Their position is defined to be no better than that of the Helots in ancient Sparta, or of the Negroes in modern America. Neither their persons

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nor their properties are safe. They are liable to be compelled to do servile duty for the Brahmins. Their substance may be plundered with impunity. They may be insulted and oppressed, almost without any restraint. They are subject to the severest punishments and the heaviest penalties, for offences committed against the other castes. They are incapable of *regeneration*, which the first three castes receive at the time of their investment with the sacred thread.

The degradation of the Súdras is attested by—(1) the impurity attributed to their persons; (2) the ignoble tasks allotted to their community; (3) the unjust laws enacted against them; and (4) the little protection given to their persons or properties.

1.—The impurity, attributed to the persons of Súdras, is evident from the strictness with which the Brahmins were forbidden to form alliances, or cultivate familiarity with them.

"Men of the twice-born class, who, through weakness of intellect, irregularly marry women of the lowest class, very soon degrade their families and progeny to the state of Súdras.

"According to Atri and Gotama, the son of Utathya, he, who thus marries a woman of the servile class, if he be a priest, is degraded instantly; according to Saunaca, on the birth of a son, if he be warrior; and, if he be a merchant, on the birth of a son's son, according to (me) Bhrigu.

"A Brahmin, if he take a Súdra to his bed as his first wife, sinks to the regions of torment; if he beget a child by her, he loses even his priestly rank.

"His sacrifices to the gods; his oblations to the manes; and his hospitable attentions to the strangers, must be supplied principally by her:—but the gods and the manes will not eat such offering, nor can heaven be attained by such hospitality."

"For the crime of him, who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Súdra's lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation."—*Menu*, iii. 15—19.

"The whole territory which is inhabited by a number of Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins, must speedily perish, afflicted with dearth and disease."—viii. 22.

"Let no kinsmen, whilst any of his own class are at hand, cause a deceased Brahmin to be carried out by a Súdra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven."—v. 104.

2.—Of the ignoble tasks alloted to the Súdras, the following passages will give a general idea:—

"Servile attendance on Brahmins learned in the Vedas, chiefly

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'on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the 'highest duty of a Súdra, and leads him to future beatitude."—*Menu*, ix. 334.

"If a Súdra want a subsistence, and cannot attend a priest, 'he may serve a Kshetriya; or, if he cannot wait on a soldier 'by birth, he may gain his livelihood by serving an opulent 'Vaishya.

"To him, who serves Brahmins with a view to a heavenly re- 'ward, or even with a view to both this life and the next, the 'union of the word Brahmin with his name of servant will as- 'suredly bring success.

"Attendance on Brahmins is pronounced the best work of a 'Súdra; whatever else he may perform, will comparatively avail 'him nothing."—x. 121, 123.

3.—The unjust laws enacted against the Súdras will appear from the following:—

"A man of the lowest class, who through covetousness lives 'by the acts of the highest, let the king strip of all his wealth, 'and instantly banish."—x. 96.

"No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a 'Súdra, even though he has power to make it; since a servile 'man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and, by his in- 'solence or neglect, gives pain even to Brahmins."—x. 129.

4.—The protection given to the Súdras was no better than that which slaves enjoy in America. They were almost out-laws.

"But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, 'he (the Brahmin) may compel to perform servile duty; be- 'cause such a man was created by the Self-existent for the pur- 'pose of serving Brahmins. A Súdra, though emancipated by 'his master, is not released from a state of servitude; for of a 'state, which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested? 'A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed 'for a subsistence, the goods of his Súdra slave; for, as that 'slave can have no property, his master may take his goods."—*Menu*, viii. 413, 414, 417.

III.—Mixed classes. The Hindu Shastras maintain that the offspring of two persons of different orders is not attached to that of either of his parents, but occupies an intermediate rank under the title of *Varna Sankara*. This title was originally applied as a term of reproach. When the community, to which it was applied, far exceeded the pure orders, the term lost its offensive signification. The mixed races were then gradually tolerated in society. They were treated as independent classes, inferior indeed to the Brahmins, but free from the stigma attached to them as impure races.

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Of the mixed races, as they existed in the period of the Smriti and the Puránas, the two following Synopses, the first from *Menu*, the second from the *Brahma Vaibarta*, will be a sufficiently clear index. It will thence be evident how fast they had multiplied:—

Synopsis of the mixed races according to Menú.

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Vaidya, produced by	Brahmin as father.	Vaishya as mother	Medical.
Nishada	Ditto	Sudra	Catches fish.
Ugra	Kshetriya	Ditto	Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Suta	Ditto	Brahmin	Horseman and driver.
Magadha	Vaishya	Kshetriya	Travelling with merchandize.
Vaideha	Ditto	Brahmin	Waiting on women.
Ayagava	Sudra	Vaishya	Carpenter's work.
Kshatta	Ditto	Kshetriya	Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Chandāla	Ditto	Brahmin	Very low.
Avrita	Brahmin	Ugra	
Abhira	Ditto	Vaidya	Cow-herd.
Dhigvara	Ditto	Ayagava	Selling leather.
Puccasa	Nishada	Sudra	Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Cuccataca	Sudra	Nishada	
Swapaca	Cshatta	Ugra	
Vena	Vaideha	Vaidya	Striking musical instruments.
Bhurjacantaca	Vratya, or out-cast Brahmin.		
Aavantya			
Vatdhana			
Puspadha			
Saicha			
Jhalla	Out-cast Kshetriyas.		
Malla			
Nich'hivi			
Nata			
Carana			
Chasa			
Dravira	Out-cast Vaishyas.		
Sudhanwan			
Charya			
Carusha			
Vijanman			
Maitra			
Satwata			

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Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Sairindhra	Daryee (which is an out-cast of a pure class)	Ayagava	Servile work and catching wild beasts in toils.
Maitreyaea	Vaideha	Ditto	Ringing a bell at day-break.
Margava, or Dasa or Kaivarta	Nishada	Ditto	Boatmen.
Karavara.....	Ditto	Vaideha	Cuts leather.
Andhra	Vaideha	Caravara.....	Slaying beasts of the forest.
Meda	Ditto	Nishada	Ditto.
Pāndusopāca ...	Chandāla	Vaideha	Works with cane and reeds.
Ahindila	Nishada	Ditto	Jailor.
Sopaca.....	Chandāla	Puccasa	Punishing criminals condemned by the king—*i.e.*, executioner.
Antyavasayin ...	Ditto	Nishada	Employed in places for burning the dead—*i.e.*, undertaker's men.
Chuncha	Brahmin	Vaideha	Slaying beasts of the forest.
Magda	Ditto	Ugra	Ditto.

Synopsis of the mixed races according to the Brahma Vaibarta Purána.

Kayastha.....	Vaishya	Sudra	Writer.
Vaidya.....	Brahmin	Vaishya	Physician.
Malakar	Vishwakarma	Sudra	Gardener.
Karmokar			Blacksmith.
Sankhakar			Shell-maker.
Kubindakar.....			Ditto.
Kumbhakar ...			Potter.
Kansakar.....			Brazier.
Sutradhara	Ditto	Ditto	Carpenter, degraded by the curse of the Brahmins, whom he did not readily supply with wood, necessary for a burnt-offering.
Chitrakar	Ditto	Ditto	Painter, degraded by the curse of the Brahmins for his faults in painting.
Swarnakar	.....	.....	Goldsmith, degraded by the curse of the Brahmin for stealing gold belonging to Brahmins.
Attalickakar ...	Chitrakar	Sudra harlot ...	Civil architect, degraded because baseborn

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Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Kotika	Attalickakar	Kumbhokur	House-builder.
Tailakur	Potter	Katika	Oilman, degraded.
Tibara	Kshetriya	Rajput not in wedlock	Fisher.
Lela	Tibara	Tailakur	
Malla, Kola, Matara, Bhad, Kalandara	Leta	Tibara	
Chandāla	Sudra	Brahmin, not in wedlock	Very low, and degraded.
Charmokar	Tibara	Chandāla	Tanner.
Mansachedi	Chandāla	Charmokar	Butcher.
Koneh	Tibara	Mansachedi	Ditto.
Kandara	Kaibartha	Koneh	Ditto.
Haddika			Sweeper caste.
Soundika or Donre	Leta	Chandāla	Vintner.
Gungaputra	Leta	Tibra	Born on the banks of the Ganges.
Juagi	Besh Dhari	Gungaputra	Ditto.
Sundi	Vaishya	Tibara	Ditto.
Poundraka	Ditto	Sundi	Ditto.
Rajput	Kshetriya	Kayastha	Ditto.
Agabi	Kayastha	Rajput	Ditto.
Kaibartha	Kshetriya	Vaishya	Called also Dhibar or Fisherman.
Rajaka	Dhibara	Tibara	Washerman.
Kodali	Tibara	Rajaka	Ditto.
Sarvashi	Napita	Gopa	Ditto.
Byadha	Kshetriya	Sarvashi	Hunter.
Kudara	Rishi	Brahmin	Begotten on a forbidden day and therefore degraded.
Bagatita	Kshetriya	Vaishya	Ditto, and that notwithstanding the unwillingness of the mother, and therefore degraded.
Mlecha*	Ditto	Sudra	Begotten on a forbidden day.
Jola	Mlecha	Kubinda	
Saraka	Jola	Ditto	

* *Mlecha*, or barbarian, is a term also applied to foreigners, or people born without the precincts of the '*excellent land*' of India. *Mlechas* are described as वर्बराः क्रूराश्च निर्भय अविद्ध रणदुर्जयाः शौचाचारविहीनाश्च दृढ़वा धर्म्म वर्ज्जिताः ॥—"People, whose ears are not bored, who are cruel, daring, invincible in battle, impure in practice, violent, and without religion."

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Before we quit this part of our essay on the Theory of Caste contained in the Smriti, we shall notice one or two curious passages, from which it appears, that some people, born without the boundaries of Hindustan, were once reckoned as men of good caste among the Hindus. Menu says:—"The following races 'of Kshetriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing 'no Brahmins, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of 'the four classes: Paundracas, Odras and Draviras; CAMBOJAS, 'YAVANAS, and SACAS; Paradas, Pahlavas, CHINAS, Kiratas, 'Deradas, and Chasas."—x. 43, 44.

In the legend of Sagara, which is contained in the Hari-Vansa, Vishnu, Brahma and other Puránas, it is said, that King Sagara had discomfited several fierce nations, which had invaded his kingdom; and that, by depriving them of the rites of religion, and forbidding Brahmins to officiate for them, he degraded them to the humble position of Mlechas and out-casts. Among the nations thus degraded, the names *Yavanas*, *Sacas*, *Cambojas*, and *Chinas* are found. Now *Yavanas* in Sanscrit meant the Greeks; *Sacas** was the name which the Persians had given to the Scythians; *Cambojas* and *Chinas* were evidently inhabitants of Cambodia and China. Are we to conclude hence that all these nations were at one time acknowledged as brethren by the Hindus?

ON CASTE AS IT NOW PREVAILS.—The system of caste, as it is upheld in the present day, is very different. The Vaishyas and Súdras, as pure orders, are extinct at least in Bengal. The Kshetriyas are scarce. The dignity of the twice-born is almost monopolized by Brahmins. The degradation of the Súdras is shared by the Varna Sankaras, or mixed classes, whose name is legion. The Vaidyas stand at the top of the mixed classes, and lay claim to the privileges of the twice-born. The Kayasthas rank next to them, and are the leaders of the classes accounted Súdras. They are otherwise called the *writer* caste, and are, both in profession and practice, *pen-men*.

The political ascendancy of the Muhammadan and other foreign powers in India, has, in some measure, led to the diminution of Brahminical influence. The "earthly gods" do not now meet with the unqualified reverence, which they once claimed and received, except when they have succeeded in enforcing their divine pretensions by means of worldly possessions. The fire, which they are said to have emitted from their mouths at one time for the

* Οἱ γαρ Περσαι παντας τους Σκυθας καλεουσι Σακας.—*Herod.* vii. 64.

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destruction of their enemies, as plentifully as a volcano, has long since been extinguished. The Kayasthas and some other servile castes have acquired great influence over them. In many cases they are masters and leaders, instead of being (agreeably to Menu's ordinances) obedient slaves of the Brahmins. They still assume the title of Dasses, or *slaves* of the twice-born. But their yoke must be particularly easy, since their servility does not incapacitate them for presiding over religious corporations, whereof Brahmins are mere members. The President of the Dharma Sobha of Calcutta is a Kayastha and Súdra, while the Secretary is a Brahmin.

There are some Brahmins still, who exhibit the pride and affect the purity of their ancestors, and refuse to look upon Súdras, as others than slaves, or to perform spiritual offices for them. The number of such proud purists is very small. The majority are glad to recognize the *slaves* as their patrons and supporters.

The Brahmins no longer pass through the four stages prescribed by Menu, nor do they abstain from those employments, which, however inconsistent with their vows, are sufficiently lucrative. They accept service under any one; *sell their learning*, though that is reckoned a heinous crime in the Shástras; live by their pens, and condescend to the most unpriestly avocations for the sake of gain. But, however humbled and shorn of their powers, they are still very highly respected.

The prominent features of caste, as it exists at present, are:—(1) the spiritual supremacy of the Brahmins; (2) the improved positions of some of the mixed races; (3) the total prohibition of intermarriage and interchange of hospitality; and (4) the numerous ramifications of the same castes introduced by the creation of Kulins.

1. The spiritual supremacy of the Brahmins remains unaltered, at least in theory. They are still venerated by the other castes. The Kshetriyas have long lost their importance; the Vaishyas are perhaps extinct; but the Brahmin continues the same in matters spiritual, as he was in the age of the Vedas. Buddhist, Muhammadan and British ascendancy have contributed successively to diminish his influence: but, wherever there is faith in Hinduism, respect is paid to Brahmins. The fact is another instance of the superiority of the mind over the body. The Brahmins, who represented the intellect of the country, have preserved their credit long after the diminution of Kshetriya influence, which symbolized physical power.

2. The improved position of some of the mixed races appears from the importance, which is attached to the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas. The former as writers, and the latter as phy-

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sicians, are undoubtedly reckoned as *gentlemen*. They occupy in Bengal a rank second only to Brahmins. The priests look up to them, as the Rishis of yore looked up to the Kshetriyas. The other mixed classes are less respected. Nine of them, usually called the *Nobosakh*, are treated with greater regard than the rest. The Brahmin will condescend to drink water from their hands, *i. e.*, he will have no objection to employ them as water-bearers, an honour which he will not confer on others! The remaining castes are held in utter contempt as mechanics and artificers. The Brahmin will consider himself defiled by their very touch. They actually represent the humble Súdras of Menu's age.

3. The total prohibition of intermarriage and of the interchange of hospitalities is another characteristic of caste as it now prevails. Intermarriages between the several castes were always discouraged, but never so strictly prohibited as in the present age. In fact there is now no degradation in caste, other than that which is caused by forming a matrimonial connection, or joining in a convivial party with a person of a different caste. In former times, no Brahmin* was excommunicated for marrying a Sudra; the offspring of such a union would indeed be lowered in rank, but the parents would not suffer. In the present age no Brahmin dares contract such a marriage on pain of excommunication.

4. The numerous ramifications of the same castes, introduced by the creation of Kulins, though never intended by the original law-givers, have nevertheless served to extend the distinction of caste to a fearful length. Not only are Brahmins, Kayasthas, &c. prohibited to intermarry or interchange hospitalities with other castes, but they are also forbidden to do so with many families of *their own orders*. In marriage the question of Kulinism requires to be considered before the contract can be formed.

We shall illustrate this sub-division of caste by a simple example. The Brahmins in Bengal are divided into several Srenies, such as Rauries, Barenders, Vaidiks, and Saptasatis. The Srenies again are sub-divided into Kulins, Srotriyas, and Vangsajas. Kulins, Srotriyas and Vangsajas will interchange hospitalities, but not freely intermarry. The different Srenies will neither intermarry nor interchange hospitalities.

Such is the gigantic system of Hindu caste in its several stages of development. We have hitherto represented it historically, without note or comment. Indeed we have allowed the

* There are some passages in Menu and the Puránas (as the reader may have gathered from the preceding quotations), which denounce, as strongly as possible, the marriage of a Brahmin with a Sudra. But it appears they were mere dead letters.

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authors of the Hindu Shástras to speak for themselves almost without interruption. It is time that we put the reader in possession of our own sentiments on the subject. We shall do so with all possible brevity.

The deteriorating effects of the institution of caste have not, in any country, been so glaring as in India. There is something in the idea of arrangement, which indicates thought, and which has therefore sometimes deceived historians into the belief, that the classification of a people is a token of civilization. The legislators of Egypt have been praised, rather than censured, for the division of labour they enforced by the institution of caste. Man, in a state of utter barbarism, does not think of such division. He must appreciate the desiderata, which the priest, the warrior, and the merchant are intended to supply, before he can feel the need of classification. As long as he lives in a savage wild state, ignorant of the luxuries and comforts of civilization, he may at times feel the need of a priest to offer sacrifices and prayers for him; but he has little occasion for the services of the warrior or the merchant. Destitute of property, he can apprehend no danger from "malice domestic" or "foreign levy," and therefore requires not the soldier's protection. Ignorant of the comforts of life, he cares neither for the merchant nor the mechanic, and is equally indifferent to imports and manufactures.

But if the institution of caste prove that human society has advanced a few steps from a state of absolute rudeness and barbarity, its perpetuation is at the same time both a cause and an index of a stagnant state of half-civilization. The march of intellect is then the fastest, when it is the least restrained by arbitrary ordinances. A child may require to be kept in order by the school-master's rod, and to have his whole conduct regulated by a prescribed routine of duties. Incapable of thought, of discretion, and of moral agency, he may require to be treated like an irresponsible being, whose proceedings should be regulated by the judgment of others. Human society, in its infancy, might require the same treatment. Legislators might be called upon to regulate the public and private proceedings of every member of the State, leaving little or no room for the exercise of individual discretion. Such interference would however degenerate into intolerance and despotism, when society advanced from infancy to manhood. The legislator could be no more justified in coercing the private acts of men in an advanced state of society, than the school-master

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in imposing his own whims on full-grown pupils by means of the rod.

The institution of caste exercises a baneful influence on the development of the human mind. The little advantage derived from its tendency to inspire the son with the desire of emulating the father, and of preserving unsullied the reputation of the family, is more than counter-balanced by its hurtful consequences in other respects. Whether the original constitution of the human mind is the same in every person, is a question much debated by metaphysical casuists, and but little likely to receive a satisfactory determination. Certain it is, however, that many men show, as they grow up, various turns of mind qualifying them for varying professions in life. It is often difficult to predict, before a boy's mind is actually formed, the profession, for which his genius and inclination will make him most fit. That the father may often create circumstances tending to produce a certain intended state of mind in his son, is not denied; but it must be acknowledged, that men are also creatures of circumstances, over which neither they, nor their guardians, have any controul. A boy may acquire tastes and imbibe sentiments, which neither his father nor his tutor expected or wished. It would be preposterous to prescribe his studies, or his profession, before, considering the turn which his own ideas and inclinations may take.

The systems, by which a person's studies and profession are made dependent on his birth, can never be sufficiently execrated. The human mind is free; it will not submit to restraints; it will not succumb to the regulations of freakish legislators. The Brahmin or the Kshetriya may have a son, whose mind is ill adapted to his hereditary profession. The Vaishya may have a son with a natural dislike for a counting-house, and the Súdra may have talents superior to his birth. If they be forced to adhere to their hereditary professions, their minds must deteriorate. To call upon a man to adopt a profession, for which he is not intellectually fitted, and to pursue such studies as are not suitable to his genius and taste, is to obstruct his education and prevent his mental growth. If the mind is not allowed to develop itself in its own congenial way, and if it is strained by a rude hand into a strange way, whatever progress it may make will be tainted by the unholy marks of the violence done to it. The consequence will ultimately be the intellectual prostration of the people. Scholars, that are compelled to adopt a learned profession—soldiers, that are impressed to bear arms—merchants, that are forced to import and export, are not likely to reflect

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lustre on their several professions. They are more likely to throw them into discredit by their own lukewarmness and indifference.

We do not deny that hereditary professions have some virtues peculiar to themselves. The son may often take pride in maintaining the credit of his father in a certain profession. Such pride pre-supposes, however, that the son has inherited the taste, sentiments and genius, along with the *profession*, of his father. In all other cases the institution must produce the evils we have described without a single redeeming excellence.

Nor are the *moral* evils, produced by the institution of caste, less conspicuous. Where dignities are forced upon men by their birth, for which they are little fitted by other qualifications, the deterioration of the moral faculties is the inevitable consequence. The mind is inflated by the enjoyment of undeserved honours, which vanity and self-love attribute to real merit. The Brahmin, that has no intrinsic worth, but is respected for his birth, is soon deluded into the notion, that it is his own accomplishments, natural or acquired, that entitle him to the obeisance of his contemporaries. He learns to construe, as a tribute to his personal acquirements, what is a mark of respect for his family. He thinks he is not only a descendant of a great family, but a great man himself—revered by virtue of his race, but still more by virtue of his own excellencies.

The Súdra, on the other hand, from being despised by his contemporaries, learns to despise himself. Deprived by law of all access to the Shástras—denied the privilege of even enjoying the ministerial offices of Brahmins—stigmatized as a *once-born* serf, whose duty is only to serve the three superior orders, and made a proverb and a bye-word—he considers himself relieved from all moral responsibility, because he is considered by others as incapable of any excellency.

Among the moral evils produced by the institution of caste, the extinction of sympathy and fellow-feeling is not the least pernicious. There can be little room for sympathy, where some persons arrogate superior birth, and others submit to brook their humiliation in sullen silence. The Brahmin considers himself the lord of the creation; he eats but his own food; he esteems himself above the sympathy and fellow-feeling of his serfs. The Súdra, on the other hand, sullenly submits to a disgrace he cannot avert. He endures what he cannot cure. He may be reconciled to his fate; it may be a willing bondage with him, but still it is a bondage. He can neither presume nor desire to

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keep up familiar terms with those whom he can never rival, however industrious and ingenious he may be. Sympathy and fellow-feeling can only exist between equals. They can have no room between unequals. Those, who are naturally and necessarily superior, cannot help looking down upon their inferiors, who are incapable of rising to their level. The inferiors again cannot help a secret feeling of discontent against those whom they can never hope to meet on equal ground. Thus the division into classes proves a sore evil. By fostering the pride of some, and producing sullenness in others, it serves to alienate race from race and man from man. It obstructs that kindly intercourse and mutual regard, which should knit together all the sons of Adam. Some are puffed up; others are depressed;

ALL ARE MORALLY DETERIORATED.

The social evils of caste are also of a grave character. It is a great advantage to society, where persons of various professions and talents are allowed free intercourse with one another; where the scholar, the soldier, the merchant, and the manufacturer can meet on an equal footing, apart from their desks, their parade ground, or their factories. The austere morals of the priest, the brave gallantry of the soldier, the calculating accuracy of the merchant, have each its influence on the tone of society. Sometimes different members of the same family may be pursuing different occupations in life. Their free intercourse as relations may correct the evils, which exclusive devotion to a particular profession has a tendency to produce. The priest, from the authority with which he inculcates doctrine, prescribes practice, rebukes, exhorts, is in danger of imbibing spiritual pride, and of affecting a false appearance of sanctity. The soldier, from the frequency with which he wields weapons of destruction, is likely to become insensible to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and to look with utter indifference on their pains and sorrows. The merchant, from his habitual study of self-interest in his speculations and enterprizes, is apt to lose sight of more generous and disinterested considerations. These are evils, which the isolation of the professions has a tendency to produce. Familiarity and mutual intercourse are likely to correct them. The austerity and spiritual pride of the priest may be rectified by the soldier's gallantry and the merchant's worldliness. The ferocity of the soldier may be softened by the self-denying devotion of the priest. The merchant's avarice may be corrected by the severe austerity and the generous gallantry of the two other classes. But the institution of caste deprives the state of these advantages by isolating the several

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professions from one another. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and the Vaishya cannot meet on equal ground, cannot cultivate unrestricted familiarity.

The depression of the arts has been another of the baneful consequences of caste. The painter, the carpenter, the civil architect, the goldsmith, are pronounced to be *degraded*. In civilized countries, every encouragement is held out to the cultivators of the arts, especially the fine arts. Their professions are esteemed honourable—their labours are amply rewarded by men of taste and refinement. Those especially, who can transfer the images of their contemporaries to canvas, or render them imperishable in marble or bronze—who can supply to husbands and parents, separated from wives and children, to afflicted widows and bereaved mothers, personal memorials, on which the eye may feast without satiety—are deservedly respected for their rare accomplishments. The pernicious system of caste taught a different lesson to the Hindus. The man, whose brush turns the surface of mute canvas into the majestic and lively image of a being made a little lower than the angels, is held to be degraded. The civil architect is branded as a bastard. The carpenter and the goldsmith are accursed, because the Brahmins chose to take umbrage at them. How could the arts flourish in such a society? How could a person of sensibility aspire to distinction in the cultivation of arts which are considered so low?

To the temporary humiliation of Brahminism, during the rise and progress of the Buddhists, we are perhaps indebted for the scattered remains of sculpture and architecture in India. Even where the chisel or the trowel was consecrated to gods opposed to Buddha, the blow inflicted or aimed by the adherents of Sakya Sing against the supremacy of the Brahmins may be included among the happy causes of the improvement of Indian art.

The national character of the people cannot but suffer under such circumstances. The institution of caste, by forcing professions on men without regard to their qualifications and tastes, has a tendency to fill the country with bad priests, bad warriors, bad merchants, bad mechanics, &c. People cannot be expected to improve a science or an art in which they feel no interest; nor are they likely to take an interest in those things, to which they are wedded by birth, not inclination. The Brahmin will chant the Vedas, because he cannot avoid it; the Kshetriya will wield the sword because he is compelled to do so; the Vaishya will turn merchant, because no

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other source of livelihood is open to him. What improvement can be expected under such circumstances in their professions?

Human society cannot fail to deteriorate under such a system. Nothing stands still on the earth. All is in motion. That which does not advance must retrograde. The nation, that does not move forward, will soon begin to move backward. If the institution of caste is a bar to improvement, it must prove a cause of deterioration. Such has been the actual fact in Hindustan. The Hindus improved their arts, sciences, and social institutions up to a certain point; they left some of their neighbours behind them in the scale of civilization;—and there they stopped. Their caste prevented the full development of their faculties. A reaction was the consequence. That, which was prevented from rising, began to fall. The national character soon degenerated. The sun of India's prosperity began to decline; and it soon set.

The principal cause of India's humiliation is CASTE. It is this unnatural institution, which, by detaching man from man, trade from trade, mechanic from mechanic, tribe from tribe, put an end to unity and strength in the nation. A people, divided and sub-divided like the Hindus, can never make head against any power that deserves the name. The Muhammadan conquest was the natural result of such national weakness.

If India be destined in the counsels of Providence to look up once more among the nations of the earth, it will only be by unlearning the institution of caste, and by adopting the religion of her present rulers with all its temporal and spiritual blessings.

After the observations already made, the reader will expect to hear an unqualified verdict against caste, as a system opposed to reason, experience and revelation. That it is opposed to reason and experience, will appear from the preceding remarks. We have already shown that he is but a sorry legislator who endeavours to restrict the energies of his species for ages immemorial to certain professions of his own selection. Specious as the arguments may be for a compulsory division of labour, the restraints thereby put on individual taste and discretion counter-balance the advantages which may be expected from such division. The evils of monopoly are too flagrant to require an elaborate refutation in the nineteenth century. Monopoly generally confers undue benefits on a particular party, and becomes invidious because of the injury it thereby inflicts on others. But the monopoly of

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caste scarcely confers a benefit on a single individual or community. Its fetters are galling to all. It really injures the Brahmin no less than the Súdra, by compelling both to adopt professions, which may be opposed to their tastes; and it prevents the improvement of the arts and sciences in the bargain. Compulsory agriculture and compulsory manufacture can never rise to any high standard. All are accordingly injured. The people are injured. The arts are injured. The nation is injured. The country is injured.

Experience has proved the fatal consequences of such fallacious legislation. Why have the Hindus been so divided? Because of their caste. Why is there so much misery among the Brahmins? Because most of them adhere to their vain notions of caste, and, though deprived of support from the State, will not work for their livelihood. Why is there so much pauperism among persons of good families? Because they disdain to take up professions below their birth, and cannot get employments suited to their castes. Why are articles of native manufacture generally so inferior? Because the manufacturers are accustomed to consider themselves degraded, and are incapable of high aspirations and honourable ambition.

But it is not our own fallible reason and limited experience to which the system of caste is opposed. The infallible voice of divine revelation is equally conclusive against it. We cannot stop here to consider the evidences, which attest the Divine original of the Bible. We shall only remark that the main arguments, deduced from the fulfilment of undisputed prophecies and from the performance of genuine miracles, have never been successfully refuted by the opponents of Christiantity. We have therefore as much right to cite the authority of the Bible in moral and religious questions, as the man of science has to quote Newton or Bacon. Assuming then the truth as it is in Jesus, we may safely assert that the system of caste is diametrically opposed to the will of God. "God is no 'respecter of persons; but in every nation he, that feareth Him and 'worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." The Almighty pays no regard to pedigree. Righteousness and faith are the qualities which constitute greatness in His sight. "He hath 'made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell in all the 'face of the earth." Brahmin, and Súdra, baron and villain, noble and serf, bond and free, are distinctions of human invention, and are to be renounced, wherever they militate against the will of the Almighty.

That the Almighty had for a time allowed the service of the

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sanctuary to be performed by a single tribe consecrated to it, is no sanction to the general principle of caste. The Levites had their peculiar privileges under a dispensation, which was intended to be the prelude of a higher covenant. The types and shadows of the Mosaic institution have been satisfied in Him, to whom Moses and the prophets bore witness. Under the dispensation of the Gospel the middle wall of partition has been broken. All are now one in Christ.

Besides, the privileges of the Levites were owing to a positive injunction. It was never given out that they were *created* superior to their brethren. It was not declared that they were naturally fitted for no other work than that of the sanctuary. It only pleased the Almighty to set apart one tribe for His own service, until, in the fulness of time, the Saviour was manifested.

If the Hindu disputant have failed to follow us in our condemnation of caste on the grounds of reason, experience and revelation, we shall, for his conviction, add that the contradictory statements in the Shástras regarding it are plain proofs of its futility. When Shástra is opposed to Shástra, who can resist the evidence thereby offered of their want of authority? No writings can be infallible, which involve self-contradictions. The Shástras, which contain conflicting sentiments on caste, can never pretend to a divine original: nor can the system of caste be palmed upon the nation as a divine institution.

In exposing the inconsistencies of the Shástras on the subject of caste, we shall not follow the example of the *Vajra Suchi*. We concede that, if a few extraordinary cases of admission to the privileges of Brahminhood had been all that could be urged against the system, we should not have undertaken to assail the time-honoured institution. A few individual exceptions may be easily tolerated. But we shall proceed to show that contradictory statutes may be found in the Shástras respecting vital parts of the system, involving the privileges and responsibilities of the Brahminical order. The following table will justify our charge:—

Passages maintaining the infallibility of Brahmins.	*Passages inculcating the contrary doctrine.*
"A Brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular."—*Menu*, ix. 317.	"That Brahmin, who knows not the form of returning a salutation, must not be saluted by a man of learning: as a Súdra, even so is he."—*Menu*, ii. 126.
"Even in places for burning the dead, the bright fire is undefiled;	"A twice-born man, who, not having studied the Veda, applies dili-

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and when presented with clarified butter at subsequent sacrifices, blazes again with extreme splendour."—*Ibid*, ix. 318.

"All the Brahmins are excellent, and always to be honoured without discriminating whether they are learned or unlearned. Even wicked Brahmins are to be venerated, but not Súdras, though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things, is better than the pig with good dispositions."—*Padma Purána, Kriya Yoga Sara, chap.* 20.

"Brahmins are not to be despised whether they behave well or ill."—*Mahabharat, Adi Parva, chap.* 20.

"Whether learned or unlearned, civilized or barbarous, Brahmins are not to be despised; they are like fire smouldering in ashes. As the flaming fire, though it be in a cemetery, is free from fault, so is the Brahmin a great god, whether learned or unlearned."—*Ibid, Vana Parva, chap.* 199.

gent attention to a different and worldly study, soon falls, even when living, to the condition of a Súdra; and his descendents after him."—*Ibid*, ii. 168.

"A Brahmin unlearned in holy writ, is extinguished in an instant, like a fire of dry grass. To him the oblation must not be given; for the clarified butter must not be poured on ashes."—*Ibid*, iii. 168.

"The Brahmin, who does not perform the morning and evening *Sandhyas*, is to be incapacitated like the Súdra for holy duties."—*Brahma Vaibartha Prakriti, chap.* 21.

"If a Brahmin take a Súdra to wife, he is excommunicated from the dignity of the priesthood, and becomes worse than a Chandála."—*Ibid, chap.* 27.

The foregoing are but some of the self-contradictory statements in the Shástras respecting the dignity of Brahmins—some maintaining that they are proof against apostacy, and are infallible—others, that marriage with Súdra women, neglect of the *Sandhya*, and similar delinquencies, immediately disqualify them as priests, and cause their excommunication *ipso facto!*

Again, as to the marriage of a Brahmin with a Súdra's wife, the self-contradictions are equally remarkable. Thus:

Passages acknowledging the legality of a Brahmin's marriage with a Súdra.

"Should the tribe sprung from a Brahmin, by a Súdra woman, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brahmins, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation."—*Menu*, x. 64.

"By a Súdra bride, marrying a *priest*, a soldier, or a merchant, must be held the skirt of a mantle.—*Ibid*, iii. 44.

Passages denouncing a Brahmin's marriage with a Súdra.

"If a Brahmin take a Sudra to wife," &c. [Cited above from the *Brahma Vaibartha*.]

"For the crime of him, who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Súdra's lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation."—*Menu*, iii. 19.

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The passage, quoted last but one from Menu, x. 64, suggests another reflection. The Shástras declare that a Brahmin is *born*, not *made* or *promoted*. The idea of Hindu caste excludes the promotion of a lower to a higher order; and yet the passage referred to allows the promotion of a base-born tribe to the highest class in the seventh generation! The 65th verse expressly says: "As the son of a Súdra may thus attain the rank of a Brahmin, and as the son of a Brahmin may sink to a level with Súdras, &c.," thus acknowledging *promotion*, as well as *degradation*, in caste. We have said elsewhere, we do not wish to adopt the severe criticism of the *Vajra Suchi*, the author of which has based his reflections against caste by citing the cases of a few individual Rishis, who were promoted to the dignity of Brahmins in consequence of their extraordinary devotion, notwithstanding the lowness of their birth. Exceptions may be allowed, where the rule is right in its integrity. But the opposition of rule to rule and of law to law, regarding the dignity, responsibility, and privileges of the several classes, must present insuperable difficulties in the way of those, who may be desirous of maintaining Hindu caste in its integrity. The self-contradictions likewise prove that the Hindu Shástras could not have proceeded from Him "with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

Into whose hands these our lucubrations may fall, we cannot divine. If they ever attract the notice of any of our native fellow-subjects, we beseech them to consider the duty of alleviating the evils produced by the system of caste. Those especially, whose minds have been enlightened by education, should reckon the awful responsibility they incur, in the sight both of God and man, by conforming to an institution in which they have no faith, and which is fraught with so many evils. The rational Hindus, as a certain section delight to call themselves, ought not to be so *irrational* in practice. We cannot conceive how a person, who professes to regard the Hindu Shástras with perfect contempt, can enjoy any feeling of self-esteem, while, in matters of caste, his professions are at such variance with his conduct. Inconsistency is indeed an evil, to which all mankind are more or less subject. But habitual deviation from principle constitutes a degree of turpitude, which society cannot tolerate without sinking into the depths of moral debasement. History has branded with the title of unprincipled hypocrites those, who habitually falsified in practice what they maintained in theory. Such of our contemporaries, as do not scruple to follow the example, must make up their minds to share the fate, of those marked men.

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We do not wish to anticipate the judgment of posterity: but we cannot think that those persons are entitling themselves to the gratitude of the nation, who keep up in practice what they detest in theory, and perpetuate the monstrous institution of caste, notwithstanding their conviction of its evil consequences.

Such of our readers, as have not absolutely surrendered their mental freedom to the pretended authority of the Vedas and Puránas, should consider the guilt of conforming to a system, which is falsely attributed to a divine original. Of all forgeries the most flagitious and profane is that, which connects the name of the Almighty with an untruth. If the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Súdra did not really proceed from different parts of the Creator's person, the story is nothing short of blasphemy. He who professes assent to such a story by his conformity to the institution of caste is *particeps criminis*. Even if it were abstractedly right to classify a people, it would still be a participation in the spiritual forgeries of the Shástras to support the specific institution which they have originated.

To us, whom the grace of an All-merciful God has brought to the knowledge of a Saviour mighty to save, it is a most interesting reflection, that while Vedantism and Deism and other theories have been propounded for the regeneration of the native mind—while nostrums after nostrums are prescribed for the restoration of India's moral health—no remedy has hitherto succeeded in alleviating the miseries of the country, but that which has every where proved a panacea for all evils. Vedantism and Deism have both been found to repose spell-bound and dumb beside Durga's shrine and the Brahmin's fire. Christianity alone has resisted the bewitching charms of the goddess, and thrown down her altars. Christianity alone has quenched the Brahmin's fire and the ignited darts of Shiva. Christianity alone has destroyed caste, educated females, stopped the marriage, or rather the prostitution, of infants, relieved widows, and proclaimed due liberty to the captives of the Zenana. Christianity, wherever it has got a footing, has transformed the Hindu's house from a scene of idolatry, female debasement, ignorance, and idleness, into one of rational worship, of moral energy, intellectual advancement, and female aggrandizement.

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ART. III.—*The Procedure of the Civil Courts of the East India Company in the Presidency of Fort William, in regular suits. By William Macpherson, of the Inner Temple, Esq., Barrister at Law. Calcutta.* 1850.

A CERTAIN ill-used damsel, as we read in our younger days, was confined in a solitary chamber by a hard-hearted relative, until she should have completed a series of almost impossible tasks, the first of which was to sort a tangled mass of threads of different colours. In the midst of her tears, a benevolent fairy made her appearance, and, with a touch of her wand, executed the task, and relieved her distress. Such supernatural aid is unfortunately not readily called in in these degenerate days; but laborious mortals, who endeavour to supply its place, still sometimes labour in the cause of the disconsolate public. It was out of a chaos of unarranged facts, multitudinous yet not complete, that Linnæus created an artificial order in the science of botany, and left to philosophers yet to come the task of framing a system after the true order of nature, when all, or nearly all, the essential facts should have been registered. It was the quality of order, which gave to the genius of Napoleon its most distinctive characteristic—a quality, overlooked in consequence of the brilliancy of his actions, and which may be marked throughout his campaigns, in the arrangement of his own resources and the appreciation of the position of his enemy, but which shone most brightly in the civil regulations of his consulate, and still aided his later struggles, after his judgment had been debauched by unlooked-for success. It is to a similar power of arrangement that we owe the revised tariff of Sir Robert Peel, and the application of uniform and discriminating principles to a mass of many hundreds of commodities. The legislation of Justinian was the work of many hands, and was disfigured by many faults, but is not the less the most gigantic instance in which human ingenuity has drawn order out of chaos. A mass of laws, precedents and opinions, which have accumulated for centuries, is surely the most chaotic material over which philosopher ever pondered, or fairy waved her wand. The legislative brick-maker has made many bricks, but no form of architecture is there. At the best, it may be compared to the timbers prepared to build some vast wooden edifice, all numbered and fitting into each other; but a conception of whose form no inspection of the parts will convey, and which is likely to be found, when erected, to be discordant in many parts, ill conceived for use, and imposing only from its size.

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Sixty years have sufficed to form a body of Indian laws, which offer, on a smaller scale and with fewer complications, a counterpart of the difficulties which Tribonian and his colleagues encountered. The *Guide to the Civil Law* has introduced the principle of order into the body of civil enactments, and many other publications have thrown light on portions of the mass. What Linnæus did for botany—the enabling a student to find the place of an object in a certain artificial arrangement—has been in great measure accomplished. What laws have been enacted on a certain subject, may be readily ascertained; but not so that mixed collection of enactments and customs, of precedents and constructions, which on any one subject constitute what is called law, and, in the last resort, determine the civil rights of the people. We have had a Law Commission, which, besides the good works it did in its time of existence, has left us but one or two unborn babes; and as yet there has not been strength for them to come to the birth. Pending that long-expected event, and not reverently awaiting its advent, Mr. Macpherson has stepped in, and has rendered a public service. Considering the heterogeneous mass from which he has digested his book on civil procedure, we have no hesitation in saying, that the work, which he undertook, has been admirably executed. Notwithstanding many omissions,* it deserves the credit of having consolidated one portion of the law into a regular system. The arrangement of the subject is historical, commencing with the persons and things that may, or may not, be parties or subjects in a regular suit; the mode in which it should be commenced, and in what court; the proceedings leading to a decree; the execution of the decree, and appeal. In producing a work on this subject, not only lucid but readable, Mr. Macpherson has rendered the same sort of service to the legal student, as one, who finds the leaves of a book cut out and heaped together at random, and arranges them in their proper order. The most indefatigable attention would scarcely give a critical knowledge of a book, which can only be studied in such a condition; once arranged, its internal relations become apparent. So it is in the work before us. The principles of the law are generally laid down at the commencement of each chapter, and the details and their consistency with each

* We may notice among the larger omissions, that there is no mention of the special rules concerning native soldiers, when parties to a suit—a class, which being exceptionally treated, deserved a section to itself, like that given to parties pleading *in formâ pauperis*. It might be added, that, to complete the code of procedure, a digest of all the rules concerning summary suits should be made. But this is no omission;—Mr. Macpherson having only proposed to himself as a subject the proceedings in regular suits.

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other are afterwards exhibited, and the weak points and inconsistencies are brought into light; principles are carried out to their legitimate consequences, and thus, in addition to the mere lucidity and clearer understanding of the whole, obscure and unsettled points have been put forward, which may ere long receive an authoritative solution. Looking upon the perfecting of this digest of a portion of the law as an important public object, we could wish that a select number of the district judges should be requested to annotate it, to mark its defects, omissions and superfluities, so far as the experience of six months or a year may suggest to them, and that a second edition may embody these suggestions and receive a careful revision, preparatory to its being admitted as a text-book for legal examinations. For the verification of particular provisions, it may still be necessary to refer to the place where the original law or precedent is to be found: but to make the digest complete, there should be nothing material, which is not noted in it, though not necessarily at full length.

In the preface to his book, Mr. Macpherson has recorded his opinion of the Bengal judicial system, and his suggestions for its improvement. His remarks, even where we differ in opinion, are eminently suggestive, and are of that class so often wished for and so seldom got in India, the sentiments of a dispassionate person, who has been brought up under a different system, and has applied his mind fairly to consider local facts.

The chief subjects discussed in the preface, are the origin and development of the Indian law; its consequent confused state; the necessity of written laws, contrasted with the success with which non-regulation provinces have often been administered; some defects in the present system; the importance of a judge's receiving a special preparation for his office; the comparative desirableness of his previous employment in the revenue department; and the want of a code. All of these are questions, about which much has been written, without perhaps entirely exhausting the subject; questions moreover of vital importance to the proper organization and working of the system, and some of them depending for their correct solution on facts, which are not at first sight closely connected with them.

We should be as unwilling to confine ourselves, when considering the origin and development of our Indian laws, to the years in which the Regulations and Acts were passed—to 1792 and the subsequent years—as we should, in studying English law, to ignore every thing that took place before 1. Richard 1. or before the passing of the first known general enactment. It is indeed not a little instructive, and elucidatory of the Indian

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system, to glance at the history of law in our native land; to conceive clearly and weigh well the many points of resemblance and of change, of growth and of agglomeration, which the two have in common; and to consider whether the principles, which guide us in the one, may not be equally applicable in the other case; whether the feelings, which, we know, are entertained towards the system we were born under, may not offer a key to those with which Indian laws are regarded by the population subject to them.

Of the two portions of the law, the unwritten and the written, it is obvious that the former must always have the higher antiquity. Ours ascends beyond the region of historical evidence, into the atmosphere where antiquaries delight to revel. From the Romans we got our towns with a municipal constitution; from the Britons some customs probably, such as gavelkind, if not a more substantial contribution; the Saxons imported and consolidated their own customs; the Danes did likewise; till at length, before the conquest there prevailed three systems of law over three different portions of England—the Mercian, the West Saxon, and the Danish law. Upon this state of things came the Conquest, and added a new element to the common law, perhaps the most important of all; for the tenures of land, the judicial forms and pleadings, and the language of the courts, were all Norman. Land had been either held of the Crown by a charter, or was allodial, and simply private property. At one blow, the Conqueror's legislation (cap. 52) changed the tenure of all the land in England, by ordaining, that every land-owner should swear feudal allegiance to the King; and a further development of the same law (cap. 58), gave them a perpetual tenure, in place of the life tenure so frequent under the Saxons, and ordered every vassal to do military service. Hence arose reliefs, wardships, escheats, and all the intricacies in which the feudal law involved the possessor of land.

From all these sources combined arose the common law,—a system, which, by its general customs, settles the proceedings of courts of justice, the course of inheritance, and the formalities of documents, while it legalizes the existence of particular local customs. These customs are in the breast of the judges, and are learnt from the records of former judgments; but there must evidently have been a day, when there were no precedents, and when, what is now law, was either adopted from the usages of the people, or established *de novo* by the courts. The common law is always called the perfection of reason: and it was said in proof of it, that an infraction of one of its old rules, of which the reason was unknown, was sure to be followed by inconvenience.

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But notwithstanding this reasonableness, it often did not do justice, which is not surprising, considering how much of it was new and did not tally with old customs. The only mode in which justice could be got, was by an appeal to the King, who, through his Chancellor, called up the case into his own court; and thus, in redressing the deficiency of the common law, laid the foundation of the equity courts and system of law. In the mean time, questions concerning spiritual matters, or depending on religious rites, such as marriage and legitimacy, fell under the jurisdiction of the priestly class, and of the ecclesiastical courts. All these things had been established, when the statutes, as now known, began.

Well known as these facts are, it will still not be superfluous to observe the broader features displayed in the history of our law. In its origin are seen local customs, derived from whatever source, and obtaining among the people a force equal to law; then, as courts of justice arose, receiving their sanction, subsequently moulded by the enactments of William into a new shape, and dating its present outlines from that period. Then arose an equity jurisdiction to correct the hardness of the common law, like the *Jus Prætorium*, as defined by Papinian to be that power which the Prætors exercised of supplying from their discretion the defects of the Roman law, and, conformable to Aristotle's opinion, that a law may, by reason of its universality, be deficient, and require to be rectified by special decrees. Then also was made the separate jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, in which, besides matters specially connected with religion, rights of marriage, divorce, and testaments were cognizable. The body of statute laws has since been enacted to limit and guide the whole.

Is it not possible, that such light, as is to be derived from a comparison of an analogous case, may be obtained from a review of the progress of English law, and be of use in considering the Indian system, if, not confining ourselves to the Statute Law of the one country and the Acts and Regulations of the other, we examine the origin and growth of both? Would that there existed a historical daguerreotype—a complete description of the state of what must be called the law, however inapplicable the term may appear—before the British sway extended over Bengal, or over other parts of India. There are materials for the latter, which are deficient with respect to Bengal; but in either case, there would be found, contrary to the accepted definition of the sovereign power, rulers, who enacted and did what was held by the people to be illegal, and subjects, who had certain fixed, if not always well-de-

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fined, ideas of what was law, entirely opposed, where under Muhammadan dominion, to those of the ruler, but assented to on the whole, though sometimes disregarded from caprice or interest, by a Hindu Chief. Such as it was, under either rule, there was (notwithstanding the caprice or hostility of those in high place, and the absence of a check on their conduct) something which deserved to be called a common law, as much as the dearly local customs of the Saxons—something, however ill-defined and in some points inexactly observed, to which the people were attached, which regulated their relations with each other, and, though often liable to be made of no effect by the will of the governing power, had, as its sanction, the force of popular opinion. To relate all its provisions, to enter into all its minutiæ, to record its numberless exceptional provisions, is a task, which never has been attempted, and which no industry or knowledge could successfully perform.

Such is the complication of rules under which the Hindu rejoices to live. The earliest, most elaborate and complete synopsis of them is to be found in the Institutes of Menu. In these later days as in that early time, the law of the Hindu enters more largely into the guidance of every-day conduct than in any other race. Much of it emanates from religious dogmas: much proceeds from the principles, which in every nation regulate the social relations of men. There is the law which affects the position in society given by caste, which has a religious origin; that which regulates the adoption of heirs, legitimacy, divorce, and inheritance, enforces contracts, gives hereditary office under Government, and prescribes the tenures of land. Every district, every village, every caste, even every family, might have, and often had, rules peculiar to itself. An Alfred or an Edward might, in Saxon times, endeavour, by compilation or selection, to reduce the similar mass of various local customs to uniformity, with some prospect of success; but the sages of the law among the Hindus had no such power to interfere with those of their country-men, whose origin and sanction, being partly in religious usage and class attachment, defied the aggressions of the legislator. In their codes will be found the proof of their impotence,* where they inculcate the ne-

* We alluded to such expressions as the following :—

"Every kingdom has its own customs, and every town has its own customs, so every tribe has its own customs: if, according to those customs, an unequal division take place, it is approved.

"If the mode of unequal division has passed regularly from father and ancestors, this also is approved."—*Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, p.* 94.

Agreeably to a text of Vrihaspati, "Immemorial usage legalizes any practice."—*W. H. Macnaghten's Hindu Law,* i. 65.

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cessity of the administrator of their laws being versed in local customs. In the society itself will be seen the luxuriant growth of diversified usages, the knowledge of which, in any one locality, might form the study of years.

A century ago then, throughout what is now British India, there existed a vast body of laws, of rules of civil conduct, accompanied by sanctions, whether enforced by the ruler or by the people themselves. It is of the permanent rules of the latter class, and not of the former, which have now mostly passed away, that it is worth while to take notice. Among them will be found rules of religious and moral conduct, and even of the minor morals, which had their appropriate, but often not their sole, sanction in the authority of the priesthood, or the chowdry, the caste or the local punchayet; and, in company with these, rules which more properly receive their force and currency from the Executive Government. There would be seen the arrangement of society into castes with all their complicated details; the division of the surface of the country into villages with defined limits; the establishment, for the most part, of hereditary offices of various sorts in each village; the privileges or emoluments annexed to each; the mode of succession; the tenure of land, by one class as tenant-at-will, by another as hereditary occupants, here with the power of freely alienating it, there with the necessity of securing the consent of partners: and lands paying a small charge for the support of a temple, or claiming to be free from all tax. There was to be remarked every variety in the mode of collecting the land-tax (a vital fact for the tenure of land), from the hereditary head-man, or the temporary Government renter of a village, claiming a comparatively trifling influence, to the zemindar of a larger district and possessing more extensive powers. Less important than the rules concerning land, but still more complicated,* there

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" Among the qualities necessary in a Brahmin judge is, that he should be versed in local usages and established rules."—*Ibid, p.* 141.

" Written evidence is declared to be of two sorts : the validity of both depends on the usage established in the country."—*Ibid, p.* 269.

* In Bengal, for instance, the taxes are described as follows:—

" These consisted of the *assul*, or original ground-rent, and a variety of taxes called *aboabs*, which had been indiscriminately levied at different periods by the Government, the zemindars, farmers, and even by the inferior collectors...The Committee (of 1772) proposed to deduct such as appeared most oppressive to the inhabitants,...reserving those which were of long standing and had been cheerfully submitted to by the ryots...Among the former were the duties, arbitrarily levied by zemindars and farmers, upon all goods and necessaries of life, passing by water through the interior part of the country. The *bazee jumma*, or fines for petty crimes and misdemeanours, were also totally abolished: as well as the *haldary*, or tax upon marriage, which yielded a trifling revenue to Government."—*Harrington's Analysis*, i. 19, 20.

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might be found a multitude of taxes, the body of them of old standing, but every where showing, in the presence of petty new imposts, the power of the minor officials to legislate within their own boundaries: the transit duty, with all its complexity, its old rates and new additions, its public duties leviable for the Government, its private toll in the lands of every powerful zemindar: the petty taxes on trades and on every profitable occupation which the legislative tax-gatherer could discover, and, on some things, such as marriages, not strictly profitable; and those levied on petty misdeameanours, and supplemental to the rules of caste and morality.

We have taken no notice of the criminal law, and the influence which its administration must have had on the currency of the rest. It is evident that under a Hindu ruler, who would look on the slaughter of a cow as a crime, the latter must have been in full force: under a Muhammadan governor, who enforced his own law wherever it clashed with that of the Hindus, it was only the adherence of the people that retained the latter in vigour. Such a state of things existed in Bengal;* and, in the course of time, a great part of the country was submitted to a foreign influence, similar in its nature, but not equal in its effects, to that of the Norman conquest on the Saxon polity, or still more analogous, perhaps, to the state of Ireland under the penal laws. A second power has supervened, whose mission appeared to be to call forth order out of chaos; which has modified the tenure of land by sweeping measures, erected a machinery of courts and police, created a system of procedure, and has, in part, seen the true policy of basing its super-

* The following passage quoted in the reply of the Government of India to the Madras petition on the *Lex Loci*, exhibits this curious state of things:—

"The Council of Revenue, in a letter to the President and Council, May 1772, enclosed a remonstrance of the Naib Dewan, respecting that part of the instructions in the last letter of the President and Council, which directed, that in cases of the inheritance of the Gentoos, the magistrates should be assisted by the Brahmins of the caste to which the parties belong. In that memorial, the Naib Dewan strongly remonstrates against allowing a Brahmin to be called in to the decision of any matter of inheritance, or other disputes of the Gentoos; that since the establishment of the Muhammadan dominion in Hindustan, the Brahmins had never been admitted to any such jurisdiction; that to order a magistrate of the faith to decide in conjunction with a Brahmin, would be repugnant to the rules of the faith, and an innovation peculiarly improper in a country under the dominion of a Mussulman Emperor; that when the matter in dispute can be decided by a reference to Brahmins, no interruption had ever been given to that mode of decision; but that when they think fit to resort to the established judicatures of the country, they must submit to a decision according to the rules and principles of that law, by which alone these courts are authorized to judge; that there would be the greatest absurdity in such an association of judicatures, because the Brahmin would determine according to the precepts and usages of his caste, and the magistrates must decide according to those of the Muhammadan law; that in many instances, the rules of the Gentoo and Muhammadan law, even with respect to inheritance and succession, differ materially from each other."—*Special Reports of the Indian Law Commissioners*, 1847, *p.* 646.

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structure on the ancient foundations, and of acting in a spirit in conformity with the still existing ancient civilization, but modified by the more enlightened views of modern days.

On examining this body of what we have called rules or laws, there immediately arises, first the question—What portion of them is to be considered as included within the province of jurisprudence? for it is obvious, that the whole are not so, unless the courts are solely guided by the spirit of the Hindu legislation, and place on an equal footing religious and legal provisions. A second question of scarcely less practical importance is—Whether a knowledge of that portion alone, which pertains to jurisprudence, and a study of its principles and details, with whatever written law may have been superadded, will suffice to constitute an efficient judge?

Without attempting here to define their limits, it will be sufficient to observe, that a portion of the native usages belongs properly to what is called law; a portion, as manifestly does not belong to it; while there is, between the two, a certain debateable ground, which, like the natural forms on the confines of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, may be doubtfully assigned to either. If a question of this doubtful nature is brought before the courts, it is the province of the code of procedure to assign to it its proper place, and to determine whether it shall be heard. To decide what law shall be applied, when it has been admitted to a hearing, whether the law current among the people, or the special law of the ruler, as under the Nazim in Bengal, or some modification, such as the enactments of the British Government, is the duty of the general legislator. And here let us observe, that it is this point, that constitutes the original difference between (what are called) the regulation provinces, and those countries which are administered under another system.

The essential characteristic of the former system is to aim at recording the law in writing, whence the letter of the law becomes the guide, and there is a fair field for ingenuity in evading it. The latter holds to unwritten law and, acting up to its spirit, foils such ingenuity by its greater elasticity.

Mr. Macpherson truly observes (Preface, p. iv.) that "it is 'possible that an officer, thoroughly acquainted with the customary laws and tenures, and with the individual character of 'the natives of a district, might, by patience and impartiality, 'and by the tact, which a long intimacy with oriental life can 'sometimes bestow, settle disputes very efficiently, and give 'high satisfaction to a rural population:" but he somewhat overestimates the rarity of what he calls "the special and scarcely 'communicable knowledge by which he has been guided."

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Unquestionably there have been men, to whose merits even such a description would do scarcely adequate justice; but it is not essential to the system, that such men should conduct it. Doubtless the more patience, impartiality, tact and knowledge are possessed by any officer, the better he will execute his duties; but the spirit of the system is not in them. Its spirit is simply conservative—to found peace and good order, not on written law, but on the conservation of existing rights. Whatever usage may be classed in the province of jurisprudence—whatever may be the existing rights of property—the modes of levying taxes—all those things, in short, which constitute the internal polity of a people, are accepted as facts, and the Government continues as it had been constituted before, only in an improved spirit. That large body of administrative questions, which, under the native government, were left to the discretion of the ruler, requires the exercise of the soundest common sense, but of no brilliant talents. In the greater capacity for Government of the British officer, is his superiority to the former ruler. As time passes on, consistency is given to the system, but the old shape is preserved: there is no dislocation; codes of procedure are formed, and precise methods of collecting the revenues, of prosecuting offenders, and of deciding civil disputes. The two former were, under the native ruler, inextricably entwined together, and continue so under the new. Oppressive taxes are removed. The property in land, depending so materially on taxation, is strengthened and improved by the registration of existing rights. The changes made, are the removal of inconveniences. The written laws, which in course of time accumulate, are generally laws rather for the guidance of the officers of Government than for that of the people, who continue in the ancient ways, but somewhat smoothed and made straight.

There is nothing in all this incompatible with the existence of a penal code, whose provisions might limit the powers of the judge, and which, if well considered, would not be more discordant with the feelings of the people than his unguided decisions. The guiding motive of such a system is to protect person and property in the most efficient way; and this will always be found to be one in which little complication exists. It need scarcely be added, that the civil judicature, being in the same hands, will be administered in the same spirit, as the other branches. There will be no discordance. How, out of such a system, has grown the separation of the civil and higher criminal jurisdiction from those of the revenue and police, as seen at this day in many of the regulation provinces of India, it is needless now to trace.

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The able men who founded our judicial system did not follow this method. By whatever process, they seem to have arrived at the conviction that it is, as Harrington expresses it, a primary and essential duty of every just Government towards its subjects, to publish and enforce an equitable system of law (*i. e.* written law), adapted to their actual condition and circumstances, and calculated to protect them in their rights, natural and acquired. In pursuance of this (at all events praiseworthy) object, they turned their attention to the important subject of land tenures and taxes. The tenure of land is the point on which, more than on any other, depend the polity of the people and the distinctive characteristics of the law. An entire change of the rights of property in land is therefore an entire dislocation of society. Though it was impracticable to secure and define on one piece of paper all existing rights to land, more than one measure was possible. It was possible to follow some such course, as we have indicated above: it was possible, after the fashion of the first William, to place on a new footing the whole land of the country: it was possible to unite several powers in one hand, and to permit the revenue officer to judge all cases connected with land. But this was considered to be too great an authority for one person in Bengal. Then was shown a memorable instance of the most benevolent motives leading to the adoption of the worst of several alternatives. A uniform written rule was introduced, where no uniform rule had ever existed before; the customary rights of the most numerous class were irrevocably transferred to others; the possibility of retracing the step, if a false one, was carefully guarded against, and an entirely new element was introduced into the tenure of land. Then arose all the evils of the law enforcing the new right, and the people holding to the old one. Such were the auspices under which our judicial system developed itself. If disputes concerning land were enormously multiplied; if revenue and judicial authorities held different views of the same subject—the one more attached to the unwritten, the other to the written, law; if the courts were unable to meet the demand for justice; * if, in the disruption of rights to land, crime grew apace, and the police was inadequate to its repression;—it is due to the foundations of great civil institutions being laid in the denial of rights—to the adoption of a method, the reverse of that which experience has since pointed out as necessary to their preservation. Happily, in the N. W. Provinces, the effect of former legislation has been

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. 24—The Settlement of the N. W. Provinces.

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in great measure got rid of, and actual rights have been fixed and recorded. The same rational course is pursued in the Punjab, and offers the best prospect of an efficient administration of justice. The first foundations of it must be laid in a correct revenue system, and that vast mass of complications, which have arisen in connection with land, may thus be avoided.

To return from this digression on the subject of forms of administration, to that of disputes properly included in the province of judicature, the leading land-marks are broadly laid down in the legislation of 1793.

"The civil courts are empowered to take cognizance of all 'suits and complaints respecting the succession or right to real 'or personal property, land-rents, revenues, debts, account, 'contracts, partnerships, marriage, caste, claims to damages for 'injuries, and generally of all suits and complaints of a civil 'nature.

"There is therefore (subject to certain specified exceptions) 'no description of civil right, for the enforcement of which a 'remedy may not be afforded by the civil courts."—*Macpherson's Procedure, p.* 25.

The exceptions, besides those of time, person, and place (such as, where too long time has elapsed, or person or place are not subject to the jurisdiction) include also questions, where the subject-matter is taxation—a point, which sometimes involves nice distinctions, but which is so far of minor importance, that, if not cognizable by the civil courts, they are so by another authority, that of the revenue officers. There are some others which depend on more general principles.

"A suit may not be brought for any thing repugnant to po-'sitive law, to morality, or to public policy, as for the division 'of gains unlawfully acquired, or to enforce the performance of 'an engagement, which it would be fraudulent or immoral to 'fulfil, such as a conspiracy to cheat a third party, or an agree-'ment to defeat his rights, or to evade the rightful process of 'law, or an agreement to compromise a prosecution, where the 'thief promises to restore the value of the thing taken, and the 'person, who has been robbed, undertakes not to prosecute the 'thief."—*P.* 37.

There is yet a still wider, but even less-defined, exception to the statement that, there is no description of civil right to enforce which the courts do not offer a remedy, if we were to define civil rights in the spirit of Hindu legislation, and in the sense which the value attached to them by the people would imply.

"It is a question as yet undecided, whether the civil courts 'have jurisdiction to entertain a suit, which is brought, not for

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'the enforcement of any civil rights, but for the bare declara-
'tion of a right to perform certain religious ceremonies, or in-
'deed to decide any right merely in the abstract."—*P.* 28.

Connected with this general statement, there are some special cases.

"The right to receive payments, which are in their own na-
'ture voluntary, arising wholly out of personal preference,
'cannot be made the subject of suit in the civil courts, and, for
'this reason, the courts cannot take cognizance of claims for the
'office of chowdry. But it seems they will entertain a suit
'for compelling one man to employ another as his priest, or
'*porohit*, according to the hereditary custom of families."—
Pp. 36, 37.

On the other hand, "if a member of a tribe interrupt and re-
'sist the heads of the tribe in the exercise of privileges to which
'the latter, as such heads, are entitled, the court can take cog-
'nizance of an action by the heads, for the recovery of damages
'in respect of the interruption, and for the recognition of their
'privileges."—*P.* 27.

This, however, appears to be merely protection given, not the exercise of an exclusive right enforced. Again, in the Bombay courts, the hereditary office of the headship of the butchers in a town is held to be a fit subject for a suit. So is loss of character, arising from not being asked to a solemn feast: and also the exclusive privilege, possessed by the head of a religious sect, of riding in procession, with his palanquin carried across the road.*

The latter case, which the Sudder Judge, who first heard it in appeal, considered of such importance, as to demand the presence of a full court, is particularly instructive, as exemplifying the difficulties under which the courts have to administer justice. The inability to appreciate the value, or almost the existence, of a privilege, which yet was of sufficient importance to cause affrays, and to excite the minds of large numbers of the people; the impossibility of proving a fact, as notorious as that the present Pope is the representative of the early Popes; the call for evidence of the ancient enjoyment of a privilege, which was stated to have originated many centuries ago; the refusal to take the personal evidence offered; the rejection of the copper inscriptions tendered in proof, as being written in an unintelligible character and language—in themselves *prima facie* evidence of their antiquity; the ignorance that a grant of a privilege was exclusive under the old regime, inasmuch as no person could, without

* Moore's Indian Reports, vol. ii. 479, and iii. 208.

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a grant, use any of the insignia of honour—show these difficulties in a very striking point of view.

Thus under one head are united together disputes concerning the rights of family priests, of heads of religious sects, of heads of trades or villages, processions of rival sects, and the marks of honour granted by former rulers. We look in vain for some rule, which may separate those cases which the courts will admit from those which they will refuse to entertain. But from the small number of cases we have mentioned, perhaps some general principle may be faintly discernible, though as difficult to be stated accurately, as the distinctions of the real and personal statutes of the civilians. It is that, where the subject matter of the suit is a question of religion or of morality, its sanction may be left to the religious and moral laws. If a certain individual refuses to say, or cause to be said, a certain prayer, his refusal may be contrary to his religion, but will be no subject for the interference of the civil courts: but if it causes damage to some other person, it may become so; or, if another prevents his doing so, he may demand protection in the exercise of his religion. Thus, we do not conceive the employment of a certain person as priest, or *porohit*, to be fit subject for a suit; but if the priest has not been paid, or a co-partner refuses his contribution, while other sharers contribute and would have to bear the loss, an action might lie. If a person, deprived of his caste privileges by a sentence of the caste authorities, appealed to the courts to remedy the injury and alleged injustice done him, it might be proper not to admit his application;* but, if it involved the right to property,† it would be a good cause of action. By the same reasoning, every right which is purely civil, whether that of mayor of a corporation who succeeds by election, or of head of a tribe who succeeds by hereditary descent, should be protected by the courts. Religious processions are a good example of this ambiguous class. They are known throughout India as causes of disturbance of the peace. We have

* "In the Bombay Reports, there is an instance of an action of damages for a "malicious expulsion from caste."—*Strange on Hindu Law* i. 161; *Dhurmashund v. Goolashund*, 1. *Bomb. Rep. p.* 11-35.

† This remark has a direct bearing on the *lex loci* question. The British Government has laid down the principle of complete toleration—of religion being no civil disqualification. The courts have always modified the action of native law, where it was directly opposed to morality or to the general principles of our Government, as was daily done in the administration of the Muhammadan criminal law. By that law, a relapsed convert is punishable with death: and this and many other provisions are held of no effect. In the case of a Hindu convert to another faith, the fundamental principle of policy declared by the British Government is directly opposed to the provision of the Hindu law, that the convert is civilly dead; and it may be surmised that had the question been raised and ably argued before the courts before the discussion of the *lex loci* question, the intolerant provision would have been found untenable, and abrogated like so many others.

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witnessed their effects from Allahabad to Ajmeer, but they are more especially liable to cause that evil in the country south of the Nerbudda. Important as they are, the practice regarding them, speaking of India generally, is wholly unsettled: and it is even supposed they are a proper subject for the magistrate to decide finally—an opinion, which shows what vague notions are current concerning them. The business of the magistrate is to prevent the commission of injuries and to preserve the public peace; and, when a breach of it is apprehended, he rightly interferes to avert the threatened evil. It is the province of the civil courts to protect the exercise of rights and privileges, and to give compensation in damages for their infraction: and of such a nature is the question involved in disputes regarding processions. Assuming that the law permits processions generally, the right to conduct one through an inhabited place, the inhabitants of which object to it, depends on prescription. In the present state of society, such an event is often so galling to their feelings, as to induce a breach of the peace as a means of avoiding it; and this of necessity requires the interference of the Government authorities. Many circumstances may have their weight in considering such a question; the antiquity of the usage; the length of time during which it has not been exercised; the events, such as the building of a place of worship belonging to an adverse sect, which may have occurred in the interval; the danger to the public peace in enforcing it; the facility with which it may be abrogated, and the general policy of maintaining it in vigour. It will not do to lay down some general maxim, totally inapplicable to the state of society—such as, that the high road is open to all comers,—and to suppose, that, by such a dictum, the affair will be settled. The question is one of prescription on the one side, and of injury similar to that caused by libel on the other. Where a magistrate sees sufficient reason to interfere, from the apprehension of disturbance, there will also be reason enough for him to take such steps as will oblige the objecting party to show cause why the procession should not take place—a step which will immediately bring the matter to an issue in the civil court.

After the definition of the province of judicature, and the limitations and restrictions on the admission of suits, the trial runs its course, and it remains to apply the law. The sources from which the law is drawn, and the classification which its origin may give rise to, are not unworthy of attention. The sources are existing customs or common law, law treatises, the regulations and acts of Government, natural equity, and reports of former cases, with the circular orders which they have given rise to. The common law rules, or ought to rule, all cases con-

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cerning tenures of land and various other subjects, wherever it has not, as in Bengal, been modified by special enactments. The law treatises, peculiar to different classes of the people and to various schools of the same class, are the primary authority in questions of succession, inheritance, marriage, and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, subject to modification on proof of custom adverse to the rules they lay down: for as the Hindu sage has said, "immemorial usage legalizes any practice." Equity is the chief guide in another class of cases. Statutes and precedents, it need not be said, are authoritative guides wherever they apply. Each of these three departments of law might have been appropriated to a different court; but the Indian courts undertake the somewhat arduous task of administering the whole. The judges should be equally familiar with customs, native law treatises, and the principles of equity, as with the statutes and precedents. This is a great charge: and if they are often not fully equal to it, it is no matter of surprise. In suits concerning land, and in their criminal functions, we believe they are most efficient, and these constitute the greater part of their duties; in difficult questions, such as those which occasionally arise concerning contracts, less so; and least of all, in cases which require the application of English law. We should not expect from an English lawyer, or judge, a correct opinion on a question of French or Austrian law: and so long as the Indian judges administer a system of law whose object is the protection of the people of India, we shall expect an equally invariable want of correctness in their attempts to apply the law of England. The best prospect for their applying it correctly, (and, inasmuch, as we wish Indian law to be their study, we hope and believe, the *only* prospect,) is, that whatever they are to use, should be compiled in a hand-book, and whatever is not found in that book, should be to them non-existent. We say we hope it, because to require the expounders of the law to learn two systems, is to preclude them from a complete knowledge of either, and thus indefinitely to defer the consolidation of that system, which is still in process of formation and improvement. The greater the evil, the more surely will the remedy be at hand; and no remedy can be so simple or so easily practicable as the one we have proposed.

The classification, we have thus roughly sketched, is not without its bearing on the subject of a code, or digest. It indicates the want of such a work by pointing out the variety of sources from which the law is drawn, and the undefined state of some portions of it. This very variety qualifies different individuals to take up different branches of either of the departments of law, with a view similar to that, which produced the book now

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before us. A compilation of all previous decisions and a statement of the law, which has led to, or may be inferred from, them on any one subject however narrow, cannot fail of being a step in the right direction: and for this reason, as much even as from the merits of the work itself, we augur well of the effects of Mr. Macpherson's labours. We do not expect a complete digest to be made under the orders of the Government, though some portions must come through that channel. We look to practical and individual exertions for future facilities in the study of the law, and for works on single subjects, which may one day become authority in the courts. However much we may entertain the wish, we can perceive nothing, except in the N. W. Provinces, which "encourages the 'hope, that we may one day see a civil code, fully digesting 'all the land tenures and regulations for each province, with 'a thorough investigation of the principles of equity applicable 'to each, in the relation of landholders to the Government and 'to each other, incorporating all that has grown up among the 'people and all that has been actually decided and settled; a 'digest, in which all existing materials may be reviewed and 'arranged, and in which the legislature, not misled by other 'systems, may give to India, that great public work so much 'wanted, and for which the materials have been silently accumu-'lating."—*Macpherson. Preface, p.* xvii.

If we live to see that day,—if the chief part of the law is ever digested, the study of it made simple, the leading principles and special provisions alike recorded in order—we may then modify in some degree the opinions we entertain concerning the preparation of Judges for the bench.

It is a great problem how first to create, and afterwards to preserve at the highest point of efficiency, a body of judges, born in a foreign country, administering, in languages not their own, laws of such varied character, without the assistance of a well trained bar, or of a jury, and so situated, that on them alone depends the stability and correct working of the courts of judicature. Three things seem to be of consequence towards solving this problem, the means of ensuring local knowledge, and knowledge of the law—local knowledge, which comprises knowledge of the people, their character, language, and modes of thought, the things which are every day present to their minds, and the condition of society; and legal knowledge, which implies familiarity with the law applicable to all possible cases, and a judicial tone of mind: finally, the method of adapting those means to the other requirements of the state. A young man, whose life is to be devoted to the Indian service,

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may or may not become some day a judge: but, if he becomes one, he will have, even on the threshold of justice, in the mere admission of suits, to handle considerations of morality and public policy. In the course of his duties as judge, he will require the knowledge of the different portions of the law and their relation to each other, and of that which is common to all laws, the science of jurisprudence. Without being early grounded in ethics and jurisprudence, he will scarcely be able, except under great difficulties, to commence at a late period of life the studies requisite to fulfil in their highest sense, the duties of judge: and, even if he never attains that office, such training cannot fail to be of service to him. The knowledge of the English law may be necessary in special cases in India, but is not more essential for the performance of the more usual duties of the office, than that of any other system. In fact, the practice of the courts is rather approximating to the Scotch method.

A young man arrives in India with so much previous instruction. Is he, after becoming familiar with the language, to be devoted henceforth to legal studies and legal duties? Whoever has suggested this course, can have little considered the position of a person at any age, and of however extensive learning, who finds himself for the first time in this country. Suppose him to have acquired what is called knowledge of the world, a power of judging the characters and motives of those around him, an intimacy with the conventional proprieties and modes of expression in his own land —how far will all this help him here? The very alphabet of these things is wanting to him. To learn them, he must first go to school. It may be possible for much knowledge of the positive laws and internal institutions to be acquired by continued study of books; but neither can this be reckoned upon from men as a body, when under the difficulty of comprehending the subject incidental to a remote country, nor can it, in any case, produce a sufficient knowledge. The ideas, annexed to corresponding terms in the two countries, are totally distinct. Take for instance those suggested by the mention of a tenant farmer. In England, this suggests thoughts of relations with landlord and labourers, agreements probably concerning rotation of crops and repairs and improvements, the assessment and payment of poor rates, of church rates, and of tithes, serving in the office of church-warden, liability to serve on a jury, probable proximity to a country magistrate, and a distance of not more than a day's journey from an assize town. We cannot boast of the acquaintance of any tenant farmers in this country, whose condition strictly corresponds with this; nor do we believe that, by however elaborate a description, we could enable any one really to know

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what that condition is, so as to enable him to decide readily all questions affecting it. He might learn it by heart, but he would not know it. The only way to understand a thing of so complex a nature as the state of society in a country, not one's own, is to handle affairs, not to learn words by rote. To acquire a knowledge of the people, there must be association with them, and some point of contact with their every day life. Let us add to their credit, that, among government officers, men, who have had these advantages, both know them best and like them most. There must be opportunities of varied, as well as special, experience. This can never be acquired in the courts of law alone. Such limited experience will indeed be a foundation for knowledge; but it will bear the same relation to the firm base established by experience in a wider field, that an ocular deception does to a real object. It is from such considerations, that the ablest Indian statesmen have advised, that every civil officer should pass some years and gain some real experience in the revenue department, to enable him at a later period, to execute efficiently the functions of judge. By all means, let every point connected with landed tenures and with other customs which may be cognizable by the courts, be as far as possible recorded; let the written laws also be formed into a digest; but let it not be supposed that the study of these alone will supply all that is needful. Otherwise, we may see a repetition, on another stage and in a different form, of the charitable emotions of the judge, who wished his palanquin bearers to wear shoes and stockings, or of the piety of the Governor, who ordered the Bengal sepoys to attend divine service.

Admit that opportunities should be given of the most varied experience, and let it, as now, be prescribed, that a young man shall pass through the revenue and police departments, it will still remain a question, depending on practical considerations, what the further steps towards the office of Judge shall be ;— whether it shall be through that of Collector, or whether the two departments shall separate from each other before arriving at that rank. By the former process, there are acquired habits of business, an enlarged knowledge of the people and of the whole system and spirit of the Government, a more intimate acquaintance with the rights of the agricultural population: nor is the judicial frame of mind altogether wanting, for abundant opportunities have been afforded for its exercise, in the details of police courts and the decision of summary suits. By the latter method, if such a change can in any way be engrafted on the present system, a longer time may be devoted to the business of the civil courts and to more complete judicial training. The former plan will confer more extended knowledge, the latter more special ac-

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quaintance with the law; the former will produce abler men of business, the latter men more ready to cope with legal difficulties. Public questions are ever a choice of difficulties, and this one not less so than others. Upon the whole then, we give in our adhesion to the present system. But in doing so, we cannot but remark that the official course of education is manifestly incomplete. Until actually seated on the bench, no opportunity has been afforded to the Judge to have a practical acquaintance with the forms of the courts, their mode of considering civil disputes, and the various classes of questions which are usually brought before them. Whatever pursuit in life an education is intended to prepare for, it should contain the elements of every branch of knowledge requisite in that pursuit. The education in England should supply the more general and scientific knowledge; the professional education should familiarize with the technicalities. The matured judgment and experience of a later age would then be not unprepared to enter on the judicial functions. The practical result of this is, that, before entering on the substantive offices of Magistrate, Collector and Judge, the preliminary instruction of a young man should be completed by his passing some time attached to a civil court. There is much of the miscellaneous and interlocutory portion of the judge's business, which can be equally well done by an assistant as by the judge: there are the preparation of cases, the care for the attendance of witnesses and execution of decrees, the decision even of certain cases, and especially the trial of material issues of fact. It may be added that there can be little difficulty in providing ample employment, where such words as the following are true:—"I have most reluctantly come to the 'conclusion, that it is rarely the case that a Judge, even of the 'lowest rank, examines witnesses in person, or is present (in the 'sense of being attentively or intelligently present) at their exa-'mination, although it is usually conducted in the same room 'in which he is administering justice."—*Macpherson, p.* 277.

It can be scarcely necessary to insist that the result of becoming acquainted with the forms and rules of the civil courts will be manifold. For besides the greater familiarity with the laws, and with the mode in which they are administered, and the ease which that familiarity gives of adding to it by study, and of continuing to consider incidental cases in the judicial point of view, it will always be a decided advantage to both a Magistrate and a Collector to possess that knowledge; and it will give them, in instances where they now have insecure footing, a sure foundation for the execution of their duties.

We must here close for the present the observations, to which Mr. Macpherson's book has given rise. Our aim has

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been rather to suggest ideas than to exhaust the subjects remarked upon. We have gone over some ground which has been repeatedly traversed before, but we have not done so without an object. Whoever has accompanied us thus far will have perceived that Indian society is in a great measure founded on, and exists by, prescription; that, of the usages thus existing, a portion only is properly the subject of jurisprudence; that that portion has as yet received no clear definition; and that a definition must be at least practically made, to prevent the courts acting out of their proper sphere, but made, we may add, with some approach to scientific precision, as a step essential to be taken previous to the mere conception of a code;—that it is to the manner of treating the unwritten law, that the different forms of administration of different Indian provinces owe their distinctive character; that ignorance of it on the part of our early legislators laid the foundation of considerable evils in Bengal—though now, that the deed is done, the state of society here may reasonably be compared with that of other parts of India in its present well-being and future promise; that in proportion as it is recorded and defined, the long preparatory process, which is now thought necessary to qualify an English officer for judicial functions, and which separates him from judicial pursuits, may be abridged and proportioned to the one remaining object of becoming familiar with the people: while in proportion as it is undefined, this preparatory study is more needed and must be more prolonged. It is not difficult to pursue these facts to their more obvious conclusion, and to perceive how inseparably connected in our Indian system are the digesting of the law both written and unwritten, and a more special mode of preparation and a higher standard of qualification in the judges. Every step towards simplifying the study of the law and fixing its principles and details will have a direct effect in facilitating and causing the acquisition of a more correct and well-founded knowledge of it by those who are to expound it. In proportion as progress is made in digesting the law, the opinion, which we have expressed concerning the latter, will become liable to modification: and a complete digest, if such a thing were possible, would induce very different arrangements from those now in force for the preparation of Judges for the bench. Such a change can only be the result of time and long-continued exertions. It is only by such endeavours, by many and laborious steps, always advancing towards, rather than expecting to reach, their object, that we may hope to attain the ultimate ends of every judicial system—a high standard of excellence on the bench and at the bar, ascertainment of the law, regularity of practice, and the efficient administration of justice.

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ART. IV.—1. *Sacuntola, or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama by Kalidas, translated from the original Sanskrit and Pracrit. By Sir William Jones. Calcutta.*

2. *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, containing translations of 6 plays, and notices of several others. By H. H. Wilson. 2 vols. London.*

THE feelings and character of a people are well delineated in its drama: for the drama embraces and illustrates a vast variety of topics. Its dialogue varies from simple to elaborate; from the conversation of every-day life to the highest refinements of poetical taste. Its claims, therefore, to the attention of the philosopher, as well of the philologist—of the man of general literary taste, as well as the professional scholar—are pre-eminent. Yet it is no less a fact, that, till the year 1789 had given to the world a prose translation of one of the most popular and esteemed Sanskrit plays by Sir William Jones, the literary public of the West were not even aware that the Hindus had a national drama. This translation paved the way for other translations of the same kind, exhibiting, perhaps, more ability, but not more closeness and fidelity to the original works. Much labour and talent have since been devoted to this branch of Oriental literature. Much, however, is still undone. The field for distinction is still open. Of sixty Hindu plays extant, nine only have yet been rendered into English.

The Hindus believe that the world is incalculably old. In their chronology, a few million years make an insignificant figure. It is a matter of little surprise then, that their drama should, according to some authorities, be of celestial origin. The art, they say, was gathered from the Vedas by the god Brahma, and by him communicated to the world below. The prevailing notion, however, ascribes it to Bhárata, a Muni, or inspired sage. We will not venture to say, whether such ascription be correct or not. Certain it is, that he was one of the earliest writers by whom the art was reduced to a system.

Professor Wilson thinks it impossible that the Hindus should have borrowed their dramatic compositions from the people either of ancient or modern times. The nations of Europe possessed no dramatic compositions before the 14th or 15th century, at which period the Hindu drama was in its decline. Muhammadan literature has never possessed a drama. There is no record that theatrical entertainments were ever naturalized among the ancient Persians, Arabs, or Egyptians; and the Hindus, if they learned the art from others, can have been obliged to

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the Greeks alone, or to the Chinese. But a perusal of the Hindu plays will show how unlikely it is, that their authors were indebted to any foreign literature; as with the exception of a few general features, which are found alike in the dramatic writers of all nations, working, as they all more or less must do, on the common ground of universal nature, they yet present peculiar varieties of conduct and construction, which strongly evidence both original design and a national character.

Originality and antiquity then are the two leading characteristics of the Hindu drama—characteristics, which, in the history of the imitative arts, are seldom found apart. It is a common error to suppose, that, like the experimental sciences, poetry and its sister arts improve as civilization advances. The dramatic poet appeals to the passions and the imagination; and it is in the dark ages, in the infancy of a nation's intellect, that these are most vivid. The painter and the sculptor have to depict with truthfulness that, which to them seems beautiful; and new facts and deductions afford little assistance to their art. We have been told that antiquity is the childhood of human nature; and that as the world grows older, it grows wiser. This is true enough with respect to science and the arts of life; but not with respect to those arts, which are dependent on imaginative genius. Warton has well remarked in his beautiful couplet :—

> "Not rough nor barren are the winding ways
> Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers."

As civilization advances, the province of imagination becomes circumscribed, poems give place to theories, and criticism checks the creative faculty.

The dramatic literature of India had passed its zenith, and begun to exhibit symptoms of decay, before dramatic criticism raised its head. The works professedly treating on the subject of the drama are numerous, and abound with technicalities, nice distinctions, and useless classifications. They are therefore very uninteresting to the general reader. The critics of the Hindu school lost sight of the great objects of dramatic criticism. They cared little for the development of the plot, or the beauty of the language. They never identificd themselves with the characters in the play. They framed a set of conventional rules: but they had no admiration for those graces, which are beyond the reach of art. In fact, they had no true sympathy for the drama. Yet it is from them that a great part of our information regarding the dramatic system of the Hindus is derived.

The general term for all dramatic entertainments is *Rupaka*, from *Rupa* signifying form ;—it being their chief object to embody characters and feelings, and to exhibit the natural indications of

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passion. A play is also defined as a poem that is to be seen and heard; and it is not a bad definition. Besides the *Rupakas* properly so called, there are the *Upa-rupakas* of a minor or inferior order. Of the former there are ten, of the latter eighteen species.

Every piece opens with a prelude, similar to the prologue of ancient and modern times. In the Hindu theatre, the actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either male or female; and it differs from the similar preliminary performances of every other people, by leading immediately into the business of the play. The first part of this introduction consists of a short prayer, or benediction, invoking the protection of some deity, in favour of the audience. It is generally followed by some account of the author. The piece thus opened is carried on by the division of scenes and acts (the first act furnishing a clue to the subject of the whole story), and closes, as it began, with a characteristic benediction or prayer.

The hero may be a god, a demi-god, or a mortal. He is usually young, handsome, valiant and well-born. The heroines are either the nymphs of heaven, the brides of demi-gods, the wives of saints, or deified woods and rivers. The extent, to which females were allowed to be present at dramatic entertainments, or take a part in the performance, affords an interesting picture of ancient Hindu manners. The rigid exclusion of women from society was unknown among the princes of India, before the Muhammadan conquest. They were allowed to appear freely in public on public occasions; they were present at dramatic performances; they formed the chief part of bridal processions, and they were permitted, at all times, to visit the temples of the gods. The presence of men in the Zenana was not prohibited, and women of rank seem to have travelled about, where and how they pleased.

Besides the hero and heroine, there are commonly several other characters, which occupy a prominent place in Hindu plays; among these are the friend and the antagonist of the hero, the female attendant of the heroine, the courtezan and the parasite. The buffoon is also a character of some note, and, strange to say, is always a Brahmin. He is a combination of simplicity and shrewdness, of stupidity and good sense. His wit is vulgar, his person deformed, and his dress fantastic. Dread of danger, love of ease, and fondness for good living, are amongst his most striking peculiarities.

In the Hindu plays, the powers of the Sanskrit language have been lavishly developed. The diction throughout is rich and

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elaborate, and the metre varied, from the verse of four lines of eight syllables each, to that *which contains any number of syllables from twenty-seven to one hundred and ninety-nine.* The ordinary business is carried on in prose: but reflections or descriptions and poetical flights are in verse. If any charge can be urged against the style, it is that of diffuseness. The figures employed by many of the Eastern nations, and especially by the Persians, are conventional hints, which would scarcely convey an idea to a person unaccustomed to them. A beautiful woman's form is a cypress, her locks are musk, her eye a languid narcissus, and the dimple in her chin a well. The Sanscrit poets, on the contrary, leave little for the reader's imagination to pourtray. They are minute even to tediousness. They particularise the beauty of the heroine's eyes, her cheeks, her lips, her nose, her forehead, and expatiate on the smoothness of her skin and the manner in which she adorns her person. They represent every part and feature in detail. The comparisons or similes in which they deal are sufficient, without previous knowledge, to place the points of resemblance in a vivid light.

The performance of these plays was not of ordinary occurrence. In this respect, the Hindus resembled the Athenians, whose dramatic pieces were acted at the spring and autumnal festivals of Bacchus. According to Hindu authorities, the occasions suitable for the purpose are the lunar holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, the birth of a son, and the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity. Neither were there any public buildings appropriated for such representations. In the chamber or hall of palaces, known as the music saloon, and in the spacious open courts of the dwellings of persons of consequence, minstrels and mimes performed their feats.* A complicated system of scenery or decorations could not therefore have existed. Yet there is abundant evidence in the plays to shew that the performers were separated from the

* Professor Wilson's elaborate essay on the dramatic system of the Hindus contains the following passage from the *Sangita Retnakara*, descriptive of the place of entertainment:—"The chamber, in which dancing is to be exhibited, should be spacious and elegant. It should be covered over by an awning, supported by pillars, richly decorated and hung with garlands. The master of the house should take his seat in the centre on a throne; the inmates of the private apartments should be seated on his left, and persons of rank upon his right. Behind both are to be seated the chief officers of the state or household; and poets, astrologers, physicians, and men of learning are to be arranged in the centre. Female attendants, selected for their beauty and figure, are to be about the person of the principal, with fans and chouris; whilst persons carrying wands are to be stationed to keep order, and armed men as guards are to be placed in different directions. When all are seated, the band is to enter and perform certain airs; after which the chief dancer is to advance from behind the curtain; and, after saluting the audience, scattering at the same time flowers among them, she will display her skill.

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audience by a screen or curtain; that seats, thrones, weapons and cars were in use; and that the personages were dressed in character.

We now proceed to notice a few of the particulars, which distinguish the Hindu drama from that of every other nation. The most striking of these is, that it is not in the Vernacular tongue. The greater part of every play is written in Sanskrit; and Sanskrit has ceased to be a living dialect from time immemorial. The plays must, therefore, have been intelligible to but a very limited number of the audience. Not only the highest offices of the State, but the highest branches of literature, were reserved for the sacerdotal order. It was their interest to connect every thing with a feeling of religious mystery, and to shut out from those, whom they considered their inferiors, the light of wisdom and truth. They did not fail of success. Those masterpieces of human intellect, whose power to soften and elevate will last as long as time lasts, though founded on stories popular and strictly national, exercised little influence on men, by whom their representation was regarded with reverential awe, and who could understand but little of what was said. Strange as this may appear, yet a state of things not very dissimilar might be seen in England, and is characteristically noticed in the *Spectator*. "We no longer 'understand the language of our own stage," says Mr. Addison, with the quiet humour peculiar to him, "in so much, that I 'have often been afraid, when I have seen our Italian per-'formers chattering in the vehemence of action, that they have 'been calling us names, and abusing us among themselves, but 'I hope, since we feel such an entire confidence in them, they 'will not talk against us before our faces, though they may 'do it with the same safety, as if it were behind our backs."

The absence of a tragic catastrophe is another peculiarity of the Hindu drama. Such catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule. The manners of the people and their intellectual and physical organisation were averse to it. Intense commiseration left a painful, and not a pleasing, impression on their minds. Terror tortured them. Those plays, which we regard as the highest efforts of genius, would have been regarded by them as unnatural and absurd. *Venice Preserved* would have been held up to ridicule, as a drama in which the hero stabs his friend and then himself. *Othello*, as a drama, in which he murders his innocent wife. It would have pleased them infinitely better, if the senate had forgiven the conspirators, and Jaffier, reconciled to Priuli and Pierre, had lived to a good old age;—if the truth had dissipated the workings of jealousy from the mind of the Moor!

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The extent of the Hindu plays is another of their peculiarities—one play being generally three times as long as an ordinary European drama. In actual representation, however, it did not occupy more time than a modern performance of the same class, as it was never followed up by a farce or after-piece. The unities of time and action are fully recognized, but, as might have been expected from the absence of all scenic embellishment, no notice is taken of the unity of place. The imagination of the author roved at will, from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven. To the audience, it was a matter of indifference, whether the scene was above the clouds, or on *terra firma*.

Of the personal history of the dramatists of India, we know little; the greatest portion of our information regarding them being derived from the plays which they have written. The most celebrated of them are Kalidas, Bhavabhati, Sudraca, and Srihersha. We find it impossible to furnish the reader with a connected account of the life of any one of these personages, so scanty are the materials at our command. Nay, there is even some difficulty in ascertaining the precise time in which they lived. Kalidas, the noblest of the nine men of genius, who graced the polite court of Vikramaditya, is usually supposed to have flourished fifty-six years before Christ; Sudraca, a hundred and fifty years later; Bhavabhati, also named Srikantha, or he in whose throat eloquence resides, in the eighth, and Srihersha in the twelfth, centuries of our era. Both Sudraca and Srihersha were royal authors; and it is to be doubted whether the plays, attributed to them, were in reality their own productions. At any rate, their works are decidedly inferior in point of literary excellence, to those of Kalidas and Bhavabhati, between whom the contest for superiority lies. Kalidas excels in the softer kinds of description. Love, new-born love, is the passion which he most delights to pourtray. Haunts of repose and meditation, sequestered groves and flowery banks, fanned by odorous winds and watered by purling rivulets, where the hum of bees and the notes of birds proclaim the never-dying spring, are the spots which he most delights to frequent. Wood-nymphs crowned with stars, and sylvan deities with wings of gold, are the companions with whom he delights to associate. Not so with Bhavabhati. He describes nature in her magnificence. Cloud-capped mountains and blasted heaths, the hoarse murmur of his native stream, and the gloomy grandeur of his native forests, midnight incantations—

> —calling shades and beckoning shadows dire,
> And airy tongues that syllable men's names—

are his favourite subjects. The battle-field and the charnel house have for him peculiar attractions. His three plays, *Malati*

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and *Madhava*, *Ultara Ram Cheritra* and *Vira Cheritra*, are full of lofty sentiments and sublime delineations. We feel, however, that we cannot do justice either to him or to his renowned rival, who was also author of the same number of plays, by a mere mention of their works and description of their powers. A short account of the most esteemed production of each will not only enable the reader to judge of their respective merits, but afford him, at the same time, an insight into the character of the Hindu drama generally.

Sacantola, or the Fatal Ring is justly considered as the masterpiece of Kalidas. It is a *Natac* of the mytho-pastoral class, and was first acted in the beginning of summer, as appears from the sweet song sung by the actress in the prologue.

" Mark, how the soft blossoms of the *Nag-cessar* are lightly ' kissed by the breeze."

" Mark, how the damsels delicately place behind their ears the ' flowers of the Srisha."

The story is simple. It is this. Menaca, a goddess of the lower heaven, had entrusted to a devout hermit, who spent his life in the depth of a forest, the care of her only daughter—Sacantola. Thither, by accident, the sovereign of the district arrives on a hunting excursion. Himself unseen, he observes Sacantola and her two companions, Anusya and Prijamvada, watering their plants, and is instantly captivated. He dismisses his attendants, and enters into conversation with the damsels. The heart of Sacantola is soon won, and she confesses her love. The king discovers himself, and takes her as his wife. Presently, however, he is summoned to his court, parts with Sacantola with many expressions of regret, promises to send for her within three days, and leaves a ring in token of remembrance. In the mean time, a choleric Brahmin, named Durvasas, comes to the residence of the hermit, when his two daughters are at a little distance, and Sacantola is overtaken with sleep. Finding no one to receive him, he thus pours forth a malediction: " He, ' on whom thou art meditating, on whom alone thy heart is ' now fixed, while thou neglectest a pure gem of devotion, who ' demands hospitality, shall forget thee, when thou seest him ' next, as a man, restored to sobriety, forgets the words which ' he uttered in a state of intoxication." Anusya and Prijamvada overhear his words, and, in love for their sleeping companion, hasten to appease his anger. The Bramhin says that his words cannot be recalled, but that the spell would be dissolved, when the king should look upon his ring. Days pass, and Sacantola finds herself pregnant. Her foster-father, who was absent at the time of her marriage, resolves to send her to

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the palace of her lord. Her friends instruct her to shew him the ring, should she not be immediately recognized. Arrived at her destination, she is disowned by the king, and finds that her ring is lost. In this extremity, she asks the protection of the king's priest, which is granted. On her way to his house, a body of light in a female shape descends and, having caught her hastily in its bosom, disappears. The king regards this as the work of sorcery, and dismisses the whole thing from his mind. After a time, a poor fisherman is brought up in custody of the officers of police, for having in his possession a ring of value. This is the same ring which Dushmanta gave to Sacantola. It had fallen from her finger into the pool near Sacratara, as she took up water to pour on her head, and was found in the bowels of a fish. With it he recovers his memory. Struck with horror at his past conduct, he clothes himself in penitential weeds. The seasons lose their charms. The songs of his favourite queen, Hansamati, delight him no more. While thus afflicted, he is summoned by Indra, the god of the firmament, to subdue a race of giants, who defied his prowess. He is conveyed to the celestial regions by Matali, Indra's charioteer, and acquits himself gloriously in the divine service. On his descent, he alights on the mountain of Hemacuta "where Casyapa, father of the immortals, and Aditi, his consort, reside in blessed retirement." Here he meets his wife and son, and perfect happiness succeeds.

Such is the ground-work of a play, which we have perused with mingled feelings of delight and admiration, and which has convinced us, that, though Kalidas did not possess the master-mind of our divine poet, he possessed, at least, his gentle fancy, his simple heart, and his delicate sensibilities. We quote the scene in which Sacantola parts with her foster-father, Kanna, and the friends of her childhood. It is perhaps the best in the volume, and reminds us of Milton's Eve, bidding farewell to the flowers in Paradise.

"*Kanna.*—Hear, O ye trees of this hallowed forest; ye trees in which the sylvan goddesses have their abode, hear and proclaim, that Sacantola is going to the palace of her wedded lord; she, who drank not, though thirsty, before you were watered; she, who cropped not, through affection for you, one of your fresh leaves, though she would have been pleased with an ornament for her locks; she, whose chief delight was in the season, when your branches are spangled with flowers.

CHORUS OF INVISIBLE WOOD NYMPHS.

"May her way be attended with prosperity! May propitious breezes sprinkle, for her delight, the odoriferous dust of rich

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blossoms! May pools of clear water, green with the leaves of the lotus, refresh her as she walks! and may shady branches be her defence, from the scorching sunbeams!

(All listen with admiration.)

" *Sarngarava.*—Was that the voice of the Kokila, wishing a happy journey to Sacantola? or did the nymphs, who are allied to the pious inhabitants of these woods, repeat the warbling of the musical bird, and make its greeting their own?

" *Gautami.*—Daughter, the sylvan goddesses who love their kindred hermits, have wished you prosperity and are entitled to humble thanks.

Sacantola walks round bowing to the Nymphs.

" *Sacantola.*—*(Aside to Prijamvada)*—Delighted as I am, O Prijamvada, with the thought of seeing again the son of my lord, yet, on leaving this grove, my early asylum, I am scarce able to walk.

Prijamvada.—You lament not alone. Mark the affliction of the forest itself, when the time of your departure approaches! The female antelope browses no more on the collected kusa-grass, and the pea-hen ceases to dance on the lawn: the very plants of the grove, whose pale leaves fall on the ground, lose their strength and their beauty.

" *Sac.*—Venerable father, suffer me to address this Madhavi creeper, whose red blossoms inflame the grove.

" *Kan.*—My child, I know thy affection for it.

" *Sac.*—*(Embracing the plant)*—O most radiant of twining plants, receive my embraces, and return them with thy flexible arms: from this day, though removed to a fatal distance, I shall for ever be thine. O beloved father, consider this creeper as myself.

" *Kan.*—My darling, thy amiable qualities have gained thee a husband, equal to thyself. Such an event has been long, for thy sake, the chief object of my heart; and now, since my solicitude for thy marriage is at an end, I will marry thy favourite plant to the bridegroom, Amra, who sheds fragrance near her. Proceed my child on thy journey.

" *Sac.*—*(Approaching the two damsels)*—Sweet friends, let this Madhavi creeper be a precious deposit in your hands.

Anusya and Prijamvada.—Alas! in whose care shall we be left.

(They both weep.)

" *Kan.*—Tears are vain, Anusya; our Sacantola ought rather

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to be supported by your firmness, than weakened by your weeping.

(All advance.)

"*Sac.*—Father, when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones, with which she is pregnant, shall be delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message with tidings of her safety. Do not forget.

"*Kan.*—My beloved, I will not forget it.

"*Sac.*—*(Advancing, then stopping).*—Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe, and detains me?

(She turns round and looks.)

"*Kan.*—It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whose mouth, when the sharp points of kusa grass had wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of *Ingudi*; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of *Syamuka* grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

"*Sac.*—Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling place? As thou wast reared by me, when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care. Return poor thing, return; we must part.

(She bursts into tears.)

"*Kan.*—Thy tears, my child, ill suit the occasion: we shall all meet again: be firm: see the direct road before thee and follow it. When the big tear lurks beneath thy beautiful eye-lashes, let thy resolution check its first efforts to disengage itself. In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path seldom distinguished, the traces of thy feet must needs be unequal; but virtue will press thee right onward."

The aerial journey of Dushmunta in Indra's car excels any thing of the kind that we have seen in Sanskrit authors:—

"*Matali.*—This is the way which leads along the triple river, heaven's brightest ornament, and causes yon luminaries to roll in a circle with diffused beams. It is the course of a gentle breeze, which supports the floating forms of the gods; and this path was the second step of Vishnu, when he confounded the proud Vali.

"*Dushmunta.*—My internal soul, which acts by exterior organs, is filled by the sight with a charming complacency. [*Looking at the wheels.*] We are now passing, I guess, through the region of clouds.

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"*Mat.*—Whence do you form that conjecture?

"*Dush.*—The car itself instructs me that we are moving over clouds pregnant with showers; for the circumference of its wheels disperses pellucid water; the horses of Indra sparkle with lightning; and I now see the warbling *chátákas* descend from their nests on the summits of mountains.

"*Mat.*—It is even so; and in another moment you will be in the country which you govern.

"*Dush.*—(*Looking down.*)—Through the rapid, yet imperceptible, descent of the heavenly steeds, I now perceive the allotted station of men. Astonishing prospect! It is yet so distant from us that the low lands appear confounded with the high mountain tops; the trees erect their branchy shoulders, but seem leafless; the rivers look like bright lines, but their waters vanish; and at this instant the globe of earth seems thrown upwards by some stupendous power.

"*Mat.*—(*Looking with reverence on the earth.*)—How delightful is the abode of mankind! Oh, king, you saw distinctly!

"*Dush.*—Say, Matali, what mountain is that which, like an evening cloud, pours exhilarating streams, and forms a golden zone between the Western and Eastern seas?

"*Mat.*—That, O king, is the mountain of Gandharvas, named Hemakuta; the universe contains not a more excellent place for the successful devotion of the pious. There Casyapa, father of the immortals, ruler of men, son of Marichi, who sprung from the self-existent, resides, with his consort, Aditi, blessed in holy retirement.

"*Dush.*—(*Devoutly.*)—This occasion of attaining good fortune must not be neglected. May I approach the divine pair, and do them complete homage?

"*Mat.*—By all means; it is an excellent idea. We are now descended on earth.

"*Dush.*—(*With wonder.*)—These chariot wheels yield no sound—no dust rises from them, and the descent of the car gave me no shock.

"*Mat.*—Such is the difference, O king! between thy car and that of Indra. * * *

"*Mat.*—(*Checking the reins.*)—Thus far and enough. We now enter the sanctuary of him who rules the world, and the groves which are watered by streams from celestial sources.

"*Dush.*—This asylum is more delightful than Paradise itself. I could fancy myself bathing in a pool of nectar.

"*Mat.*—(*Stopping the car.*)—Let the king descend.

"*Dush.*—(*Joyfully descending.*)—How canst thou leave the car?

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"*Mat.*—On such an occasion it will remain fixed; we may both leave it. This way, victorious hero; this way. Behold the retreat of the truly pious.

"*Dush.*—I see with equal amazement both the pious and their awful retreat. It becomes indeed pure spirits to feed on balmy air, in a forest blooming with trees of life, to bathe in rills dyed yellow with the golden dust of the lotus, and to fortify their virtue in the mysterious bath; to meditate in caves, the pebbles of which are unblemished gems, and to restrain their passions even though nymphs of exquisite beauty frolic around them. In this grove also is attained the summit of true piety, to which other hermits in vain aspire."

Bhavabhuti's *Malati* and *Madhava* is a drama of a different character from the one just described. In pastoral beauty it is certainly inferior, but there is more in it approaching the sublime. The plot is a wild one, and, though not without defects, is on the whole skilfully managed. Bhurivasu, minister of the king of Pudmavati, and Devereta, in the service of the king of Viderba, had agreed that their children Malati and Madhava, when ripe in years, should be united in wedlock. The king of Pudmavati having indicated an intention to propose a match between Malati and his favourite Nandana, who was all that unmarried girls dislike, the two friends contrive a plan with Kumandaki, an old priestess who enjoys their confidence, to throw the young people in each other's way, and to connive at a stolen marriage. Madhava is accordingly sent to finish his studies under her care. The first scene, which is merely a preliminary one, informs us of all these circumstances, and prepares us for the appearance of other characters, particularly of a former pupil of the priestess, named Saudamani, who has now arrived at supernatural powers by religious austerities, and of Aghorghanta, a magician who frequents the temple of the dreadful goddesses, near the place where dead bodies are burnt.

By the contrivance of Kamanduki and her instruments, Lavangika and Avolokita, several interviews pass between the lovers. During one of these, a noise behind the scenes announces that a tiger has broke loose from the temple of Siva, and is destroying whatever falls in his way. Madhava rushes out, and finds the monster lying dead at the feet of his friend, Makaranda, and Madayntika, the youthful sister of Nandana, senseless in the arms of her deliverer. Makaranda and Madayntika of course fall in love.

Meantime, the king has made the long expected demand, and the minister, apprehensive of his displeasure, returns an answer that "Malati is *his* daughter, and may be disposed of at pleasure."

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Madhava's hopes are dashed to the ground. He resolves to sell his living flesh for food to the ghosts and malignant spirits, as his only resource to purchase the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly repairs at dead of night to the temple near the burning place, and finds Aghoraghanta and his pupil, Kupal-kundala, a sorceress, engaged in their unholy rites. A female, dressed as a victim, stands also on the spot. It is Malati. Madhava rushes forward to her rescue, and bears her away. Placing her in safety, he returns and confronts the magician. They quit the stage fighting. Aghoraghanta meets his death from the hands of the hero, and the sorceress vows vengeance for the injury.

The preparations for Malati's marriage with Nandana now proceed without interruption. On the day of her marriage Makaranda assumes her wedding dress, and is carried in procession in her place. Nandana, disgusted with the masculine features of his bride, consigns her to his sister's care. An interview between the lovers thus takes place. Kupal-kundala in the mean while watches an opportunity, and carries Malati off in a flying car. Just at this juncture Saudamani, the former pupil of the priestess, arrives, and by her skill rescues Malati from the sorceress. The play concludes with a double wedding.

The following is a fair specimen of Bhavabhuti's style:—

SCENE.—*The field in which dead bodies are burned, in the vicinity of a temple. Enter in the air, in a heavenly car, and in a hideous garb.*

KUPALKUNDALA.

Glory to Saktinath, upon whose steps
The mighty goddesses attend, whom seek
Successfully alone the firm of thought.
He crowns the lofty aims of those, who know
And hold his form, as the pervading spirit,
That, one with their own essence, makes his seat
The heart, the lotus centre of the sphere,
Sixfold, by ten nerves circled. Such am I.
Freed from all perishable bonds, I view
The eternal soul, embodied as the God,
Forced by my spells to tread the mystic labyrinth,
And rise in splendour throned upon my heart.
Hence through the many channelled veins I draw
The grosser elements of this mortal body,
And soar unwearied through the air, dividing
The water-shedding clouds. Upon my flight
Horrific honours wait; the hollow skulls,
That low descending from my neck depend,
Emit fierce music as they clash together,
Or strike the trembling plates that gird my loins;
Loose stream on every side my woven locks,
In lengthening braids; upon my pond'rous staff
The string of bells, light waving to and fro,

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Jangles incessantly ; my banner floats
Upborne upon the wailing breeze, whose tone
Is deepened by the echoes it awakes
Amidst the caverns of each fleshless skull,
That hangs in dread array around my person.

(Alights and looks about.)

I scent the temple of Karálá, near
The cemetery, and perfumed of old
By fetid odours from the funeral pile.
It is my present object : for to-day
My wise preceptor, great Aghoraghanta,
Calls me to aid him in the powerful rite
That terminates his toils ; to-day he offers
The promised gift, the gem of woman kind,
A victim to the goddess. In this city
The damsel dwells, and I must make her mine.

(Looking out.)

But who comes hitherward, of pleasing form,
With braided hair, and in one hand a sword ;
The other—ha ! it braves the world's restraints,
And soiled with blood, determinately grasps
A lump of human flesh ! And now I look,
I know the youth ; 'tis Madhava, the son
Of the old dame, Kamanduki's dear friend.
What makes him vender of the flesh of man ?
It matters not. Now to my work ; for see,
The hour of twilight hovers o'er the west ;
Along the skirts of the horizon steal
The winding glooms, like dark Tamálá blossoms ;
And earth's far bounds are lost, as if immersed
In nascent waters ; to the woods young night
Her own yet gentle shade imparts, as if
A wreath of smoke were wafted through the air,
And spread abroad in mist before the breeze.

Exit.

ENTER MADHAVA.

May those endearments yet be mine, that spring
From young affection and the dawn of passion,
Now first awakened in my Málátí ;
Which for an instant only to imagine
Inspires my heart with ecstacy unsullied
By all impure admixture. 'Twere enough
To be enfolded in her arms ; to lean
My face upon her cheek, or to be prest
Against her firm and palpitating bosom,
Fragrant with perfume, and with pearls adorned ;
Yet this is too remote ; I will but ask
To see her face, the shrine of love once more ;
Once more ! Ah, no ! for ever in my view
She lives ; assiduous memory constant turns
To cherished hopes, and, fed by hourly thoughts,
One sole idea engrosses every sense,
Till all my inmost soul is Málátí.

(A noise behind.)

Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
With crowding and malignant fiends ; the flames
From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
Clogged with their fleshy prey, to dissipate

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The fearful gloom that hems them in. Pale ghosts
Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirth
In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
Well, be it so; I seek and must address them.
Demons of ill and disembodied spirits,
Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale,
The flesh of man untouched by trenchant steel,
And worthy your acceptance.

(A great noise.)

How the noise,
High, shrill and indistinct, of chattering sprites
Communicative fills the charnel ground!
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky:
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze; or from their mouths, that stretch
From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
Or eyes, or beards, or brows, the radiance streams.
And now I see the goblin host: each stalks
On legs like palm trees, a gaunt skeleton
Whose fleshless bones are bound by starting sinews,
And scantly cased in black and shrivelled skin;
Like tall and withered trees by lightning scathed
They move, and, as amidst, their sapless trunks
The mighty serpent curls, so in each mouth
Wide yawning rolls the vast blood-dripping tongue.
They mark my coming, and the half chewed morsel
Falls to the howling wolf,—and now they fly.

(Pauses, and looking around.)

Race dastardly as hideous! All is plunged
In utter gloom. (*Considering.*) The river flows before me,
The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds
Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past,
And rends its crumbling banks; the wailing owl
Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
The loud long moaning jackal yells reply.

(A voice behind.)

Ah, cruel father! She, you meant an offering
To the king's favour, now deserted dies.

MADHAVA *(alarmed.)*

What voice was that, so musical and wild,
That sounds like the affrighted Osprey's cry?
It bursts not unfamiliar to mine ear,
And penetrates my soul, my throbbing heart
Faint dies within me, and a lifeless chill
Steals along every limb; my tottering steps
Can scarce sustain their load. What should this be?
The dreadful sound came from Karala's fane,
Fit scene for deeds of horror. Be it so;
I must be satisfied.

(Rushes off.)

Detached lines and passages of beauty, unconnected, or but slightly connected, with the fable, make a prominent figure in

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Hindu plays. Almost all of them are more or less interspersed with these little gems. We give a few examples.

AN ANTELOPE.

The fleet animal has given us a long chase. O! there he runs with his neck bent gracefully, looking back from time to time at the car, which follows him. Now, through fear of a descending shaft, he contracts his forehead, and extends his flexible haunches; and now through fatigue he pauses to nibble the grass in his path, with his mouth half opened. See how he springs and bounds with long steps, lightly skimming the ground and rising high in the air! And now so rapid is his flight, that he is scarce discernible.

A SIMILE.

My body moves onward, but my restless heart runs back to her like a light flag borne on a staff against the wind, and fluttering in an opposite direction.

A SWAN.

Behold a while the beauties of this lake,
Where on its slender stem the lotus trembles,
Brushed by the passing swan, as on he sails
Singing his passion.

THE SHADOW IN THE WATER.

There, where the Para and the Sindhu wind,
The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates
And spires of Padmavati, like a city
Precipitated from the skies, appear,
Inverted in the pure translucent wave.

A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN.

Her silky curls,
Luxuriant shade her cheeks; and every limb
Of slightest texture moves with natural grace,
Like moonbeams gliding through the yielding air.

A LANDSCAPE.

The overhanging trees laden with nests pay their offerings of flowers to the tranquil river, as the young elephant, reclining against the stem, shakes them down with his trunk and forehead: the doves and woodcocks murmur in the boughs; and birds of variegated hue seize the insects of the bark with their beaks, and scatter their shadows on the waters below.

Seventeen hundred years ago the state of the theatre and of the acted drama of the Hindus was far from being contemptible. Instead of improving, it has gradually degenerated; until at last their theatrical representations are little better than pantomimical exhibitions. The plays, which celebrate the loves of Krishna and his mistresses, and a few others equally worthless, are the only ones that are acted. The language, a strange mixture of pure and vulgar Bengali, is execrable, and the acting still more so. Indecent songs, accompanied by still more indecent gestures, are sung in the presence of delicate females. The plots, which now delight the people, are such as must be revolting to

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every rightly constituted mind. What is immoral is presented in constant connexion with what is attractive. There are passages in the life of Krishna, which many, even who lead licentious lives themselves, would regard with abhorrence: and, compared with which, the discourse that passed between Socrates and Phædrus under the plane tree, while the fountain warbled at their feet, and the cicadas chirped over head, is decent. In no other country has the national taste been so strangely perverted, or the stage been so lamentably deteriorated.

The limits of our article will not permit us (indeed it would be foreign to our purpose) to attempt in this place, any thing like a comparison between the English and Hindu drama. Yet there are one or two characteristic circumstances connected with the former, which we cannot pass over in silence. In force of passion it is doubtless superior, and differs from the Indian drama in this respect, as much as the thundering tread of English infantry differs from the light movements of a battalion of sepoys. During a single reign, the reign of Elizabeth, the drama of England rapidly rose to the point of culmination. The causes of its sudden development are interesting and worthy of inquiry. The most prominent of them were the invention of printing, the discovery of the new world, and last, not least, the Reformation. The first threw open to the ill-informed and ill-read public of the time the rich and fascinating stores of the Greek and Roman classics, and the romantic poetry of Spain and Italy. There were translations of Tasso by Fairfax, of Ariosto by Harrington, and of Homer and Hesiod by Chapman. English poets then borrowed largely from the writers of antiquity. In Ben Jonson's tragedies of Catiline and Sejanus may be found almost literal translations from Tacitus, Sallust and Cicero's orations. The second enlarged our bounds of knowledge most materially, and new mines of intellectual wealth were opened at our feet. Voyages and travels were eagerly read. Green islands and golden sands seemed to rise, as by enchantment, out of the bosom of the watery waste, and to wing the imagination of the dreaming speculator. The third placed in the hands of every class of society the Bible, which had before been confined to the privileged few. Its wonderful and varied contents, from Genesis to the Revelations, gave a *mind* to the people. What is there equal in sublime grandeur, to the account of the creation, or, in romantic interest and patriarchal simplicity, to the story of Joseph and his brethren, of Ruth and Boaz, of Rachel and Laban, of Jacob's dream, and of the deliverance of the Jews out of Egypt? It has done more to elevate and

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humanize the thoughts, and to tame the unruly passions, than philosophers of all ages and countries, who have attempted to reform and benefit mankind, and its influence on the national character is incalculable.

It is time for us to say what have been our feelings in perusing the Hindu plays. They were not feelings of unmixed admiration, but of admiration blended with sorrow. The Mrichakati, Sacantola, Malati and Madhava, Uttara Ram Charitra, and Vicramarvasi, are undoubtedly works of genius. They are all highly poetical; but, through the poetry with which they abound, the dark outlines of Hindu polytheism and superstition are distinctly visible. The hall of Indra, with its roof of gold and its pillars of chrysolite, where a thousand gods sit in solemn conclave; the huge sea serpent, which upholds on its head the world we dwell in; Krishna and his shepherdesses; Shiva with his forehead of fire; Kali with her tongue dripping blood; Suras, Asuras, and "Glendoveers" pass before the mind's eye like some unhallowed dream. None of the dramatists had a right conception of the attributes of Him, who rules over all: and to them such dreams were matters of profound veneration, truths not to be doubted. And yet, why should we grieve, when it is time for us to rejoice? The degrading superstition, which hung like a cloud over the length and breadth of the land, from Himalaya to Cape Comorin, from Coromandel to Malabar, is passing away. The bed of the stream, which had erst been dry, is filled half way up with pure and healing waters. The simoom blast is giving place to a gentle breeze. Green pastures start up in the midst of the wilderness, and astonish the eye. The work of regeneration has commenced, and is advancing fast. Perhaps another century shall not elapse, ere the rites and doctrines, which have interwoven themselves with the fibres of Hindu society, shall be completely outrooted, the trammels of caste broken down, and every idol thrown into the sea. The next generation even *may* cease to pay that homage to stocks and stones and creeping things, which is due alone to the Eternal, the Incomprehensible One!

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ART. V.—1. *The Chronology of Creation, or Geology and Scripture reconciled. By Thomas Hutton, F. G. S., Captain, Bengal Army. Calcutta. W. Thacker and Co.* 1850.*

THE circumstances, in which most men, with the exception of a few rich amateur travellers, are placed in India, seem peculiarly unfavourable for the pursuit of science. The civil, military, and medical servants of the Company come out young; their education may be good, so far as it has gone (but that we know cannot be very far) into the domains of knowledge. The cleverest among them, those who are the most intellectual and aspiring, have had time to climb but a few steps of the Babel-like tower of modern science, when the necessities of the public service launch them upon the active duties of their several lines of employment. The civilian—what with the study of the languages, and an immediate induction into the mysteries of rúbukaris, purwanahs, and regulations—is not given much leisure even at starting; whilst the indefinite prospect of a range of metamorphoses, not at all inappropriate in the land where belief in metempsychosis is indigenous, can scarcely be expected to encourage him in application to lines of knowledge, which promise him no assistance in the various departments, into which he may chance to stumble. He may reasonably doubt whether the Financial Secretary knows much of transcendentals, and may even entertain a suspicion whether skill in vulgar and decimal fractions be a *sine quâ non* to an Accountant General; the ability to pen a tolerable article for the *Penny Magazine* on the staples and raw products of India, is evidently wholly unnecessary for a Home Department Secretary; fortunately, too, it requires no acquaintance at all with the laws of the Universe to qualify a man for the Law-Commission; geology wont make a judge, nor conchology a collector; neither chemistry nor botany are the portals to a seat at the Board of Salt and Opium; acquaintance with the *Principia* or the *Mecanique Celeste*, though very sublime attainments in their way, are not likely to raise him to the etherial position of a seat in Council; and he knows right well that he might be the very Faraday of galvanism and electricity, but that the art of devising reasons for the appropriation of Koh-i-núrs, would be far more effective in secur-

* We return, according to our promise, to Captain Hutton's work. Having already considered its Scriptural bearings, we shall now examine into its claims, as a theory of Geology. The present article does not agree in every minute detail with the former; but, if the circumstances were known under which the articles were written, the general agreement would be admitted to be much more remarkable than the occasional discrepancies.—ED.

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ing a berth at the Board of Administration of an annexed province. There is nothing, in short, but a pure love of knowledge —a passion rare among young men—to tempt the young civilian to enter on the thorny path of science.

With the young soldier, the case, except as to the Protean prospects, is much the same. He too must study the languages; must be *set up*, drilled, shaken into his saddle, and become a proficient in "keeping his distance" and in the mysteries of the "halt, dress up" at the proper moment; must attend court-martials, and make himself acquainted with military law; must be prepared for its practice and application, which soon come upon him; must sound the profundities of the pay and audit regulations; and finally must almost magically become an economist of no mean order, to pass through the ordeal of years of poverty without embarrassment, and without being unable to meet the various demands which, as a gentleman and an officer, whether in war or peace, he is expected to satisfy. He too, at starting, has little time for science, and usually less means than the civilian.

The medical man comes to India better prepared, in some particulars, than either of the above classes. Though young, he must have at least made his entrance-bow at the porch of science; ought at any rate to have had a glimpse of the interior of the fane, admired its architecture, and carried away with him an idea of the labour and skill already expended in rearing the edifice. But he too is young; is immediately brought into professional activity; in imitation of his military cotemporary, is probably knocked about from Calcutta to Peshawur; is not much richer; and finds that, so circumstanced, and in such a climate, the performance of his duties, and the keeping up some degree of professional reading, are about as much as he can accomplish. Science has not much to expect from him.

The chaplains of the churches of England and Scotland and the pastors of churches of other denominations, are devoted to a higher calling than the service of science. The same may be said of the Missionaries. Education, as auxiliary to religion and truth, comes indeed under their special care, and very nobly they have put their shoulders to the wheel; so much so, that although there have been, and now are, men amongst them, whose attainments are of the highest order, such as would insure success in every branch of science, and corresponding distinction—yet, with true singleness of eye and purpose, the greater the talents, the richer the intellectual gifts, the more devoted and the more entirely have these been applied to their Master's work. This is as it should be. Science would not wish more than the crumbs of their time, and does not look for material advancement at their hands.

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Again, in India, except at the three Presidencies, the scientist finds no museums, no libraries, none of those facilities, which even second and third-rate cities now present in Europe for the aid and encouragement alike of the student and of the proficient in the various branches of knowledge. Even at the Presidencies, (let those speak who know the real state and practical value of our museums, libraries, and philosophical societies,) we fear, that at best they will be pronounced but sorry affairs; institutions by no means coming up to the intentions of their founders. Away from the Presidencies, there is an utter want of every thing of the kind; no museums, no libraries, and, what is still more disheartening, no means of obtaining works or instruments, except at great cost and risk from England. What wonder if the amateurs of science are few?

The necessity, imposed upon all branches of the public service, for acquiring a competent knowledge of the languages of India, has been favourable to the pursuits of literature. Fewer difficulties present themselves to the philologist. If gifted with the requisite ability, ordinary perseverance will make him an erudite scholar, and will enable him to engage in the archæology, the history, the religious and purely literary works of the various peoples of the East—a wide, and very important field for literary exertion. Accordingly, we have examples from every branch of the service, civil, military, and medical, of profound scholars in Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and other languages. Men in India are well placed for such pursuits, and in some important respects enjoy advantages, which the European *savans* do not. In this line, the Western world had even a right to expect from the Company's servants fully more than they have accomplished; the stores of Eastern literature might have been earlier and more completely made known, and a more rapid progress in disentombing the ancient history of the East might fairly have been anticipated. A Wilson, a Prinsep, and a Rawlinson did not step into the field a moment too soon to save our credit in these respects. Continental Orientalists were very fast leaving us behind them. We are never, therefore, surprised at men in India seeking amusement, distinction, and fame, by devoting themselves to the literature, the history, the antiquities of the nations among whom their lot is cast; they are on the ground for such pursuits, and have much to invite and to encourage them in their labours. The case is very different, however, with the aspirant for scientific acquisition and distinction. Nothing can well be more discouraging than his prospects; and he needs a stout heart to face the difficulties, to appearance almost insurmountable, which

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beset his path. Yet, to the honour be it spoken of the Company's servants, men have been found not only to face, but to overcome, these difficulties: and, although the scientific labours and discoveries of our countrymen in the East cannot be ranked very high, cannot pretend to rival those of the chiefs of science in Europe, they have been by no means insignificant; and when the circumstances under which they were achieved are considered, they must be admitted to reflect credit of no ordinary stamp upon the individuals concerned. We have no intention, however, of calling the muster-roll of our best scientists; we have now to deal only with one branch of knowledge, and confine the few remarks we have to offer to our readers to that branch.

Geology has become an inviting (it may be even said, a captivating) study; and is scarcely, if at all, inferior to astronomy in interest. When Herschel tells us that admission to the sanctuary and to the feelings and privileges of a votary to astronomy can only be gained by one means—a sound and sufficient knowledge of mathematics, the great instrument of all exact inquiry—he at once assigns a reason why astronomy has so few real votaries, and geology so many. Except to a very few minds, the pure, abstract branches of mathematics offer a dreary prospect; and an apprenticeship in the differential and integral calculus forms, by no means, an inducement to enter upon astronomy. The threshold of geology is not quite so forbidding. She appears to dispense with extreme skill in the higher mathematics, and to be content with a less abstract, more experimental class and calibre of intellect. What she deals with in the first instance, is not the contemplation of bodies, which in space are mere points, but the wear and tear of the earth we tread on. She does not bid her votary guage the heavens, but asks him climb the mountain, and read, if he can, what the bluff mass, from cloud-capped pinnacle to rent ravine at its base, may reveal. She tells him to question old ocean, as to the pranks he and his auxiliaries, the streams and rivers, are pleased to play with the land—to catechize light, heat, electricity, and to become as well acquainted, as circumstances admit, with all the denizens of earth and sea. Although her demands are rather encyclopedical, and her knights must be armed *cap-á-pie* in all points complete, yet it is felt that, in her ranks, besides the men at arms, the squires and archers are given place. She discards none of her followers however humble; only let them observe accurately, and record truly, and Geology has learnt from experience that she may be indebted for an extension of knowledge to her lighter-armed troops. She forms the common goal in which the mi-

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neralogist, the conchologist, the botanist, the anatomist, and, we scarcely know how many more sibillant-ending classes, find their lucubrations leading to broad startling facts, and still more startling theories. Under her magical wand even the microscopical observer finds his occupation Titan-like; and an Ehrenberg builds whole strata of the exuviæ of animalculæ. Earth-history necessarily comprehends all the phenomena, past and present, through which her material agents, whether organic or inorganic, passed or are passing. If pursued in a right spirit, the study of God's works, like the study of God's word, cannot be a trifling occupation, whatever line it takes: for man's limited faculties of perception and comprehension *always* prevent him from estimating the special value in the scheme of nature, which any one branch of knowledge may be found to possess. Her modes of record are perhaps nearly as numerous as her modes of action, but the hand-writing of the record is not always equally legible—is in some instances more palpable than in others; yet we may safely assert that every branch of natural history, however minute or gigantic may be its objects, has been ennobled by alliance with the great aims and sublime ends of geology.

With one class, this science cannot but prove a favourite study; for in time of peace there is no other, which will form the eye and mind to that instantaneous perception of the characteristic features of ground, so essential in war to the military man. To acquire even a smattering of the science, a man must have all the activity and indefatigability of the sportsman, with something else in view for their reward than a full game bag. There is no harm in combining the two pursuits, as the one can be easily subordinated to the other; and the killing a wild sheep on the Bolan Hills may lead to after remarks, and eke out a theoretical notion with a few arguments; but there is little chance of the subsidiary becoming the principal object, if once an officer lodges a geologist's note-book in his game bag. Sport or no sport,—river, moor, and mountain are then replete with instruction and amusement; game may be scarce, but geological subjects are multifarious; and as the science exacts topographical knowledge, and then proceeds to give it correctness of detail, maturing the judgment in the general pictures formed of the local features and peculiarities of ground, the man at play is all the time training for the serious business of war.

We must be pardoned for doubting whether considerations of this kind have usually been very operative in enlisting for the service of geology the few military men, who in India have turned their attention to the science: we doubt also whether

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the fact that the East India Company very properly maintains a chemical and geological lecture at their military college, has in this respect been much more influential. A lecture from Macculloch, like his treatise on rocks, must surely have been a heavy article; and that Cadet-mind should revolt at both, could not be surprising. He occasionally, however, seems to have sown a seed, which afterwards, under favourable circumstances, sprang into life and bore fruit. The neighbourhood of the Sub-Himalayahs, and the discovery of a tertiary deposit, rich in fossil remains, aided by the spirit of observation and inquiry, evoked by Lyell's "Principles of Geology," doubtless, had the main share in turning the attention of Cautley, Baker, and Durand, to developing the palæontological treasures of the hills near them; but we have heard one of these officers gratefully acknowledge that Macculloch had laid the foundation of much after-amusement in his life: for that it had been he of the *Treatise on Rocks* that had first given his mind an impulse towards the science, as fruitful in interest and in ill-appreciated importance. Macculloch would probably have been rather vexed, had he lived to see the line which his élèves took—to see them quitting the *fruitful* contemplation of Trap, Gneiss, and Granite, in order to pore over Cuvier's comparative anatomy, collect skeletons from man to mouse, build museum bungalows, and spare neither purse nor person, in order to bring to light the fossil treasures of the Sub-Himalayahs. Yet, even Macculloch would have smoothed his brow, and given a smile of approbation, when Cautley and his medical co-adjutor Falconer won the medal of the Geological Society for exhuming and describing the Sevatherium; and might have admitted, that (though the labours of Baker and Durand were less distinguished) to establish the fact of the existence of gigantic chimpanze-like quadrumanous animals, and to add the camel to the list of fossil remains contemporaneous with the Sevatherium, and with animals allied to the Cuvierian Pachydermata, was some small service to his favourite science. The Sevatherium, and a very fine specimen of a fossil Mastodon with tusks complete, are amongst the most striking fossils in the British Museum, and bear witness in the capital to the labours of our Indian geologists; whilst, at Liverpool and other places in England, further proofs of their exertions may be found. Some of these scattered specimens, though less striking than those in the national Museum, are scarcely of minor interest; and Macculloch's élèves have at any rate done something.

Falconer, we believe to have been professedly a botanist, as he early succeeded to Royle's easy chair at Saharunpore:—but

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geology is very captivating, and the fossil influenza of the vicinity was irresistible. Who could resist a full-blown Sevatherium? Nay, it does not need the apparition of so brave a monster to bid men turn to this alluring study. Far less made a Griffith alive to its charms, albeit a most enthusiastic botanist. We remember his being styled by his engineer comrades, the bravest man in Keane's army of Affghanistan. They used to relate of him, that nothing ever stopped Griffith, who seemed to bear a charmed life; that, when it was courting death to proceed alone beyond the picquets, he might every day be seen walking quietly off into the country to search for plants, always accompanied by a large bright shining tin-box, which, carried on a man's head or shoulder, shot off the sun-beams like one of Colonel Waugh's reflectors, and could be seen for miles. On these occasions, it was always a question, whether Griffith, who was a great favourite, would ever come back; however, the sun was no sooner dropping towards the horizon, than the botanist's day beacon hove into sight, and, in due course of time, in came Griffith, moaning over the poverty of the Affghan Flora. It was a country to make a man a geologist, for if he could not find "sermons in stones," there assuredly was not much else to converse with: and accordingly, even Griffith, the hope and pride of botanical science, as he could not fill his tin light-house to his heart's content, nibbled freely at geology. Our readers must pardon this digression, as, except for his great promise, extensive travel, zeal for knowledge, and a most faithful, indefatigable, truth-loving spirit, we are scarce justified in quoting the lamented Griffith among India's medical geologists. He and Falconer, however, came into our minds from their association with their military friends, and from no purpose of running over the names of many distinguished medical lovers of science.

James Prinsep's death is an era in the history of the Asiatic society; since that event, we have had little to denote intellectual vitality among the "physical" members of the Asiatic society. With the exception, that Falconer was labouring in England at a work on the palæontological remains of the Sub-Himalayah, nothing for years has been heard of their fossil treasures. The junta, which, some twelve or fourteen years ago, was busily engaged in exhuming and describing them, appears to have been suddenly broken up and dispersed: and none seem to have succeeded to their labours. These, it will be remembered, both in the instances specified and in others not here so noted, were confined to observation, rather than to theorizing—to the collection of facts, rather than to the framing or

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aiding to frame, any particular system in vogue among geologists. Naturally enough, there was a leaning to Lyell's views; for his "Principles of Geology" took great hold of the public mind: but our Indian contributors were cautious in their conjectures and none of them hazarded themselves far upon the shifting quicksands of theoretical geology. They eschewed cosmogony. For the last few years, their silence has been so profound, that we began to number them amongst the extinct species of a by-gone Indian era, which (as it passed away, when that talented individual was laid in his grave) might very justly be called Prinsep's era of intellectual activity; for he had the gift of drawing forth the sympathetic co-operation of every class and branch of literary and scientific men to be found in India. The sleep of our geologists turns out, however, not so lethargic as we had imagined; and to our surprise, one of its military votaries now comes forward with a bold, confident step, and a lofty aim, to prove to the world by the "Chronology of Creation" that our suspicions were unjust. Captain Hutton dates the foundation of his work as far back as 1837, and must therefore be considered as putting forth no hasty views. In the present day, few authors dwell thus long and patiently upon their works; and, though of all subjects, theoretical geology merits least to be treated in the off-hand style of the day, we doubt whether, except our author, we can select another instance, within a moderate period of time, in which a writer, with new theoretical views to propound, has been less in a hurry to divulge them. The fact is creditable to him; and, whatever may be our opinions as to the result of his well-weighed lucubrations, we respect the man, who in the present day can take time to think before he writes, and, when he does so, write free from the presumption and sceptical bias of shallow scientists.

In other respects, the author is bold enough, and no bad hand at knocking on the head prior theorists. Armed in Whewell's panoply, he first breaks a spear with the nebular hypothesis, and combats the theory of gradual refrigeration. Lord Rosse's magnificent telescope, which has resolved into clusters of stars such multitudes of Nebulæ, that had before, by instruments of inferior power, been irresolvible, has of course modified the views of astronomers. For a long time, influenced by Halley's idea that these nebulous objects were a gaseous or an elementary form of luminous sidereal matter, and by the elder Herschel's speculations, the opinions of astronomers were very generally in unison with the theory of the latter eminent man; but the late discoveries, made through the agency of Lord Rosse's fine instrument, have shaken astronomers from a

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close adherence to the nebular hypothesis, as originally propounded: and Sir J. Herschel comes to a conclusion, analogous to that adopted by the author—namely, that it may very reasonably be doubted, whether the distinction between such Nebulæ, as are easily resolved, barely resolvible with excellent telescopes, and altogether irresolvible with the best, be any thing else than one of degree, arising merely from the excessive distance of the stars, of which the latter, as compared with the former, consist. Although Sir J. Herschel's views are thus far modified with respect to the basis of his father's beautiful and striking speculations, he does not therefore entirely reject the conclusions to which these pointed, but states the case thus: "Neither is there any variety of aspect, which Nebulæ offer, 'which stands at all in contradiction to this view (his father's). 'Even though we should feel ourselves compelled to reject the 'idea of a gaseous, or vaporous, nebulous matter, it loses little or 'none of its force. Subsidence and the central aggregation con-'sequent on subsidence, may go on quite as well among a multi-'tude of discrete bodies under the influence of mutual attrac-'tion, and feeble or partially opposing projectile motions, 'as among the particles of a gaseous fluid." Having thus drawn a distinction between the nebular hypothesis and the theory of sidereal aggregation, he still notes the former 'as a physical conception of processes, which may yet, 'for aught we know, have formed part of that mysteri-'ous chain of causes and effects, antecedent to the existence of 'separate, self-luminous, solid bodies." Now this is the language of a master in those powers of analysis, which seem to embrace almost every subject in nature. It is the language of one, who knows well, that a very different law of attraction prevails, when the particles of matter are placed within inappreciable distances from each other, as in chemical and capillary attraction and the attraction of cohesion; that the cause of this departure from, or modification of, the law of gravity is as yet undiscovered and undefined; and that, as change in the law of gravitation takes place at one end of the scale, it is not impossible, in the words of Mrs. Somerville, "that gravitation may not remain the same throughout every part of space," and that the day may come, when gravitation, ceasing to be regarded as an ultimate principle, may be embraced by a still higher, more comprehensive law, of which that of gravitation shall only form a particular phase. As yet we know little or nothing of space, of the influences which pervade it, or of the ether, which, without checking the planetary motions, is the transmitting medium of electricity, light, heat, and gravitation between the planet-

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ary bodies. The few therefore, who are masters of the mighty instrument, analysis, see that the empire of laws, affecting the material universe, so far from being known, is but very partially, and, if we may use the term, grossly scanned by the most able and subtile wielders of analysis—that power, which is to the dominion of the physical laws of creation, what Rosse's telescope is to that of space. Such persons therefore are slow to hazard even conjectures, otherwise than as lines of future enquiry, of possible future discovery in the great ocean of untraversed knowledge:—to them matter in its primordial state is not quite so easily disposed of, as with our author, whose words on this subject we proceed to quote.

"It will be seen, from what we have already advanced, that 'a sphere existed, consisting of water, holding soluble matter 'in solution and insoluble matter in suspension; and that this 'sphere revolved upon its axis, by which movement its in-'soluble matter was precipitated to its centre; that there was 'as yet no vital atmosphere, and no watery vapours, and neither 'light nor heat from the sun.

"The first objection, which occurs to this doctrine, arises out 'of the difficulty of conceiving the existence of fluidity in the 'absence of heat—the sun, according to theory, not having yet 'been brought into its present relation with the earth as a '*luminary*. It must be obvious, however, on mature reflection, 'that a body, containing in its bosom, both in solution and 'suspension, the material elements of all the mineral substances 'with which we are acquainted, could not possibly have been 'devoid of heat. The chemical combinations going on within it, 'must, on the contrary, have evolved heat in very considerable 'quantities, and the temperature of the revolving fluid body 'would necessarily have been kept high. This heat was the na-'tural effect of chemical action, and was altogether independent 'of the sun, because that luminary was not yet itself sufficient-'ly perfect to enable it to diffuse active heat. The chemical 'heat, evolved in the chaotic ocean, was the *latent heat*, which 'all bodies appear to contain, and which remains inactive and 'imperceptible, until called forth into its active state by 'chemical combination with other substances.

"Thus, for instance, a mass of carbonate of lime offers no 'indication of contained heat, until a drop of acid is applied, 'when great effervescence immediately ensues, and considera-'ble heat is evolved. This appears to take place independent 'of the sun, and is a proof, that the primeval ocean might 'have been in a fluid condition without the aid of that body—'it being a chemical compound, in which heat was evolved by

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'vigorous chemical action going on within it. The heat, thus 'produced, would nevertheless have been quite insufficient to 'cause evaporation, and would have been confined to the wa-'ters in which it was evolved, imparting to them, perhaps, some-'thing of a thermal temperature, and causing an increased or 'more rapid precipitation of mineral substances. If, therefore, 'it be allowed, that chemical heat can have existence inde-'pendent of the sun, we shall find no difficulty in admitting 'the fluidity of the primeval aqueous spheroid: for that being 'a chemical compound, in which vigorous chemical action was 'going on from the first moment of its existence, must neces-'sarily have been kept at a high temperature by the heat 'evolved.

"But we may in turn demand, from whence do the Nebulists 'derive their heat, the sun not being yet in existence?"—*Chronology, pp.* 24, *&c.*

Now this may have appeared as simple a mode of getting up the steam for our little tea-kettle, the earth, as any other the author could adopt; but, omitting notice of sundry assumptions, which will strike the scientific reader, it unfortunately does not bring us much nearer a satisfactory explanation, than do the sundries of his opponents. The Nebulists might turn round on our author, and say, Why not extend to us the advantage of your unexplained agent, latent heat, for the benefit of matter in nebulous tenuity, as easily, as assume it for yourself in behalf of matter more aggregated, in a state of solution or of suspension in your supposed menstruum? The question would be perfectly pertinent; as also it would be fair on the part of the Nebulists to contest the author's assumptions where, speaking of the nebular hypothesis, he says, "Is it not evident that the intensity 'of heat, necessary to produce this extreme state, must, at some 'former period, have pervaded all space? How then did re-'frigeration commence?" Space and its ether are not so easily filled and disposed of: and who knows the laws and generation of heat, the laws of matter at the "other end of the scale" as before noted, and the laws of interaction between electricity, light, heat, ether, and matter in infinitesimal particles, at inappreciable distances? With a great furnace pouring forth daily over our heads its almost incalculable supplies of heat, and producing almost every motion, observable on the surface of our globe, we are so far from having approached to a comprehension of the modes of action, and means of supply of this great, unfailing magazine of light and heat, that Herschel, speaking of the sun, says:—

"The great mystery, however, is to conceive how so enor-

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'mous a conflagration, if such it be, can be kept up. Every 'discovery in chemical science seems to remove farther the 'prospect of probable explanation. If conjecture might be 'hazarded, we should look, rather to the known possibility of 'an indefinite generation of heat by friction, or to its excite-'ment by the electric discharge, than to any actual combustion of 'ponderable fuel, whether solid or gaseous, for the origin of the 'solar radiation:"—and, in a very suggestive note, he adds, "Electricity traversing excessively rarefied air or vapours, gives 'out light, and doubtless also heat:—may not a continual 'current of electric matter be constantly circulating in the 'sun's immediate neighbourhood, or traversing the planetary 'spaces, and exciting, in the upper regions of its atmosphere, 'those phenomena, of which, on however diminutive a scale, we 'have yet an unequivocal manifestation in our Aurora Borealis?" *Mutatis mutandis,* much of this is applicable to the question of the generation and maintenance of the internal fires of our sphere: and we quote this eminent man, not because we are ourselves, or consider him, what the author would designate, a Nebulist, but because we wish our readers, who may not have given the subject much attention, not to suppose, that the use of the words, chemical operation or latent heat, brings them much nearer the mark than any other set of phrases, thus applied, would.

The fact is, that according to his range of scientific vision, man is very apt to call in creative agency. As he ascends with slow and toiling step the mountain side, his horizon expands; first the valley of his house, which circumscribed alike his views and thoughts, is seen to join the plain; then the latter opens out; presently, it is seen to be dotted with woods, villages, towns; a little higher still—and, when he looks down upon the expanse of plain, he has lost sight altogether of the home, from whence he started: but the sun now gleams upon distant rivers, whose sources he knows to spring from the mountain range on which he stands, and he sees them sweep majestically through the champagne country which they fertilize: higher still, and the summit is reached, and from thence the mighty ocean may be seen, forming a distant horizon, which appears to melt into and blend with the very heavens. Reader, if you are of the privileged few who attain that height, and you hear the whisper of intellectual pride, "all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me;"—beware, and look above you. The home of modest thought and piety may indeed at the moment seem beneath you and out of sight; but the heavens are as far above you as ever, and,

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though they appear to blend with your horizon and to join the earth, yet rest assured that, that old problem, "Knowest thou the ordinances of Heaven? Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?" remains to be solved. Most, who reach that dizzy height, confess this truth—that, as they rise, though they see further, the horizon expands, and to grasp and comprehend nature, seems more and more impossible to mere human intellect. They can trace, or fancy they can trace, the impress and continuous action of the laws of God for the universe of matter to more primordial conditions, than persons of smaller attainments may be able to do; and therefore they will naturally be inclined to call in creative agency, at a point further removed, than those of minor acquisitions and more contracted scientific vision: but both are probably almost infinitely distant from the truth—the mark they aim at. Given the earth in the state in which our author assumes it, and some of his remarks, with reference to the Wernerian and Huttonian theories, merit attention: but we merely indicate a fact of intellectual idiosyncracy, when we observe, that those of higher flight and stronger wing in the regions of science, would naturally, when putting their hands to cosmogony, have recourse to creative agency at more primeval stages, than those at which our author makes his stand. We have no intention by our remarks of deciding, at his expense, in favour of Analysts, or Nebulists. An accomplished mathematician wields indeed a powerful instrument, which, like Babbage's calculating machine, sometimes produces unlooked-for results; but when we read of their formulæ being held "emblematic of omniscience," as condensing into a few symbols the immutable laws of the universe, we cry, "hold, enough." On the contrary, we regard these formulæ as *mechanical* aids to man's limited powers of continuous and comprehensive thought, as the pegs on which he hangs trains of reasoning, and as emblematic of the impotency of human intellect to grasp, unaided, the meanest fragments of the wisdom of omniscience. We would simply warn our readers, to whom we very heartily recommend Capt. Hutton's work, to take a wide glance at the field of science, always, however, bearing in mind that in science, as in religion, a cardinal principle is humility.

We shall not dwell upon our author's Biblical criticism, or his strictures on Dr. Buckland, Kirby, and others: they appear to us frequently sound and judicious. Here, as elsewhere, the author demolishes more easily than he constructs, not an uncommon characteristic of theoretical geologists, and inseparable from the very nature of their subject—systems,

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as the author correctly observes, approaching perfection by degrees, and seldom by leaps. In company with the Rev. J. Pye Smith, however, our author does take a leap, which it is here advisable to notice.

"In endeavouring to prove the high antiquity of our 'earth on evidence derived from astronomy, the Rev. Pye 'Smith observes, that the light, by which Sirius is seen 'by us, moving at its known velocity of 192,000 miles in 'a second, is at least six years and four months in its passage 'to our system. By applying the equation, which Sir W. 'Herschel had established, he brought out, that the brilliant 'Nebulæ, which only that telescope (referring to a four-feet 'reflector telescope) can reach, are distant from our system 'by a number of miles, to express which in common arithmetical numeration requires twenty figures, of which the first 'are 11,765,475, the 11 denoting trillions, and the other number 'billions; the remaining part of the sum being much more than '948 thousand millions. This almost unmanageable number 'is expressed by Sir W. Herschel, as above $11\frac{3}{4}$ millions of 'millions of millions of miles! It follows that the light, by which 'those bright objects become visible to us, cannot have been less 'than one million and nine hundred thousand years in its 'progress. Now it is fully in accordance with the statements 'of holy writ, to believe that the heavenly bodies may have 'existed through ages, previous to the first day of Genesis, 'although they did not give light to our planet before that day. 'The text, it must be observed, insists upon nothing more 'than that light had not yet visited the earth: but it does 'not declare that the bodies, from which that light was 'eventually to proceed, were not already in existence. The application, therefore, of evidence derived from astronomy 'proves indubitably the great antiquity of those material elements from which this system was at length elaborated; and it 'will be perfectly consonant to reason, and in accordance with 'Scripture, to believe, that the creation of the material elements 'of the earth was contemporaneous with the creation of the elements of the heavenly bodies, and that all were left under the 'guidance of certain natural laws to progress towards that state, 'which would eventually fit them to form our present solar system, and for which they were evidently not prepared before the 'first day. Our planet, therefore, and the heavenly bodies, existed together through the undefined beginning, (although not 'precisely in their present relation to each other,) until such 'time, as each had become prepared to assume its proper functions in the system, when, having been perfected, their light

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'would then first have reached or been intercepted by the aqueous spheroid. That period, as the Bible and reason lead us to believe, was the particular point of time spoken of as the first day, when light was, as regarded our earth, to all intents and purposes created. But while the light of Sirius is said to be six years and four months in reaching the earth, and while the light of the brilliant Nebulæ is one million and nine hundred thousand years in reaching it, that of the Sun arrives in only eight minutes. If, therefore, no light reached the earth before the first day, when the effects of the Sun became apparent, it must necessarily follow, that all light had arrived at the same state of perfection on the first day, and consequently, that the light of the heavenly bodies being simultaneously apparent on that day, must prove that of the elementary materials 'of the heaven and the earth' were created at the same time, as the Bible and astronomy teach us to believe;—and that the duration of the period styled 'the beginning' must have been at least long enough to admit of the light of the Nebulæ reaching the earth on the first day—which will give to the strata, from the centre of the planet up to the highest of the *primary* rocks inclusive, an age of no less than one million and nine hundred thousand years before the first day began; and as throughout that period, no organized beings could have inhabited it, there was evidently a time, as the Scripture and Geology disclose, when neither vegetable nor animal life had existence upon the globe."—*Chronology. Pp.* 64-67.

Granting for a moment, that the calculation, in the foregoing passage, of the time required in order that the light of the brilliant Nebulæ, observed by Herschel, should reach the earth be a correct approximation, what would be the author's calculation for the fainter Nebulæ, which, nevertheless, in Lord Rosse's telescope, form such sublime and brilliant clusters of stars? It would be no difficult matter to double, or even treble, the period assigned. When the time comes, as may be reasonably anticipated, that Lord Rosse's instrument is far surpassed, and more distant Nebulæ are discovered and resolved, what then will become of the foregoing calculation, and the argument the author subsequently bases upon it? We are not prepared, however, to admit that it is even a correct approximation to the actual time taken by the light of the brighter Nebulæ in reaching the earth. Sir J. Herschel, in the last edition of that invaluable treatise, his *Outlines of Astronomy*, Art. 803, gives a much more moderate estimate of the period required, in order that the light of a star in the galaxy, having

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the intrinsic brightness of a star of the sixth magnitude, may reach the earth. Two thousand years is the time which he allows; and his calculation appears, though rough and pretending to no mathematical nicety, to be a fair one, founded on as sound a basis as circumstances permit. Either way, however, if we adhere to the formula and its application, which the Revd. J. Pye Smith uses, and bring it to bear on the nebular discoveries of Lord Rosse's telescope—or adopt the sounder and more moderate estimate of Sir J. Herschel, what, in either case, becomes of the comparison, instituted by our author, between the historical and the geological chronology? We must let the writer speak for himself.

"We have likewise adduced proof from the facts of astronomy, founded on the transmission of light from the heavenly bodies, to show that the duration of the beginning, in which the materials were deposited, out of which the volcanic and primary rocks were subsequently elaborated, was no less than 1,900,000 years; and from these data, we may now perhaps be enabled to determine, what has been the lapse of time between the termination of that period and the current year.

"It appears, according to Dr. Buckland, that there are eight distinct varieties of the crystalline unstratified rocks, and twenty-eight well defined divisions of the stratified formations. Taking the average maximum thickness of each of these divisions, at 1,000 feet, we should have a total amount of more than five miles; but as the transition and primary strata very much exceed this average, the aggregate of all the European stratified series may be considered to be at least ten miles.* Now, according to the views set forth in the earlier pages of this essay, it will be seen, that all the primary and volcanic products belong to the period which elapsed previous to 'the first day' of the Scriptures, while the sedimentary or fossiliferous strata belong to the subsequent periods; therefore, in estimating the time which has elapsed since the first day, we have only to consider the thickness of these latter deposits. Consequently, the primary, or azoic, divisions of Dr. Buckland's statement, which he appears to estimate at about one-half of the whole thickness, will have to be deducted; and we shall then have about *five miles* for the thickness of the rest. If, then, half the mean diameter of the globe, or 3,956 miles, *minus* five miles

* Bridgewater Treatise, p. 87.

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'of fossiliferous strata, were deposited in 1,900,000 years, how 'long a time would it require to deposit five miles? The 'answer is 2,404 years, 5 months and 15 days.

"But, as this term is seen to embrace the whole of the tertiary or post-diluvian deposits, it will be necessary to enquire into the probable thickness of these strata.

"On this subject it must be observed, that much uncertainty prevails, 'for some of the formations which contain exclusively the remains of marine animals in certain situations, 'contain, in other situations, river, or lake shells, with wood 'and the bones of land animals. It is, therefore, probable, that 'while the waters in one lake or basin might be saline, those in 'another lake might be fresh; and *two contemporaneous formations* may hence contain *very different organic remains.* As the 'London clay and plastic clay and sand, taken together, equal or 'exceed in thickness the beds of plastic clay, *calcaire grossier* 'and gypsum in the Paris basin, the London clay may properly be regarded, not as identical with the *calcaire grossier* and 'gypsum, but as their geological equivalent. While the beds of 'limestone and gypsum were depositing in the Paris basin, the 'London clay might be deposited in the London basin; and this 'may explain why many species of marine shells in the London clay are similar to those found in the *calcaire grossier.*'* 'Now the Rev. J. P. Smith furnishes a table, which shows a 'thickness of 2,520 feet for the whole of the series; but, as this 'includes the strata both of the Paris and London basins, which 'are held to be equivalent, it is evident, that this amount will 'have to be reduced—a fact, indeed, which he himself pointed 'out, since he informs us that 'all the tertiary beds must not be 'understood as being successionary; for many are mutually 'equivalents in different districts, for example, the London clay 'and the Paris gypseous rocks.'† The thickness of the strata, 'as given by this author, (who, be it remembered, leans wholly 'towards the indefinite chronology of modern geologers) is 1,000 'feet for the London strata, and 360 feet for those of Paris. 'Retaining, therefore, the larger amount, and expunging the 'lesser, the entire thickness of 2,520 feet will be reduced by 360 'feet, leaving 2,160 feet for the remainder. It is even more than 'probable, that many of the strata of central France, would, on 'a careful examination, be likewise expunged, and the reader is 'therefore requested to bear in mind that this calculation can 'lay no claim to exactitude; for with such rough and uncertain 'data, an approximation to the truth is all that can be aimed

* Bakewell's Introduction to Geology, p. 369.

† Rev. J. P. Smith on Geology and Scripture, p. 374.

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'at; still the coincidences elicited are so truly remarkable, that 'we may fairly venture to pronounce the Scripture chronology 'to be undoubtedly the true one. The question then now 'stands thus :—

"If five miles of strata were deposited in 2,404 years, '5 months, and 15 days, how long a time would it require to 'deposit 2,160 feet? The answer is 194 years and 12 days.

"Now, deducting this period from the age found for the whole 'series, we have—

Years.	Months.	Days.
2,404	5	15
Minus 194	0	12
Or 2,210	5	3

'for the time which elapsed between the first day and the Mosaic 'deluge; or an agreement, within fifty-two years, with the age 'assigned by the chronology of history! A trifling discrepancy, 'which, taking into consideration the extreme difficulty of ob- 'taining an accurate measurement of the various strata, may, in 'conjunction with what has already been urged, be fairly ap- 'pealed to, as affording positive evidence of the strict truth of 'the scriptural chronology, and of the total untenability of the 'indefinite and unorthodox chronology of modern geology.

"Thus we have the historical and geological chronologers, 'supporting and substantiating each other in the following 'satisfactory manner, namely :—

Historical Chronology.

	Years.	Ms.	Ds.
From the first day to the commencement of the tertiary or post-diluvian era*	2,262		
From the deluge to the birth of Christ	3,216		
From the birth of Christ to the current year	1,849		
	7,327		

Geological chronology.

From the first day to the commencement of the tertiary or post-diluvian era	2,210	5	3
From the deluge to the termination of the tertiary period.	194	0	12
From the tertiary period to the birth of Christ	3,021	11	18
From the birth of Christ to the current year	1,849		
	7,275	5	3

'or a discrepancy of only fifty-one and a half years between 'the two chronologies, and which, moreover, is seen to arise 'solely from the difficulty of obtaining an exact and accurate 'measurement of the various strata. Thus the coincidence of

* This is according to the chronology of the Septuagint.

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'the conclusions, arrived at by such very different means, is so 'truly remarkable, as to fix this chronology as the true one;— 'and we are consequently at liberty to declare that the chrono- 'logy of creation, engraven in legible characters on the strata 'of the earth, is absolutely and positively identical with the 'chronology of Scripture history; thus clearly and substan- 'tially proving, what every well-regulated mind will be pre- 'pared to expect, namely, that the word of the ever-living God 'is established beyond a doubt upon the testimony of his 'works."—*Chronology. Pp.* 473-479.

Now the whole of this train of argument and comparison is based upon the application of an equation, established by Sir W. Herschel and applied by the Rev. J. Pye Smith, and upon an avowedly incorrect series of assumptions, or approximations to the supposed thickness of the strata, composing the Earth's crust. We have before shown Sir J. Herschel's more moderate estimate of the time required for the light of Nebulæ to reach the globe; and it is needless to note in detail the author's loose estimate of the thickness of the earth's strata. We are convinced, that the writer was not aware how such equations are established, and still less aware, how they may be applied by different minds: otherwise, even if all his material data had been exact and absolutely certain, he would never, on such grounds, have written so dogmatically. We have a great respect for the powers of analysis; but it is well known, that in their application to questions of physical science, a tentative course has sometimes necessarily to be pursued in the formation of equations. How vast the very field of the theory of equations! How complicated their application to physical problems! How easy to err! Let mathematicians say and write what they please—but very much of the ἐμπειρία enters into the modern analysis, and its application to complex problems in physical science. Who, really conversant with the matter, would base the positive evidence of the strict truth of the Scriptural chronology upon the application, made by the Rev. J. Pye Smith, of a tentative equation, established in Sir W. Herschel's day, to the light of the Nebulæ?*

Whilst bringing together, because intimately connected, the second and the thirtieth chapters of the Chronology of Creation, we have passed over the great body of the work: but this was necessary, in order to lay before the reader its rash hypothetical line of argument—a very towering structure to be based on a

* The only safe guide to the distances of the heavenly bodies beyond our system is Parallax. While the limit, at one end of the scale, is, where the diameter of the earth's orbit subtends an angle of half a second, or a second—Captain Hutton appears to forget, that, at the other end, he has to deal with infinity.—Ed.

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formula. We now revert to the earlier chapters of the work, and, passing over our author's views with respect to the creation of light; the sun's non-visibility on the first day of the Mosaic account of Creation, and the proofs of its existence on that day; also, the formation of the firmament on the second day, as the result of the sun's action and of natural laws—all, subjects on which much might be written, with reference to Captain Hutton's views—we hasten to make the reader slightly acquainted with what the author considers his new theory—the elevation of land, simultaneous with corresponding depressions at the Antipodes. We give his own words:—"Although it is generally admitted, that where elevation has taken place, there too must an attendant depression, or subsidence, ensue, yet no writer seems to have considered it probable, that such subsidence was *the result* of corresponding up-heavements, or elevation of strata, on the opposite or antipodal surface of the earth; and yet this would appear, from the tendency of the foregoing remarks, to be likewise necessary to the production of dry land; for, as we have seen that neither up-heavements from the centre (Fig. 1), nor superficial depressions (Fig. 2), when taken singly, could possibly have produced the desired object, it becomes necessary to inquire, whether their conjoint effects might not have done so. Let us then look into the probability of this apparently new theory.

"If we suppose, that, simultaneous with the elevation of a mountain range on our surface, a depression at the antipodes were to occur, it seems to be then apparent, that the depth of water being diminished in a degree corresponding to the magnitude of the disruption, would cause some dry land to appear above the surface of the water,—namely, the summits of the uplifted strata."—*p.* 127. After referring to a diagram in illustration of this supposition, the writer proceeds to remark:—"It may possibly be objected that if up-heavements took place, as here supposed, the mountains would still be liable to re-sink as soon as the exertion of volcanic force had ceased. The results of the movement are, however, in this instance, very different from those which would follow the mere outburst of matter from the centre. No continuance of heat is required to give stability to the mass up-heaved, nor is any internal hiatus liable to be formed; the mass is still solid from its summit to its base, and no sooner does the exciting cause of the up-heavement cease, than the heat decreases; the fused mass hardens or solidifies; the rocks, which had been subjected to the influence of heat, become more consolidated; and the hollow created

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'—which is at the antipodal base in the depth of the ocean—is 'instantly filled with a dense volume of water, which nothing 'but a counter volcanic movement can displace. Thus the 'mountains, being so firmly based, cannot re-sink without the 'express exertion of that power which gave them birth.

"It may be necessary, however, to guard against the pos- 'sibility of any objection being raised to this view, on the 'plea that the elevation of one position of the surface, and 'depression of another, would, if equal in their respective 'amounts, merely neutralize each other, and so preserve the origi- 'nal depth of water unchanged."—*Pp.* 128-129. After again referring to the diagram, the author proceeds:—"To those, who 'have paid due attention to the subject, the truth of this line 'of reasoning must, we should imagine, be fully apparent; 'for it is a well-ascertained fact in geology, that the volcanic 'and plutonic rocks traverse the whole of the strata from 'unknown internal depths, to some height even above the 'superficial strata: these igneous products proceed from the 'central regions of the earth, and could their dykes and 'columns be laid open by a section, they would appear rising 'up in lengthened masses like gigantic trees, throwing out their 'branches in every direction towards the surface. It is easy 'to perceive therefore, that the antipodal depression, conse- 'quent on the escape of this matter from the centre, will 'contain more water than the matter ejected at the surface 'has displaced, for not only is the igneous mass protruded at 'the surface, but it extends from that surface downwards, to 'an unknown distance; while, therefore, the centre has poured 'forth this enormous mass, *the elevated portion only* has displaced 'the water, and, consequently, the depression will contain, not 'only that which has been so displaced, but likewise a quantity 'equal in volume to the column which proceeds from the centre 'to the surface. Granting, therefore, the accuracy of the views 'here contended for, we have still to show by what natural 'laws the land was made to emerge from out of the waters."—*Pp.* 130-131.

Here we think the author has been misled by his own diagram. Does he mean that an enormous mass of plutonic and volcanic matter can be protruded into the superficial crust of the earth without causing displacement and elevation? We suppose that he does not. On the contrary, here and elsewhere, the train of argument always is that the intrusion of igneous matter from the action of subterrene fires causes up-heavement and shattering of strata. The column, which proceeds from the centre to the surface, must, before reaching the surface, displace

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something upon the author's hypothesis of prior sedimentary deposition; that something displaced must be up-heaved; more or less (whatever the quantity of injected igneous rocks) the surface sedimentary strata must be affected; and any change of level, from a mountain range to a ledge of sea-covered reef, taking place in these formations, alters the bed of the original ocean, and displaces water. The depression, according to the writer's theory, cannot at least contain exactly as much as is displaced at the surface by the combined operation of injected igneous rock and up-heaved strata.

The only part of the theory, which appears to us new, is the assumption, without proof, that depressions *must be antipodal.* Here again we have failed to discover any reason for the assigned phænomenon, except the author's diagram, which seems to us to have induced error in more ways than one. It has long been known and stated, that it was possible to divide the globe into two hemispheres, the one containing nearly all the land, and the other nearly the entire ocean; and various views have been propounded respecting the elevation of the main mountain ranges of the earth, their general directions in the Old and in the New World, and the phænomena, which were likely to accompany the rapid or the slow up-heavement of such masses. But, with reference to the pressure of the atmosphere on the globe of the earth, and the tidal oscillations to which its surface is exposed, as also the perturbations due to the varying actions of the masses of the sun and moon, men had not traced any inevitable connection between the rise of Plutonic or volcanic masses in one hemisphere, and corresponding depressions at the antipodal point of the diameter of the earth—that diameter being about 8,000 miles. This is a conclusion, which may, upon the face of such a diagram as that given by the author, wear a greater air of reason, than when a more correct notion of the magnitude of the masses on the earth's surface, with respect to its own size and diameter, is steadily kept in sight. We will again borrow the clear language and lucid illustration of Sir J. Herschel:—"The highest mountain hardly exceeds five miles in 'perpendicular elevation: this is only one 1,600th part of the 'earth's diameter; consequently, on a globe of sixteen inches 'in diameter, such a mountain would be represented by a pro-'tuberance of no more than one-hundredth part of an inch, 'which is about the thickness of ordinary drawing-paper. 'Now, as there is no entire continent, or even any very exten-'sive tract of land, known, whose general elevation above the 'sea is any thing like half this quantity, it follows, that if we 'would construct a correct model of our earth, with its seas,

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'continents, and mountains, on a globe sixteen inches in diameter, the whole of the land, with the exception of a few prominent points and ridges, must be comprised on it within the thickness of thin writing-paper; and the highest hills would be represented by the smallest visible grains of sand.

"The deepest mine existing, does not penetrate half-a-mile below the surface: a scratch or pin-hole duly representing it, on the surface of such a globe as our model, would be imperceptible without a magnifier.

"The greatest depth of sea, probably, does not very much exceed the greatest elevation of the continents; and would of course, be represented by an excavation, in about the same proportion, into the substance of the globe: so that the ocean comes to be conceived as a mere film of liquid, such as, on our model, would be left by a brush dipped in colour, and drawn over those parts intended to represent the sea: only, in so conceiving it, we must bear in mind that the resemblance extends no farther than to proportion in point of quantity. The mechanical laws, which would regulate the distribution and movements of such a film and its adhesion to the surface, are altogether different from those, which govern the phænomena of the sea."

We are far from considering the solidity of our planet to be so satisfactorily and indubitably decided, as the writer of the *Chronology of Creation* does. Ours is a surface knowledge of the globe, as the above admirable illustration will have shown to our readers; and we can experiment upon the laws of compression of solid bodies only within very confined limits—and those on the surface of the earth. What do we know of the laws of compression through the 4,000 miles to the earth's centre? If we calculate according to the *known* laws of compression, we obtain somewhat astounding results, even for the densities of air and water, let alone rock, after traversing a mere fraction of the 4,000 miles. Whether such extreme condensation of material substances is at any point met and held in equilibrium by the increased elasticity, consequent on the very high temperature of the central ignition, is matter of pure hypothesis; but the solidity, or the cavernous structure, of our planet is very far indeed from being a settled question. Philosophers have, therefore, naturally been in no hurry to connect mountain chains with antipodal depressions by a movement throughout the whole diameter—that is, by a movement of 8,000 miles of matter, of the conditions of which they were necessarily ignorant.

Humboldt comprises the multifarious phenomena connected with plutonic and volcanic action in one conception—the reaction of the interior of our planet against the crust and superficies.

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In dwelling upon the features of this constant antagonism, and entering upon a very interesting general description of Plutonic and volcanic exhibitions of force, it is clear that he entertains little or no doubt of the existence of very extensive cavernous conformations, along (what may be termed) the lines of conflict between the crust and the interior. Speaking of the gradual up-heavement of whole continents, so far from basing them on solid matter, his words are, "*wie der Bergketten auf langen Spathen*," *i. e.*, 'like the mountain chains upon (or over) long chasms;' and, after noting the rapidity of earthquake oscillations and subterrene thunder, as transmitted through the solid strata of the earth, and as independent of the chemical composition of the rocks forming the strata of mountain regions, or of those which are the sub-strata of alluval plains, he attributes the modification, which the earthquake wave has been observed to undergo on reaching mountain ranges, to their *mechanical* structure. He says, "Where the latter (the earthquake wave) 'courses regularly along a coast, or at the foot and in the direction of a mountain chain, occasionally is observed, and that 'for centuries, an interruption at a certain point. The undulation proceeds onwards in the depths; but, at these points, it 'is never felt at the surface. The Peruvians say of these unmoved superior strata, *that they form a bridge.* Since mountain chains appear up-heaved over chasms, so, the sides of 'these vaults may favour the undulation, when parallel to the 'chain; but sometimes (mountain) chains cut across the 'earthquake wave perpendicularly." He then proceeds to give instances: but it is unnecessary to prolong the quotation, as our object was only to warn our readers against dogmatically asserted assumptions, and to show them that the man, who, more than any living, has made the phænomena of volcanic agency his study, and whose acquaintance with the mountain ranges of the Old and New World is more extensive than that of any other scientific traveller, holds language not at all consentaneous with that of the author, whose work is under consideration.

We cannot set aside the views of Humboldt lightly, nor can we those of Herschel, where he says—"Astronomically speaking, 'the fact of this divisibility of the globe into an oceanic and a terrestrial hemisphere is important, as demonstrative of a want 'of absolute equality in the density of the solid material of the 'two hemispheres. Considering the whole mass of land and 'water, as in a state of *equilibrium*, it is evident that the half 'which protrudes, must of necessity be *buoyant;* not of course, 'that we mean to assert it to be lighter than *water*, but, as compared with the whole globe, *in a less degree heavier* than that 'fluid. We leave to geologists to draw from these premises

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'their own conclusions (and we think them obvious enough) 'as to the internal constitution of the globe, and the immediate 'nature of the forces, which sustain its continents at their actual 'elevation; but in any future investigations, which may have 'for their object to explain the local deviations of the intensity 'of gravity, from what the hypothesis of an exact elliptic figure 'would require, this, as a general fact, ought not to be lost 'sight of." We wish that Sir J. Herschel had condescended to expand his suggestion, and, in his own clear lucid language, had explained more at length the conclusions at which he points:—but we think his meaning sufficiently indicated to admit, without presumption on our parts, of his observations being considered to accord generally with those of Humboldt. The two start indeed from very different points, but they arrive by their several routes at one and the same inference—a cavernous conformation under the crust of the earth.

We leave Kirby and the writer of the *Vestiges of Creation* to the mercy of our author, as well as Penn and other Mosaical geologists, from some of whom however Captain Hutton makes interesting excerpts, and applies them with ingenuity to the development and support of his own views. Our article has already extended to such a length, that we will not attempt to trace these views further, than to say that on the whole we think the author's attempt to reconcile the Hexaemeron Mosaicum with the present state of geological science, the best that it has been our fortune to peruse. Our readers will have seen that we think it faulty; that we do not consider the writer successful in establishing some of the hypotheses, on which his system is based; and that we think him hasty and confident in many assumptions, on which he pronounces very dogmatically. But there is much worth reading in the book; facts are grouped under new aspects; and, if the author is not very satisfactory in constructing his own edifice, he demolishes the airy structures of others much more efficaciously.

Josephus remarks upon the triple character of the writings of Moses, the enigmatical and the typical being two, that *ὅσα δ' ἐξ ἐυθειας λεγεσθαι συνεφερε, ταυτα ρητως εμφανιζοντος*,—"where straight-forward speech was useful, those things he manifested clearly." The distinction is just, and, as might be expected, nowhere more apparent, than when the Decalogue, the word and hand-writing of God, is compared with the law, which, though the word of God, was essentially typical; whilst the promise "it shall bruise thy head, and thou shall bruise his heel" was deeply enigmatical. Yet, even in the Decalogue, the word of God condescends to language suited to man's understanding, and speaks of the great

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and infinite one, in whom is all power, and by whose will all things exist, as a jealous God. Jealous of man? No; no one in his senses so comprehends it, though the meaning is as clear and palpable as language could make it, and any one, attempting to render it more intelligible, runs imminent risk of stultifying himself, if not his readers. What then were the six days, the Hexaemeron, of the Lord, and his Sabbath? To a creature like man, whose foot is upon a sphere, which revolves round its axis once in twenty-four hours, there are, under existing circumstances, night and day; but to the Creator, from whom have emanated the ordinances of Heaven and its starry hosts, what are His day or night? and time—how does He measure it? Yet if it be His purpose to convey to man, with a practical view to man's welfare, a notion of the Creator's active creative agency, during periods of the eternity passed, and of comparative rest from that creative agency, how could this be done in language suitable to man's comprehension and having reference to man's measure of time, and to his capacity, and that of other organic beings, his servants, for continuous hard labour? Thoroughly precise and clear in its specific application, there is no reason why the law for the observance of the Sabbath may not have combined, like other portions of the Levitical Law, the utmost precision of terminology with an enigmatical and typical base and sense. The injunction to man is clear; its beneficial operation indubitable, both bodily and spiritually; and the terminology express as to man; but, as regards the Creator, it may be symbolical. To borrow a mathematical illustration, the Hexaemeron may be a time formula, suited to man; but the development of which may transcend not only his intellect, but that of far higher orders of beings. We do not say that this is so; but that for any proof to the contrary, it may be so. We *know* that, "He hath made every thing beauti-
'ful in his time; also He hath set the world in their heart, so
'that no man can find out the work, that God maketh from
'the beginning to the end."

Now this is always the aim of the geologist: but whether they speculate like Plato on the overwhelmed Atlantis—like Montaigne on "l'impression que ma riviere de Dordoigne faict de mon temps"—or like modern geologists on every thing in the range of science—Faust's words ring upon the ear ominously:—

Da steh' ich nun, ich armer Thor!
Und bin so klug, als wie zuvor;
* * * * * * *
Und sehe, dass wir nichts wissen können!
Das will mir schier das Herz verbrennen.

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ART. VI.—*A Year on the Punjaub Frontier; by Major Herbert Edwardes, C. B. 2 vols. London. Bentley.*

THE appearance of this work has been looked for with no ordinary anxiety, both in India and in England. In the latter country, it was known by the public at large only that the gallant author could fight; here it was known that he could wield a pen as effectively as he could wield a sword. In England, it was enough for all purposes, that Major Edwardes had been accepted as a hero, and endorsed as a lion; and there was no need of any literary reputation to secure for his book an immediate and an extensive currency. A man, who has been feasted and flattered—who has been addressed by public corporations and invited to preside at public dinners—who has had the lion's share of a Blue-Book, and been the subject of leading articles in the leading journals of Great Britain—and all, when scarcely thirty years of age—cannot rush into print without securing for himself an extensive circle of readers. If Major Edwardes's literary capacity had been on a par with Tom Cribb's, the whole edition of his book would still have been subscribed for by the "Trade" before the day of publication. It is on the faith of his performances in the field, not in the closet, that the English public have been eager to read his book. But in India we know something more about the man. We know that he had established for himself no mean reputation as a public writer before he had done anything to obtain for himself, by his achievements in the field, a niche in the temple of history. We knew him first as a writer; and now are prepared to welcome him again in the character which first won our regards. Whatever else may be expected from Herbert Edwardes, no one will expect from him a dull book. He has long been known amongst us, as a sparkling vivacious writer; and the present work, the first of a sustained character which he has yet offered to the public, will not belie the general estimate of his talents.

Still it must be acknowledged that the book, as a whole, is not altogether so good a book, as with our knowledge of the author's capacity, we felt entitled to expect from him. The fact is that it has been written under unfavourable circumstances. There are marks of haste stamped unmistakeably on every chapter. It seems to have been written under an urgent necessity to keep the press supplied with copy, and amidst numerous social distractions, fatal to sustained literary effort. Indeed, when we consider what have been the environments of the gallant author during his sojourn in England, it is a marvel how

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he has contrived to get through so much literary work and to get through it so well. And, after all, the roughness of the workmanship is not ill suited to the kind of work. It is in keeping with the subject. A more polished and elaborate performance would not have harmonized so well with the rugged country and the rude people of Bunnú and the irregular action of the Múltáni campaign. There is an off-hand, rough-and-ready style about the book, which well reflects Edwardes's career. It does not smell of the lamp, any more than his actions smell of the order-book. There is no rule or method about it. There is no feeble dread of "responsibility." He has not written with the fear of the critic before his eyes, any more than he acted with the fear of the Commander-in-chief before them. The book is simply a narrative of personal adventure. It does not aspire to the dignity of history; nor does it pretend to be a grave topographical and statistical account of the Punjabi frontier. The first volume is devoted to an account of the settlement of Bunnú; the second to a record of the more stirring scenes of the Múltáni out-break, and the subsequent campaign. There is more novelty in the former, if there be more excitement in the latter. Edwardes has told the story of his Múltáni adventures, and in a very striking manner too, in the Blue-Book; and seeing that he cannot improve upon the accounts, written on the spot, he has quoted largely from the published papers. This increases the historical value of the book; and, perhaps, in the eyes of a large majority of its readers, will not diminish its attractions. Edwardes's Blue-Book letters are anything but heavy reading; and, to the greater number of English readers, are what Hazlitt called "as good as manuscript." We, however, who are pretty well acquainted with the contents of all the indigo-covered folios, which illustrate the recent history of India, should have liked a little less of the Blue-Book and a little more novel matter.

We do not intend, in this place, to enter upon any discussion relative to the services of Major Edwardes. It appears to us that there is a disposition, in some quarters, to under-rate those services, and to impute to a gallant and successful soldier certain defects of character foreign to the real nature of the man. They who know Edwardes best—we ourselves are not of the number—are the most eager to declare their high sense of the genuine nobility of the successful young soldier. His heroism, they say, is not on the surface. He has not the mere guinea-stamp upon him; but is gold to the very core. We do not pretend to decide the question; nor do we desire to do so in this article. In candour, indeed, it must be acknowledged that we have *time*

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only to give, in the crudest possible manner, some account of Major Edwardes's book. Our Review will be in the hands of our readers, before the volumes on which it is based; and we need not, therefore, offer any apology for quoting largely from the *Year on the Punjaub Frontier*, and connecting our extracts with a very slender thread of original discourse. It is our wish that Major Edwardes should speak for himself. We purpose to obtrude ourselves as little as possible upon our readers—merely passing the contents of the two volumes in review order before them.

Difficulties and dangers he had many to encounter; one of the first of the former was what Iago calls a "raging tooth." A hero, who is proof against such a calamity, is a hero indeed. An enemy of this kind it is as difficult to fly from as it is to beat. Edwardes attacked him manfully enough; but he was too much for the political assistant and his ally. Two or three years afterwards he can afford to laugh at the encounter; but it was no laughing matter at the time. *Hæc meminisse juvat.* It is pleasant enough in the recital:—

"*1st Dec.*—Halt. Dreadful toothache. Cortlandt and native doctor had three pulls. Broke two pieces off. Tooth where it was. Ditto the pain. Petitions all day."

I remember it as if it were yesterday. A distracting tooth, at the opening of a campaign, was not to be quietly endured; and I expressed a regret that there was no dentist in the wilds of Eastern Afghanistan! The General was a man of resources; he had seen a case of dentist's instruments going cheap at an auction, the last time he was in the civilized world, and bought them in case of accidents. The time had now arrived to turn this investment of capital to account. The General himself (and here he drew out an enormous pair of forceps!) would draw my tooth with great pleasure.

"Do you think you could?"

"I'll try."

"Very well. Let me get into this chair, and take hold of the arms. Now I'll give you three pulls, and no more. Go on!"

(An awful struggle, with a sensation of my head being twisted off like a duck's, ending with a sharp snap, and a sigh from the General.)

"Is it out?"

"No. It's only a bit."

"Proceed with pull two."

(Struggle repeated; same result. Another "bit," but no tooth. The General, in despair, lays down the tongs).

"I won't try any more, for fear I should break your jaw; but there is a native doctor in one of my regiments, who is very clever."

"Have him in. You have a right to one more pull."

(The situation of the native at this crisis was truly pitiable. On the one side, his whole soul revolted from the impropriety of being cleverer than the General, his master. On the other, an "Assistant-Resident" was no subject for trifling. The blessed Prophet alone knew whether he might not hang the doctor, if he did not pull the tooth out without a pang! Invoking the Imaums, he raised the forceps, looked imploringly in my face, seized the tooth at a respectful distance, and—villain of villains!—shook it

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at arm's length, as though it had been the nose of his first wife. The "Assistant-Resident" jumps from his chair with the forceps between his teeth, and —*Exit* the native doctor from the tent like a flash of lightning.)—*Vol. I. pp.* 45-46.

The next passage we have marked is of another kind. Major Edwardes holds a graphic pen, and describes both scenery and costume with considerable effect. Here is a picture of a Viziri Paradise:—

Let me now describe "The Wells" themselves, for neither before, or (nor) since, have I ever seen anything like them.

Between the eastern cultivated lands of Bunnú and the hills of the Khuttuks lies a wide, undulating waste, called the "Thull," or desert. It is not exactly a desert, because it furnishes vast herds with pasture every winter; but it is a wilderness to any but the savage, taught by long experience to direct his path over it by the peaks of the surrounding mountains. Towards Bunnú it is all sand, which nearer the hills gets hardened by a layer of gravel and loose stones washed down by the annual floods. Both the sand and the stony ground only require rain to make them yield abundant crops; but rain seldom visits either, and the tract consequently is in general only dotted over with scrubby vegetation and the prickly bushes of the camel-thorn.

Even this is a paradise to the Viziri tribes, who, expelled from their own stony and pine-clad mountains by the snow, yearly set before them their flocks of broad-tailed sheep and goats, and strings of woolly camels and curved-eared horses, and migrate to the sheltered plains of Bunnú. Here they stretch their black blankets or reed mats on the bare earth, over two sticks set up like the letter T, the four sides draggling on the ground, or fastened with a stone, if the wind gets high. Under this miserable shelter huddle men, women, and children, afraid neither of the rain's cold, nor of the sun's hot beams, and in happy ignorance of better things. From the corner of the tent the shaggy muzzle of a hill sheep-dog peeps out, and watches over the tethered donkey and sick goat left at home with the women, while the flocks are out at graze. Tall and stately as a pine, the daughter of the mountains stands at the tent-door in her indigo-dyed petticoat and hood, smiling on the gambols of her naked brats, or else sits down and rubs out corn for her lord, who is a-field. The men, stout, fierce, and fearless of man or beast, and clad in shaggy cloaks of brown camel's hair, drive out the herds to feed, and, with long juzail in hand and burning match, lie full-length along the ground, and listen for strange foot-falls on the horizon. Should an enemy approach, the discharge of a single matchlock would be heard over the whole plain, and summon thousands of the tribe to the point where danger threatened or plunder allured. Such were the people whose Gipsey-like encampments strewed the Thull at the time I speak of.—*Vol. I. pp.* 53—54.

We may hang up beside this a general sketch of the Bunnúchis:—

The Bunnúchis, or, as they generally style themselves Bunnúwals, are bad specimens of Afghans.* Could worse be said of any human

* In a former note I have recorded my humble admiration of Mr. Elphinstone's "Account of Caubul." I regret, however to be obliged to except his very high estimate of the Afghan character, in which I think I should be supported by every political officer on the North-west frontier, and almost every military officer who served in Afghanistan. Nothing that I have met with is finer than their *physique*, or worse than their *morale*.

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race? They have all the vices of Puthans rankly luxuriant, the virtues stunted. Except in Sindh, I have never seen such a degraded people. Although forming a distinct race in themselves, easily recognizable at first sight from any other tribe along the Indus, they are not of pure descent from any common stock, and able, like the neighbouring people, to trace their lineage back to the founder of the family; but are descended from many different Afghan tribes, representing the ebb and flow of might, right, possession, and spoliation, in a corner of the Kabúl empire, whose remoteness and fertility offered to outlaws and vagabonds a secure asylum against both law and labour. The introduction of Indian cultivators from the Punjab, and the settlement of numerous low Hindus in the valley, from sheer love of money, and the hope of peacefully plundering by trade their ignorant Muhammadan masters, have contributed, by intermarriage, slave-dealing, and vice, to complete the mongrel character of the Bunnú people. Every stature, from that of the weak Indian to that of the tall Dúrani; every complexion, from the ebony of Bengal to the rosy cheek of Kabúl; every dress, from the linen garments of the south to the heavy goat-skin of the eternal snows, is to be seen promiscuously among them, reduced only to a harmonious whole by the neutral tint of universal dirt.

Let the reader take this people, and arm them to the teeth; then, throwing them down into the beautiful country I have described, bid them scramble for its fat meads and fertilizing waters, its fruits and flowers—and he will have a good idea of the state of landed property, and laws of tenure, as I found them in 1847. Such, indeed, was the total confusion of right, that, by way of gaining for this community a new point of departure, and starting fair on an era of law and order, Colonel Lawrence, as I shall presently show, was obliged to declare that five years' possession should be considered a good title.—*Vol. I. pp.* 71—73.

We have a better opinion of the Afghans than our author, in spite of the atrocities they have committed. It would be unjust to estimate the national character, in accordance with what we saw of the people during our occupation of their country. We saw them under the most unfavourable circumstances—circumstances but too surely calculated to call forth the flavour of all their worst qualities without extracting the aroma of the good. There was no possibility, under such circumstances of irritation and exasperation, of our seeing the sunnier side of the Afghan character. We might as well expect to extract a fine flavour of docility and fidelity from the dog, by tying a tin kettle to his tail, or goring him with the horns of a bull. If we have seen the Afghans vindictive, treacherous, cruel—what wonder? What better lessons did we teach them? If the "bloody instructions" which we taught "returned to plague the inventor," who can marvel? It is always so written in the book of life. As we make people, so we find them. They, who have seen the Afghans at times, when there has been nothing to rouse into action the bitternesses and asperities of their nature, have given them credit for the possession of qualities, which go far to counterbalance the evil characteristics, which, in seasons of intense national excitement and under extraordinary provocation, have been brought out with such forbidding prominence.

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Having seen now what sort of people are the Bunnúchis, it were worth while to understand what sort of a country is Bunnú. It appears to be a country bustling all over with forts. Major Edwardes's account of his first acquaintance with the place (on paper) is very amusing:—

A highly intelligent native, named Agha Abbas, of Shiraz, who was employed by the late Major R. Leech to make a tour through parts of the Punjab and Afghanistan, in the year 1837, reported that there were "full four hundred, if not five hundred, forts and villages in the district." (A fort and a village in their language mean the same thing. There was not an open village in the country.) Ten years later, I sent a spy before me into Bunnú to draw me a rough map of it. He returned with a sheet of paper, completely covered over with little squares and lozenges, and a name written in each, with no space between.

"Why, Nizam-úd-dín," I said, "what is this?"

"That," he replied triumphantly, "why that's Bunnú!"

"And what are all these squares?"

"Oh! those are the forts."

A pleasing prospect for the individual to whom the subjugation of Bunnú had been confided.

Subsequently, in making a revenue assessment, two hundred and seventy-eight forts were actually registered in the body of Bunnú alone, without counting those in the outside lands of the Miris, or those of the Viziri interlopers on the border.

So that I have always considered that Agha Abbas's lowest estimate, four hundred, was a correct one of the forts of Bunnú.—*Vol. I. pp.* 73-74.

In place of all these little forts, it occurred to the political officers in the Punjab, that it would be desirable to build one large one. It was easier to talk about this than to accomplish it. Edwardes very soon discovered that a King's College education had not fitted him particularly well to play the part of a military engineer. But, nothing daunted, he set to work to trace out the design of a grand new fortress to be called Dhulipgurh, after the Maharajah. His virgin efforts in this direction would probably have astounded a Bordwine or a Straith; but, somehow or other, the new fort was not only designed but constructed. Edwardes's own account of the matter is worth quoting:—

It may easily be conceived how much I now felt the want of a military education, and that practical knowledge of field fortification, which every cadet acquires (if he has got any sense, and wishes to be a soldier, and not a clothes-horse for red jackets) at either Addiscombe, or Sandhurst. I had not had these advantages: and the consequence was that, though holding the commission of Lieutenant in an army belonging to the most civilized nation of the nineteenth century, I was driven to imitate the system of fortification, which one of the most barbarous races of Asia may have inherited, for aught I know, from the dispersed architects of Babel. However, General Cortlandt and I put our heads together, and made the best we could of the matter. Sitting up in my tent one bitter cold night, with scale and compass, pen and paper, we planned and elevated, and built up, and knocked down, and dug imaginary ditches, and threw out flanking bastions, till, in our own

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opinion, we made the place very little inferior to Gibraltar. The military reader will judge from the annexed plan, whether he would like to have the job of taking it.

The inner fort or citadel was to be one hundred yards square; its walls twenty feet high (including ramparts of six feet), and nine feet thick. It was to be surrounded with a deep, dry ditch. The outer fort, or cantonment, was to be eighty yards from the inner one, its walls ten feet high, and six feet thick, and the whole surrounded with another ditch about thirty feet deep. Both ditches could be filled with water from a canal close by. The citadel was to contain lines for one native regiment, a magazine, and a Commandant's house, which I intended to occupy, if I stayed that year in Bunnú. In the middle was to be a well. Four heavy guns were to mount the four inner bastions. The cantonment, or outer fort, was to contain lines for three more regiments of native infantry, one thousand cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and eighty zumburuhs, or camel-swivels. The two troops of horse artillery would be distributed in the four outer bastions, three guns in each. One side of the outer-fort was to be given up to the cavalry and artillery horses, and camels of the zumburuhs.

The plan of putting the cantonment round the foot of the citadel, as an outer wall, was thought, by both General Cortlandt and myself, better than a separate inclosure at a distance; as, by our arrangement, the fort and cantonment became a mutual protection. As matters turned out, some months afterwards, it might have saved the life of the Commandant of the fort, had Colonel Lawrence's plan of separating the cantonment been abided by; but, in building a fort, even Vauban would not think it necessary to provide for such a contingency as the citadel being besieged by its own garrison! This, as the reader will see, was, ere long, the fate of Dhulipgurh.

Having thus projected our fort, we had next to consider how to build it. It was not likely that we should get many of the Bunnúchis to rivet their own chains; and, if we sent to the other side of the Indus for workmen, great delay would be occasioned. General Cortlandt informed me that Runjit Sing was in the habit of making the Sikh army build their own forts, and quoted the instances of Jurmud, Peshawur, Dund-Sahutti, Mozuffurabad, and Hazarah; but there was nothing they would not have done for their "great Maharajah." Golab Sing, and other powerful Sirdars, had also persuaded the armies they commanded to labour at fortifications; but they did it by making an *amusement* of it, not a *duty*, and by themselves carrying a few blocks of stone, as an example. The present seemed to me an occasion, when, whether it were an amusement or not, it was the imperative duty of the Sikh force to build the fort, which was to secure the interests of their sovereign, and their own personal safety; and accordingly, on the 21st of December, as entered above, in the Diary, "the different sides of the fort were this day portioned out to the regiments." &c. How this fared, the reader will soon see.—*Vol. I. pp.* 163—166.

Before the old year had expired, an attempt was made by a Ghazi on Edwardes's life; but the men only succeeded in killing an unhappy sentry. The event is thus recorded in the British officer's journal:—

December 27th.—Court-martial resumed, and the proceedings closed. In the middle of it, however, a disagreeable interruption occurred. A Bunnúchi, armed with a naked sword, tried to force his way into the council-tent, where I was sitting on the floor in the midst of the Sikh officers, and inflicted three severe wounds on the sentry at the door. The noise made us all look up; and, seeing what was the matter, I called out to

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the sentry to bring down his bayonet and run the fellow through; whereupon he brought it to the "charge," and put the Bunnúchi to flight. He had not gone ten yards, however, before a sepoy of Bishen Singh's regiment caught him in his open arms as he went by, hugged him like a bear, tripped him up, and finally fell on him. The crowd of infuriated soldiers would have killed him instantly, had I not interfered upon impulse, though I rather regretted it on reflection. All the Bunnúchi Mullicks in camp were at once summoned, to see if they could recognize him; but nobody knew him. Every Mullick, who asked him what fort he belonged to, received for answer, "Your's!" At last he declared himself of a certain fort in the tuppeh of Alladad Khan, who was sent off instantly to make inquiry.

The sentry who was wounded at the tent-door died within two hours afterward. His skull was cut right through, and the blade had entered into his brain. I must see about his widow.—*Vol. I. pp.* 184-185.

Two days later Edwardes writes:—

December 29th.—General Cortlandt has put the Ghazi formally on trial in his court. His account of himself is as follows; several days ago he came into camp, and saw me sitting out under a *shumyanuh* (awning), surrounded by petitioners. The thought occurred to him that it would be easy to kill me; so he went home, and propounded the question to his religious adviser, "Whether any man killing a Feringhi would be a *shuhid*, or blessed martyr?" The Mullah replied, "Decidedly, and a very meritorious act it would be; but the Sahibs had a nasty habit of hanging criminals and exposing their bodies on the gallows—a custom, which disgusted and terrified respectable Muhammadans, and prevented them from becoming martyrs." The same priest put up an extraordinary prayer at the Musjid, appropriate to the calamity which had fallen upon Bunnú, in the arrival of the *Zalim Sahib-log* (tyrannical Englishmen), and implored the interference and help of God in this crisis. It is not strange, therefore, that the prisoner, a youth just full grown, and full of pride and strength, should have brooded over these matters till, as he says himself, "the fixed determination came into his heart, immediately after saying his noon-tide prayers, to go and kill the Sahib!" Taking down his sword, therefore, and putting on his best clothes, he set out; and, on the road, seeing another Mullah at prayers among some tombs, he threw him his old *paijamuhs* (loose trowsers), exclaiming, "Take these in the name of God!" The Mullah replied, "*Kubul!*" (it is accepted). This some of the Pushtu interpreters understand to have meant in its vernacular usage, "May God prosper your undertaking!" Others understand it in its simple Persian sense, "Your offering is accepted." Approaching the camp after this costly religious sacrifice, he threw his scabbard into a field of sugar-cane, so as not to be in his way; and, knowing the prohibition against taking arms into our camp, he hid the naked sword under his clothes. He then entered the lines, and went to my tent; and, finding I was not there, followed to General Cortlandt's, where he saw us all sitting at the court-martial. From this time he continued to lurk about, and endeavoured to get in. At length growing impatient, he asked a Murwuti, "If the Sahib was likely to come out?" The Murwuti replied, "Not till the evening;" and he then made up his mind to force his way in by cutting down the sentry, and accordingly attacked him as before related.

Hence it is clear that the *pir* (religious instructor) was the instigator of the *morid's* (disciple) crime, and I have sent to arrest him. My own opinion is, that *Shihadut* and *Ghuzza* (both military martyrdom) are cases

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in which it is both politic and just to consider the faith-expounder, as, *ipso facto, particeps criminis*. Martyr-mania might soon be stopped in Bunnú, if the priest had to pledge his disciple in the cup of beatification, which he holds out.—*Vol. I. pp.* 195—197.

We think so too; and if in Ireland, certain *pirs*, calling themselves Christians, were so treated, it is probable that their *murids* would be less murderously disposed. It is pleasant to turn from this to something of a brighter kind:—

A thing occurred to-day, which I know not whether to ascribe to good feeling or fear. The Miri chiefs have sent deputies of their own, along with others from their enemies, the Bukky-kheyl Viziris, to say that, through my interference (on the 28th December), in breaking down the Viziri dam on the Tochi river, they have now sown all their lands, and, if I had no objection, the Viziris were welcome to a fair share of the water from this time. Both deputies said that the Miris and Viziris have now come to an amicable agreement; and, under the influence of fear (the Viziris of me, and the Miris of the Viziris), I trust they will get on in future without squabbling, and cultivate their opposite sides of the river without firing at each other across the stream.

These interferences were the bright spots of my wild and laborious life. The peace, that ensued, came home to so many, and the cultivation, it permitted, sprang up and flourished so rapidly under that genial sun, that one's good wishes seemed overheard by better angels, and carried out upon the spot, before charity grew cold. And, indeed, this is the great charm of civil employment in the East. The officer, who has a district under his charge, has power to better the condition of many thousands; and the social state of the people is so simple, that his personal influence affects it as rapidly as the changes of the air do the thermometer. In England the best men can scarcely hope to see their seed come up. Even charity is organized away out of the hands of individuals. A well-dressed secretary turns the handle of a mill, into which rich men throw guineas at one end, while poor men catch half-pence at the other. Sometimes the guineas come out in blankets and coals instead of half-pence, but the machinery is the same; and the giver and the receiver never see each other's faces, and feel sympathy and gratitude only in the abstract.—*Vol. I. pp.* 216—218.

These last remarks on the super-organization of English charity are very true in themselves, and very happily expressed. There is no country in which so much is given away—in which so much is done as in Great Britain, for the relief of the distressed and the reformation of the criminal; and yet, somehow or other, poverty and crime thrive and flourish rankly in spite of all that is done to suppress them. There is no keeping down these ill weeds by the surface application of charitable societies. The fact is, that there are too many societies, and too little charity. There is too little personality in the humanity of the present day. Men *give;* they do not *act.* They subscribe their guineas to this, or that, public institution; and think that they have done all that is required of them. But it is not the amount given, but the manner of giving, that really relieves and reforms. The charity of the day has too much of

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system in it, and too little *heart*. The kindly word often does more than the ready hand to raise the wretched and to strike sunshine into the despairing breast. It is not enough to drop your money at the poor man's door, or to fling it into his pale face. Really to do good by giving, we must know those to whom we give; and above all, we must sympathize with them. Alms-giving without sympathy is of little worth. The money, that seems worked out from a machine, of the real nature of which the recipient knows nothing, is always thanklessly received. It is taken as a mere matter of course. It awakens no feeling of gratitude, no good feeling of any kind. It does not come from the heart, and therefore it does not touch the heart. It is a mere affair of secretaries and committees and subscription lists. In those lists are the names of many, doubtless, who give in the honest spirit of philanthropy; but what they give is filtered through a machine, and the heart is lost before it reaches the recipient. If people would do more for themselves, and leave less to be done by others—those others being salaried officials, who absorb no small portion of the funds subscribed for charitable purposes—it is not improbable that there would be less misery and less crime in the world.

The lights and shadows chase each other with rapidity over the pages of this book. We come now again upon another scene of attempted murder:—

After transacting *cutcherry* (office) business for an hour or two, I was sitting with Swahu Khan, Viziri, and his interpreter, talking over Bunnú affairs, when the cry arose that "Swords were going!" Swahu Khan, having no arms (according to camp rules), bolted out of the tent; while his "man Friday" began dancing about, wringing his hands, and ejaculating: "Oh, that I had now a sword! This is the evil of taking away men's proper tools!" Having ever since the first attempt of this kind kept a double-barrelled pistol on my table, I now cocked both barrels, and walked outside, for the row had grown quite deafening, and I thought there must be a dozen Ghazis at least; in which case, one person inside a tent fourteen feet square would stand but a poor chance. Scarcely had I got out at one door, than the Ghazi (for there proved to be only one) forced his way through the sentries and *chuprassis* (official messengers), and entered my tent at the other door. Hearing the rush, I turned round, and could see, through the screens of the tent, a Bunnúchi with a naked sword plunging after me like a mad bull. (The outside door of an Indian tent turns up, and is supported on props during the day, as a kind of porch to keep off the sun. It is very low, and I knew that the Ghazi must stoop as he came out, so here I took my stand.) His turban was knocked off in stooping at the door, and, when he stood up outside, he glared round for his victim, like a tiger who had missed his spring. Then his eyes met mine; and, seeing no resource, I fired one barrel into his breast. The shock nearly knocked him down, for there could not have been two feet between us. He staggered, but did not fall; and I was just thinking of firing the other barrel at his head, when a stream of soldiers

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and camp-followers, with all kinds of weapons, rushed in and bore away the wretch some twenty yards towards a native's tent, into which, hacked and chopped in every direction, he contrived to crawl; but was followed up, and was so mangled by the indignant crowd, before my people could interfere, that I wonder he survived a minute. He lingered, however, till night, in spite of the remedies which the native doctor, by my orders, applied to him. The rage of the soldiery was beyond description, and I had great difficulty in preventing his being carried off to be burnt alive. Even late in the evening a deputation came to say, that it was apparent the Ghazi could not live out the night, and "had he not better be hanged at once, while he had any life in him?" I said: "No; let him die; the example will be just as great, perhaps greater, if his body is exposed on the gallows afterwards."

My tent, immediately after this startling occurrence, was besieged by the officers and soldiers—some half naked, just as they had rushed from the fort-works, when they heard my pistol; and it was really quite sufficient compensation for the danger, to see the unfeigned anxiety of the men, and hear their loud greetings and congratulations. All discipline was lost in such a moment of strong feeling. Thirty swords at least, covered with blood, were held out among the crowd, and as many voices shouted: "I hit the dog, *this* way!" "I cut him, *that!*" And certainly they had not left much of him untouched; though they had been too much in each other's way to deal very fatal blows. Then came all the officers and sirdars of the force, throwing down *nuzzurs*, and whirling money round my head—as is their custom on occasions of triumph or deliverance—and the sun set before I could get rid of the assembly. The worst part of the whole business is, that the Ghazi slashed one of my *syces* (grooms) most severely before he entered my tent, and I am afraid he is anything but out of danger. The poor fellow was cooking his dinner, and the cowardly rascal sliced him with his tulwar all down the back.—*Vol. I. pp.* 241—244.

Murder is considered but a small affair—mere child's play in that part of the world. Even lads, who in our effeminate country would be learning Virgil and playing cricket, boast of their half-dozen murders. Grown-up men count their performances in this direction by the score. Hear what Edwardes says about it:—

In the course of some other business, Ursula Khan, a fine young lad, sixteen years old, son of one of the Surauni Mullicks, came in to impart to me his own and his father's uneasiness about past murders. "What," he asked, "is to be the law?" I asked him, jokingly, "What does it signify to a lad like you? how many men have you killed?" He replied, modestly, "Oh! I've only killed four, but father has killed eighty!" One gets accustomed to this state of society; but in England, what monsters of cruelty would this father and son be considered! Indeed, few people would like to be in the same room with them. Yet, *cæteris paribus*, in Bunnú they are rather respectable men.—*Vol. I. pp.* 259-260.

Taking our extracts, as we have marked them, in due succession, without regard to the matter of which they treat, we come now to a passage, which is worth pondering, regarding the character and resources of Golab Singh:—

For this reason, I think there cannot be anything more unfounded than the alarm so prevalent, both in India and England, about Golab Singh's

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military resources. Those, who have had the best means of inquiring into them, estimate his guns under one hundred, his cavalry under two thousand, and his whole infanty, regulars and irregulars together, under twenty-five thousand. Of the guns the majority are of small calibre (two or three-pounders), suited only to hill warfare. It is doubtful whether he could bring half-a-dozen troops or batteries of six-pounders into the field. Such an army, ill-equipped, ill-clothed, and ill-paid, need not be very terrible to the rulers of British India, who can afford to occupy their most recent conquest with nearly fifty thousand men.

The Indian newspapers are now teeming with Golab Singh's hospitality to English travellers in Cashmere. That singularly able man has evidently appreciated the English character, and is getting the legs of the public under his mahogany. The tide of opinion will perhaps now turn violently in his favour, and from being "the most dangerous enemy," he will become "the best friend" of the British Government. Truth, as usual, lies between the extremes. Golab Singh neither is, nor ever will be, a sincere friend of the British Government. What Asiatic Sovereign is? It is sufficient if they are consistent allies. Be they Hindus, or be they Muhammadans, their religion, which is their strongest sentiment, dreads and abominates Christianity. They are thus incapable of love; but they are not so of gratitude.

Golab Singh is probably as grateful as a very bad man can be, and divides the merit of his success in tolerably equal shares between our power and his own cunning. Old age and good fortune have dulled the once keen edge of his ambition, and he would be contented if he could be assured. He knows that he is known. He has the English papers read to him, and sees that he is an object of suspicion to all, and of ambitious hope to many. He dreads the British, because the British dread him; and stores his armoury, because he is threatened with a war "next cold weather." If ever, therefore, he becomes our actual enemy, it will either be, because he thinks us his, or because, in moments of difficulty, we desert ourselves, and cause him to be doubtful of the issue. A musket-barrel is said to be "proof," when it has been loaded to the muzzle, and fired off without bursting. Golab Singh has a right to claim "the Tower mark." We may suspect, nay, we may know, that he truckled with the Sikhs before the battle of Gujurat; but we know also that he did *not* go over. Take him therefore *quantum valeat*, he is a reed that must not be leant on—not a club, that we need fear.—*Vol. I. pp* 277-278.

The next extract which we have marked for quotation, we give with no common pleasure. It carries its own comment upon the face of it, and needs not a word from us:—

It is right that I should not suppress the next entry in my Diary, as it is very much to the credit of my friend, though very little to my own.

"*Sunday Morning, 13th February*, 1848.

"My dear E.,—Do you have service on a Sunday: or, if you do not, *will* you? We are four Christians here; and, where the blessing is promised to the two or three that gather together, surely it ought to be done.

"John Holmes always attended prayers at Peshawur, and was pleased to do so.

"I was asked by Mudut Khan, only a few days ago, whether the laws of our religion prescribed any regular worship? I am not for displaying the matter unnecessarily: but surely this is wrong. I could add plenty of arguments, but you can well imagine them. Only do not think that I wish to assume the Mentor, or that, if you have any repugnance to the arrange-

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ment, I shall think you a worse man, or a worse Christian than myself or others; but I really think what I propose, to be the duty of every man. I know how much happiness it leads to.

"Yours very sincerely,
"R. G. TAYLOR."

If I knew that Colonel John Holmes was a Christian at all, I certainly was not aware that he had any feeling about Christian duties, or had been in the habit of attending divine service at the house of Major George Lawrence at Peshawur. I thought that General Cortlandt and myself were the solitary members of our Church in that wild region; and, if it never occurred to either him or me that it would be well to read together, I trust it was from no indifference to the Sabbath itself. Indeed the suspension of the fort works upon that day, though a matter of necessity, and perhaps life and death, sufficiently proclaimed its sacred character in our eyes to both Hindus and Muhammadans.

And now that Taylor proposed to me to claim Holmes as a Christian, and ask him to join our service, it startled me.

Colonel Holmes, or as he was commonly called by the Sikh soldiers, "John Holmes Sahib," was a half-caste, who had served in the Company's native army as a musician, but left it and carried his knowledge of European drill across the Sutlej to Lahore, where he speedily rose to be an officer, and was now the Colonel of a regiment of regular infantry. He could talk English, and did his military duty well. He also professed Christianity; but there was much excuse for any one not knowing this, as he lived like a Muhammadan, probably, "as his father before him;" for, in a petition for pension presented to Government after the Colonel's death, there were, if I rightly remember, set down in the catalogue of his surviving family, the extraordinary items of "three mothers and two wives!" This was quite consistent with the manners of the native soldiers among whom he lived, and was obnoxious to neither Muhammadan nor Hindu, so long as he passed for one or the other, or was known by both not to be a Christian. But, if we claimed him as a Christian, it could not fail to incur scandal, as the general principles and ordinances of Christianity are well known to all Asiatics, and with reference especially to marriage, are gladly supposed by them to be very indifferently observed.

Such at least was my feeling on the point; and I attempted to bring Taylor to the same opinion. But he was too good to be ashamed of anybody; and, though much better aware of Holmes's character than I was, and how little likely he was to reflect credit upon *us*, he still thought we might reflect some good on *him*. "What chance," he said, "is there of his becoming better, if you exclude him from your congregation? and how can we tell at what moment the hearing of the Truth may take effect upon him?" So that it was for the pure sake of doing religious good that Taylor battled; and I was so struck with the charity and generosity of the motive that I gave way; we had prayers in my tent, and Taylor was happy.—*Vol. I. pp.* 297—300.

We should have been sorry, indeed, if this entry had been suppressed. If nothing else in the story redounds to Edwardes's credit, his manner of telling it is highly creditable to him.

In the following we see one of many instances of native mis-rule, and the benefits of British interference put forth for the protection of the weak against the strong:—

Dewan Dowlut Raie, when he succeeded his father, Lukki Mull,

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reluctantly remitted three thousand rupees; and the revenue of Kolachi remained at sixty-one thousand rupees a-year till the autumn of 1847, when I passed through Dera Ishmael Khan, on my way back to Lahore from the first Bunnú expedition, and found myself surrounded by petitioners, both against Guldad Khan and the Dewan.

Guldad, it appeared, had been obliged to pawn his jewels and private property to meet the demands of his master; and one of the chief accusations against him, was that of not repaying the sums he had thus borrowed to make up the revenue of the Crown!

Still louder, however, were the cries of the rate-payers. A perfect crowd of Gundapuris followed me across the river, and presented me the following petition:

"We, the Zemindars of Gundapur, humbly represent that Dewan Dowlut Raie has made Guldad Khan our master; and, as he is a tyrant, the country has been ruined in consequence. The hand of his exactions has over-reached the threshold of every Afghan and Hindu in Gundapur.

"It has now pleased God to bring a British officer among us, and with him justice and consideration for the poor; and we are grateful for the hope thus afforded us of mercy. We, pray you, in God's name, to relieve us of the intolerable burden of our present revenue, to abolish the contract, and settle a certain share of the produce of the soil for us to pay in future, so that we may all know what we have to pay. Take this tyrant, Guldad Khan, away from the government, and give us some one who will rule justly, that our country may not be depopulated.

"It is now some years since he took violent possession of lands belonging to many of the small farmers, which he continues to enjoy. Restore these to us; and make him give up also the unjust fines and forfeitures he has inflicted on us.

"It is only five days ago, since his brother set the soldiers on us, and wounded fourteen zemindars, for no cause whatever. Some of the wounded were too weak to come to complain; but others are here. Hear their petition, and do justice.

"For God's sake remove Guldad Khan, abolish the present revenue, and give us a new settlement according to the produce. Confer a just ruler on us, and deserve our eternal prayers."

The English reader of the above heart-stirring appeal will hope this was a solitary case, even under the government of the Sikhs; but it was impossible to set foot in any corner of the province misruled by Dewan Dowlut Raie, without being similarly assailed by the petitions of an oppressed people.

No sooner did Sir Henry Lawrence receive my report of the condition of the Kolachi country, than he moved the Durbar to interfere, and procured a reduction of the revenue to forty-eight thousand rupees. But the reduction came too late. The country was already ruined; the cultivation abandoned; the over-taxed shops deserted; and the great water-dams, on which the crops are entirely dependent, allowed to fall in pieces.—*Vol. I. pp.* 467—470.

We must pass a little out of the regular order of the passages we have marked for quotation to give the sequel of this:—

A great many of the Tukwaruh people have fled in despair to Tak, to live under Shah Niwaz Khan and some to Murwat; "any place," they say, "is better than the Kolachi country." The last autumn revenue has not

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yet been collected; the people unable to pay, and the Khan's sepoys unable to make them. I have at once excused the cesses on ploughs, turbans and shops; and the poor fellows, seeing something done for them, have gone away to consult how to pay the rest. They have been persuaded also to repair their water-dams, on my guarantee that they shall not be broken any more.

While all this is going on, Guldad Khan has not even taken the trouble to meet me on his frontier, though he knows I am come to settle the revenue of his country, and that (things are in such a dreadful state) it is quite a toss-up whether he is turned out or not. One thing must be said on his behalf;—he was born without common sense. To help him, I appointed his sensible and good-natured cousin, Kalu Khan, to be his deputy; but it appears that Guldad, like Shakespeare's "great lubberly post master's boy," has been crying over the indignity. "Am I not the Prince then? Isn't Kolachi my country? You sha'n't put it in order." He will not even let Kalu Khan collect the revenue for him, though he does not know how to do it himself.

Shah Niwaz Khan of Tak arrived in camp, and gives a modest but satisfactory account of his country. His best report, however, is in the mouths of the common people of the districts round, who already compare him to his wise grandfather, Surwur Khan. He shows as much moderation in his prosperity, as he did fortitude in his troubles. I cannot say what a happiness it is to me to have had it in my power at once to restore him to his home, and to recover a whole people from ruin. It is, perhaps, the best thing I have done on this frontier: yet it was only a happy hit:—a thought that it would do—a recommendation to Lawrence—his order—and it was done! Talk of conjuring trees with singing birds out of a mere cherry-stone, why here is a populous country conjured up, in a waste, by the scratch of a pen. Happy Asia, where such things may alone be done! Sad Asia, whose princes so seldom do them!—*Vol. I. pp.* 497—499.

Returning now to the previous chapter, we take a passage, which is among the most interesting in the book. It gives us no little pleasure to aid the publicity of so gratifying a fact:—

A highly interesting circumstance connected with the Indian trade came under my notice. Ali Khan, Gundapurí, the uncle of the present chief, Guldad Khan, told me he could remember well, as a youth, being sent by his father and elder brother with a string of Kabúl horses, to the fair of Hurdwar on the Ganges. He also showed me a Pushtu version of the Bible, printed at Serampore, in 1818, which he said had been given him thirty years before, at Hurdwar, by an English gentleman, who told him to "take care of it, and neither fling it into the fire nor the river; but hoard it up against the day, when the British should be rulers of his country!" Ali Khan said little to anybody of his possessing this book, but put it carefully by in a linen cover, and produced it with great mystery, when I came to settle the revenue of his nephew's country, "thinking that the time predicted by the Englishman had arrived!" The only person, I believe, to whom he had shown the volume, was a Mullah, who read several passages in the Old Testament, and told Ali Khan "it was a true story, and was all about their own Muhammadan Prophets, Father Moses and Father great Noah."

I examined the book with interest. It was not printed in the Persian character, but the common Pushtu language of Afghanistan; and was the only specimen I had ever seen of Pushtu reduced to writing. The accomplishment of such a translation was a highly honourable proof of the zeal

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and industry of the Serampore Mission; and should these pages ever meet the eye of Mr. John Marshman of Serampore, whose own pen is consistently guided by a love of civil order and religious truth, he may probably be able to identify "the English gentleman," who, thirty-two years ago, on the Banks of the Ganges, at the frontier of British India, gave to a young Afghan chief, from beyond the distant Indus, a Bible in his own barbarous tongue, and foresaw the day when the followers of the "Son of David" should extend their dominion to the "Throne of Solomon."—*Vol. I. pp.* 485—487.

Before we close the first of these two interesting volumes, and accompany the gallant author to the neighbourhood of Múltán, we must show how very narrowly he escaped being cut off at the very commencement of his adventurous career. He was out on a foray against a recusant chief, and soon found himself, very poorly supported, in the very thick of a hornet's nest:—

I thought the best chance I had was to make my few fellows fight, whether they would or no: so I led them round to the rear of the Nassur Camp, and got them between it and the Hill, under a dropping fire of bullets, which did little or no harm; then beckoning with my hand to the Nassurs, I told Kalu Khan to shout to them, in Pushtu, to surrender;—a bare-faced proposition, to which the Nassurs replied only with a handsome volley of both bullets and abuse. "Come on," they cried "come on, you Feringhi dog, and don't stand talking about surrender!" In truth, it was no time, for the fire was getting thick; so, seeing nothing else left, I drew my own sword, took a tight hold of a chain bridle, given me prophetically by Reynell Taylor, stuck the spurs into Zal, and, calling on all behind me to follow, plunged into the camp.

The attacking party always has such an advantage, that I am quite sure, if our men had followed up, few as they were, they might have either seized, or killed, Shahzad; but it shames me to relate, that out of seventy or eighty, not fifteen charged, and scarcely a dozen reached the middle of the camp.

The dozen was composed of Muhummud Alim Khan (I think I see him now with his blue and gold shawl turban all knocked about his ears!) Kalu Khan, and Lumsden's Duffadar of guides; each backed by a few faithful henchmen. The only officer *non-inventus* was the Sikh Russaldar. The *mêlée*, therefore, was much thicker in our neighbourhood than was at all pleasant, and how we ever got out of it is unaccountable; but we did, after cutting our way from one end to the other of the Nassur camp. Somewhere about the middle of it, a tall ruffian, who, I was told afterwards, was Shahzad's brother, walked deliberately up to me with his juzail, and, sticking it into my stomach, so that the muzzle almost pushed me out of my saddle, fired! The priming flashed in the pan, and, as he drew back the juzail, I cut him full over the head; but I might as well have hit a cannon ball, the sword turned in my hand; and the Nassur, without even re-settling his turban, commenced re-priming his juzail, an operation which I did not stay to see completed. Between 1845 and 1849 there was no lack of peril on the Punjab frontier, and I, like all the rest, had my share; but I have always looked back to the moment, when that juzail missed fire, as the one of all my life when I looked death closest in the face.—*Vol. I. pp.* 512—514.

We now open the second volume; and enter upon more stirring scenes. Edwardes was at Derah Futteh Khan, when tid-

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ings reached his camp that Agnew and Anderson had been attacked and wounded at Múltán, and were in imminent peril. The author's account of the arrival of this stirring intelligence is one of the most graphic passages in the entire work:—

It was towards evening of April 22nd, 1848, at Derah Futteh Khan, on the Indus, that I was sitting in a tent full of Belúchi zemindars, who were either robbers, robbed, or witnesses to the robberies of their neighbours, taking evidence in the trial of Bhowani Singh, recounted in the last chapter.

Loud footsteps, as of some one running, were heard without, came nearer as we all looked up and listened, and at last stopped before the door. There was a whispering, a scraping off of shoes, and brushing off of dust from the wearer's feet, and then the *purdah* (curtain) at the door was lifted, and a *kossid* (running messenger), stripped to the waist and streaming with heat, entered and presented a letter-bag, whose crimson hue proclaimed the urgency of its contents. "It was from the Sahib in Multan," he said, "to the Sahib in Bunnú; but, as I was here, I might as well look at it."

I took it up, and read the Persian superscription on the bag: "To General Cortlandt, in Bunnú, or wherever else he may be." It was apparently not for me, but it was for an officer under my orders, and the messenger said it was on important public service; I had, therefore, a right to open it, if I thought it necessary. But there was something in the kossid's manner, which alike *compelled* me to open it, and forbade me either to question him before the crowd around me, or show any anxiety about it.

So I opened it as deliberately as I could, and found an English letter enclosed, directed to either General Cortlandt or myself. It was a copy, taken by a native clerk, of a public letter, addressed to Sir Frederick Currie by Mr. P. Vans Agnew, one of his Assistants on duty at Múltán, with a postscript in pencil written by Mr. Agnew, and addressed to us.

The following is a copy, and appended is a faithful fac-simile, which will be regarded with mournful interest, as the last tracings of a hand ever generous, ever brave, which held fast honour and public duty to the death:

"*Múltán, 19th April*, 1848.

"MY DEAR SIR FREDERICK,—You will be sorry to hear that, as Anderson and I were coming out of the fort gate, after having received charge of the fort by Dewan Múlráj, we were attacked by a couple of soldiers, who, taking us unawares, succeeded in wounding us both pretty sharply.

"Anderson is worst off, poor fellow. He has a severe wound on the thigh, another on the shoulder,* one on the back of the neck, and one in the face.

"I think it most necessary that a doctor should be sent down, though I hope not to need him myself.

"I have a smart gash in the left shoulder, and another in the same arm. The whole Múltán † troops have mutinied, ‡ but we hope to get them round. They have turned our two companies out of the fort.

"Yours, in haste,

(Signed) "P. A. VANS AGNEW."

* Written "shouldier" by the native, and corrected in pencil by Mr. Agnew.

† The word "Múltán" is inserted in pencil by Mr. Agnew.

‡ Thus corrected in pencil by Mr. Agnew, the native having mistaken the original "mutinied' for "continued," and further on "round" for "bound."

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POSTSCRIPT IN PENCIL.

"My dear Sir,—You have been ordered * to send one regiment here. Pray let it march instantly, or, if gone, hasten it to top speed. If you can spare another, pray send it also. I am responsible for the measure. I am cut up a little, and on my back. Lieutenant Anderson is much worse. He has five sword wounds. I have two in my left arm from warding sabre cuts, and a poke in the ribs with a spear. I don't think Múlráj has anything to do with it. † I was riding with him when we were attacked. He rode off, but is now said to be in the hands of the soldiery.

"Khan Singh and his people all right,

"Yours, in haste,

"P. A. Vans Agnew.

"19th, two P. M.

"To General Cortlandt, or

"Lieutenant Edwardes,

"*Bunnú.*"

During the perusal of the above letter, I felt that all eyes were on me; for no one spoke, not a pen moved, and there was that kind of hush, which comes over an assembly under some indefinite feeling of alarm. I never remember in my life being more moved, or feeling more painfully the necessity of betraying no emotion. After lingering over the last few sentences as long as I could, I looked up at the kossid, and said: "Very good! Sit down in that corner of the tent, and I'll attend to you as soon as I have done this trial." Then, turning to the gaping múnshis, I bade them "go on with the evidence;" and the disappointed crowd once more bent their attention on the witnesses. But, from that moment I heard no more. My eyes indeed were fixed mechanically upon the speakers, but my thoughts were at Múltán with my wounded countrymen, revolving how I ought to act to assist them.

In about an hour I had arranged the ways and means in my own mind, and, that done, had no further reason for concealment. I saw clearly what to do: and the sooner it was done the better.—*Vol. II. pp.* 1—8.

The letter, which Edwardes wrote to the President at Lahore, announcing his intention to start at once for Múltán, is to be found in the Blue-Book. His letter to Mr. Vans Agnew is not

* By Sir F. Currie, before the mutiny, to form part of the garrison of Múltán, after Dewan Múlráj's retirement.

† This generous sentence is a complete answer to those, who have supposed that Mr. Agnew drove Múlráj into rebellion by the harshness of his behaviour. Had any thing passed between them to cause irritation, or give reasonable offence, Mr. Agnew would surely be the first to have remembered it. Indeed, a reference to the trials, which closed this causeless rebellion, will show that Mr. Agnew wrote to Múlráj himself, expressing a willingness to believe him innocent, if he would only prove it by coming to see him; otherwise he must consider him guilty. It is still further certain that Múlráj, by Rung Ram's advice, started to go to Mr. Agnew, which he would not have done, had he had a quarrel with that lamented officer, and rebelled to avenge himself. In short little doubt now remains, that the first attack on Mr. Agnew was unauthorised, though done with the belief that it would be pleasing to Múlráj; and that Múlráj's guilt of Mr. Agnew's blood commenced subsequently to this letter of Mr. Agnew's, when stimulated by the warlike temper of his soldiers, he swore them to adhere to him, if he rebelled, bound the bracelet of war upon his own arm, and ordered the fatal attack on the Edgah. The Commissioners, who tried Múlráj, took the very same view as Mr. Agnew, and acquitted the Dewan of the first assault upon the British officers, but found him guilty of their deaths.

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embraced in that elaborate collection; but it is as well worth reading as anything in the stout folio:—

"*Camp, Dera Futteh Khan, 22nd April*, 1848.

"MY DEAR AGNEW,—"Your letter of 19th April to General Cortlandt reached my camp at three P. M., this day; and I fortunately opened it to see if it was on public business.

"I need scarcely say that I have made arrangements for marching to your assistance at once.

"I have one infantry regiment, and four extra companies; two horse artillery guns; twenty zumburuhs; and between three and four hundred horse. This is a small force; but such as it is, you are welcome to it and *me*.

"Your position is one of imminent peril; but God will bring an honest man out of worse straits; so trust in Him; and keep up your pluck.

"There are at this moment only three boats at the ghát, and I have to collect others from the neighbouring ferries; but we shall manage, doubtless, to effect the passage in course of to-morrow, when the following route ought to bring us to Múltán on the 27th:—

"23rd, left bank of Indus.
"24th, Leiah.
"25th, Wells, half-way to Wander.
"26th, Wander.
"27th, Múltán.

"Rely on it, it shall not be my fault if we are a day later; but the very sound of our approach will be a check to your rascally enemies, and to *you*, as refreshing as the breeze which heralds the rising sun at morning. If you are pressed, pray bring away Anderson, and join me. With all my heart I hope you are both safe at this moment!

"I have written on to Bunnú for Subhan Khan's regiment, and a troop of horse artillery.

"Write, write, write! and, with the sincerest wishes, believe me, in weal or woe,

"Yours, aye,
"HERBERT EDWARDES.

"For P. A. VANS AGNEW, Esq., C. S.
"*Múltán*."

Having started the young political assistant on his adventurous march to Múltán, it is only right that we should quote his own defence of the movement. It appears very strange and very hard, that such a movement should require any defence:—

I am aware that it has been said (and strangely enough by many, who desired nothing so much as a like opportunity of being useful, and who, had it fallen to their lot, would, I gladly believe, have used it honourably), that I interfered where I had no call of duty, levied soldiers to carry on a war for my own ambitious ends, and, with all the rash presumption of a subaltern—

"Rushed in where angels feared to tread."

Perfectly satisfied with the approbation of my Sovereign, my country, the Indian and British Governments, and both Houses of Parliament, I could well afford to be silent: but having now printed, *in extenso*, poor Agnew's appeal for help, as an essential part of this narrative, I will just make two remarks upon it in passing:—that those, I allude to, may in charity be supposed to have been ignorant of its existence; but, if not, I should have deserved even their contempt, had I been coward enough to disregard it.—*Vol. II. pp.* 15-16.

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In Edwardes's letter, of May 3, 1848, to the Lahore Resident, given in the Blue-Book, the circumstances, under which he found it necessary to re-cross the Indus, are detailed; but the reader will not be sorry to have a more confidential report on the subject:—

I shall not readily forget these events. To retreat at all, at any time and under any circumstances, must be mortifying enough to a soldier. But the circumstances, under which I had to retreat, were these;—

I was the only man in the whole camp who wanted to retreat!

The Sikh soldiers, who were the majority, had, there is every reason to believe, sold me. My very price had been agreed upon; twelve thousand rupees to the regiment for joining the rebels in the battle, and twelve thousand more, if they brought over my head with them. It is needless, therefore, to add, that with twenty-four thousand rupees to lose on one side, and merely honour on the other, the Futteh Pultun to a man were for standing fast at Leiah. "What did I want to retreat for? Did I doubt their fidelity, or their courage? They would throw themselves into the town of Leiah; erect barricades; and hold the place to all eternity. As for Múlráj's troops, though they were twenty to one, they should be eaten up! Only place implicit confidence in *them*, and I should never repent it!" (Which was probably true; for they would not have given me time).

On the other hand, the faithful few, the artillery, the Purbiuh infantry, and newly-raised Puthans of the last week, were indignant at the bare notion of retreating; for it is a maxim of war among high-minded Asiatics, and especially Puthans, that "having advanced your right foot, it is honourable to bring the left up to it; but to draw the right back to the left is a disgrace." But, I asked, suppose the enemy is obviously too strong for you? "Then stand and die!" was the rash, but chivalrous response.

So there I stood alone among my soldiers—some traitors, some true men—but all urging me to prove a fool, all fearing I might prove a coward.

I esteem it not the least of my little victories, that I stuck that day to my own opinion. There was not a shadow of doubt in my mind, as to the course which ought to be pursued; and I resolved accordingly to pursue it. For I again repeat a sentiment, which I have before expressed in these volumes, that he, who has to act upon his own responsibility, is a slave, if he does not act also on his own judgment.

Turning therefore to all the officers, false and true, I said, "It is my deliberate opinion that this force is incapable of resisting such an one, as the rebels have sent against us, either in the open field or in an entrenched position. To attempt it would be to sacrifice many lives in vain; and I consider it, therefore, my duty to retreat. As to military maxims every country has its own; and among my countrymen (who are not considered very bad soldiers!) it is reckoned very bad generalship to fight, unless there is a reasonable chance of victory. Let us therefore retreat, and reinforce ourselves. A long war is before us; and the day will soon come, when I shall call on you all to prove the valour, of which you now make such display. We shall then see who is brave, and who is not."

Next day the retreat was made, but with reluctance; and the following colloquy between some Sikh soldiers of the rear-guard was overheard by my own servants:

"What shall we do with this Sahib of ours?"

"Oh! kill him of course—what else?"

"D'ye think so? Well I vote we *don't* kill him."

"What then? You wouldn't let him off?"

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"No!" (with concentrated malignity,) I'd *make a Sikh of him!*"

"What for?"

"Why, when he was a regular Sikh, and had taken the *pahul*,* and read the *Grunth*, I'd then make him carry bricks and mortar in a wicker basket on his head, as he made us do at Bunnú, building that fort of Dhulipgurh. I should just like to see how he'd like it!"

And that night of May 2nd, when we lay down on the bank of the Indus, in a half-moon, with our backs to the river—shall I ever forget it? There was a mutual distrust between the faithful and unfaithful parties of the soldiery. Not a word had been spoken, no duty refused, no symptom of open mutiny; and yet both sides knew each other, avoided each other, and were getting angry with each other. To make the best of it, I put the two guns in the centre, with the faithful Purbiuhs right and left, and lay down behind them. This secured the artillery, and divided the Sikh regiment into wings, right and left of the Purbiuhs. The new Puthan levies, and other horsemen, were thrown out as a piquet to Leiah.

Wearily and sleeplessly passed the night; the piquet having ascertained the proximity of the enemy, fell back from Leiah; and, when morning dawned, there must be no delay in re-crossing to our own side of the Indus.

Then arose the question, "Who was to go over first?" I found myself at the school-boy puzzle of the Fox and the Geese, and the ferryman.

If the faithless went over first, they would keep the boats on the other side, and leave the faithful to be cut up by the enemy; if the faithful went over first, the faithless might join the enemy unopposed, and carry one thousand disciplined soldiers into the ranks of rebellion.

At last, I settled it in this way. The artillery and cavalry were sent over first in two voyages; and, when the boats returned the third time, I appointed one to every company of infantry, faithful and unfaithful, at intervals along the bank; and told all to step in to their respective boats at the first sound of a bugle, and at the second to push off and proceed.

This was done, but not without considerable excitement, which was now becoming irrepressible, as the enemy was known to be within a few miles; and, when at last two Purbiuh and Sikh soldiers drew their swords on each other, and the rest of their comrades were beginning to run together to the point, I thought all our pains were about to be thrown away at the last moment; but, on my seizing both the combatants by the collar, and thrusting them into my own boat, and then ordering the bugler to sound for embarkation, the crowd broke sulkily up again, and got on board. Again the bugle rang out over the Indus; to my irrepressible joy every boat pushed off, and we crossed that broad river in almost as perfect a military formation, as a regiment in open column of companies, taking ground to its left at a review.

Once on the right bank, I felt a match for the traitors; and, as soon as all had disembarked, I called up the grey-headed adjutant of the Purbiuhs, and put the boats under the charge of him and his men. "Take them," I said, "out of the main stream two miles up the branch, that leads to Derah Futteh Khan; anchor them at the back of the island, and defend them with your lives, against any one, who attempts to take them from you."—*Vol. II. pp.* 62—69.

* The "Pahul" is the initiation into the pale of the Sikh religion, and consists chiefly, I believe, in pledging attachment to its ordinances in a draught of water, which has been mystically stirred up with a sword, or other weapon of steel or iron.

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We must pass over, however reluctantly, much interesting matter relative to the conduct and character of Múlráj, and follow Edwardes down to the battle-field of Kineyrí. It is the 18th of June. The troops of Múlráj and the army of Bahwul Khan have first come into collision. Edwardes, with his Puthan levies, is hurrying up to the scene of action. He sniffs the battle in the distance:—

About a hundred yards from the left bank, I was roused from a "brown study," not unnatural amid plans so doubtful in their issue, and so heavy in their responsibility, by a burst of artillery within a mile or two of the shore. A second cannonade replied, was answered, and replied again: and two tall opposite columns of white smoke rose out of the jungle, higher and higher at every discharge, as if each strove to get above its adversary, then broke and pursued each other in thick clouds over the fair and peaceful sky.

Gazing at this unmistakeable symbol of the fight below, I could scarcely forbear smiling at the different speculations of my companions in the boat. The servants, men of peace, declared and hoped it was only "a salute," fired by the Daúd-pútras in honour of the allies who had joined them; but the horsemen knit their brows, and devoutly cried "Al-lah! Al-lah!" at every shot, with an emphasis like pain on the last syllable. They quite *felt* there was a fight going on.

For my own part, I felt so too; and, as I stepped on shore and buckled the strap of my cap under my chin, I remember thinking that no Englishman could be beaten on the 18th of June.

Nor am I ashamed to remember that I bethought me of a still happier omen, and a far more powerful aid—the goodness of my cause, and the God who defends the right. A young lieutenant, who had seen but one campaign—alone, and without any of the means and appliances of such war, as I had been apprenticed to—I was about to take command, in the midst of a battle, not only of one force, whose courage I had never tried, but of another, which I had never seen; and to engage a third, of which the numbers were uncertain, with the knowledge that defeat would immeasurably extend the rebellion which I had undertaken to suppress, and embarrass the Government which I had volunteered to serve. Yet, in that great extreme, I doubted only for a moment—one of those long moments, to which some angel seems to hold a microscope and show millions of things within it. It came and went between the stirrup and the saddle. It brought with it difficulties, dangers, responsibilities, and possible consequences terrible to face; but it left none behind. I knew that I was fighting for the right. I asked God to help me do my duty, and I rode on, certain that He would do it.—*Vol. II. pp.* 381-382.

On arriving at the scene of action, Edwardes was saluted with the pleasant intelligence that the Daúd-pútra army was disorganized, and the General in a state of fatuity:—

It was at this moment that, led by Pír Muhammad, I arrived upon the field, a plain covered with jungle, amongst which loaded camels were passing to the rear out of range of the enemy's guns, and detachments of wild-looking warriors, with red hair and beards, were taking up a line of posts. Suddenly, a European stepped out of the crowd, and advanced to me in a hurried manner, wiping his forehead, and exclaiming: "Oh, Sir, our

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army is disorganized!"—a pleasing salutation on arriving at a field of battle! He then told me his name was Macpherson, and that he commanded one of the Nawab's two regular regiments. I asked him where his General was? He laughed, and pointed to a large peepul-tree, round which a crowd was gathered. I galloped up, and, looking over the shoulders of the people, saw a little old man, in dirty clothes and with nothing but a skull-cap on his head, sitting under the tree, with a rosary in his hands, the beads of which he was rapidly telling, and muttering, in a peevish, helpless manner, "*Ulhumdúlillah! Ulhumdúlillah!*" (God be praised! God be praised!)—apparently quite abstracted from the scene around him, and utterly unconscious that six-pounder balls were going through the branches, that officers were imploring him for orders, and that eight or nine thousand rebels were waiting to destroy an army of which *he* was the General.

He had to be shaken by his people before he could comprehend that I had arrived; and, as he rose and tottered forward, looking vacantly in my face, I saw that excitement* had completed the imbecility of his years, and that I might as well talk to a post. Turning, therefore, to the many brave and experienced officers of his staff, and to Pir Ibrahim Khan, who now came up, I learnt the general nature of their position, and then struck out a plan for the day. "Nothing," I said, "can be done with an army so disorganized as this, or with guns such as Pir Ibrahim describes yours to be. The enemy has taken up a strong position, and will probably prefer being attacked. It is not likely that he will attack us, until he thinks we don't mean to attack him. We have therefore got the day before us. I will write to General Cortlandt on the other side of the river to send us over some guns that are better than the enemy's; and not a move must be made till they come. In the meanwhile, occupy yourselves with recovering the order of your force; make the whole lie down in line in the jungle; keep them as much under cover as possible, and let your artillery play away, as hard as they can, on the enemy's guns. Above all, stand fast, and be patient."—*Vol. II. pp.* 385-386.

It was not, however, very easy to enforce this order to stand fast and be patient. The Puthan levies were eager for the affray; and, the fire of the rebel army having been drawn upon them, their eagerness became almost irrepressible. In this conjuncture, he tried the effects of a charge of horse: but, having no cavalry at his command, he was obliged to muster a select body of chiefs and officers, all who had horses to mount. The service was finely performed, and is here graphically described:—

If the wild Puthan levies had been difficult to restrain before, they were now perfectly mad, as the shot tore through their ranks and ploughed up the ground on which they lay; and, when presently the fire ceased, and bodies of horses were again seen stealing up towards our front, in numbers that set our ten miserable zumburuhs at defiance, I saw that none but the most desperate expedient could stave off the battle any longer.

Imploring the infantry to lie still yet a little longer, I ordered Foujdar

* I say excitement, and not fear; because I have been assured that in former years he possessed the one good quality of courage.

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Khan, and all the chiefs and officers who had horses, to mount, and, forming themselves into a compact body, charge down on the rebel cavalry, and endeavour to drive them back upon the foot. "Put off the fight," I whispered to Foujdar, "or not a man of us will leave this field."

Gladly did those brave men get the word to do a deed so desperate; but with set teeth, I watched them mount, and wondered how many of my choicest officers would come back.

Spreading their hands to heaven, the noble band solemnly repeated the creed of their religion, as though it were their last act on earth; then passed their hands over their beards with the haughtiness of martyrs, and, drawing their swords, dashed out of the jungle into the ranks of the enemy's horse, who, taken wholly by surprise, turned round and fled, pursued by Foujdar and his companions to within a few hundred yards of the rebel line, which halted to receive its panic-stricken friends.

In executing this brilliant service, Foujdar Khan received two severe wounds, and few, who returned, came back untouched. Many fell.

The purpose, however, was completely answered; for though the enemy quickly rallied, and advanced again in wrath, and I had just made up my mind that there was nothing now left but a charge of our whole line, unsupported by a single gun, of which there could have been but one result —our total annihilation;—at that moment of moments might be heard the bugle note of artillery in the rear. "Hush!" cried every voice; whilst each ear was strained to catch that friendly sound once more. Again it sounds —again—and there is no mistake. The guns have come at last; thank God! *Vol. II. pp.* 391—393.

And now, that the guns have arrived, let us see what service they rendered:—

There was scant time for taking breath, for the enemy was close at hand; so, bidding the guns come with me, the two new regiments to follow the guns, and the whole irregular line to advance steadily in the rear, under command of Foujdar Khan, I led the artillery through the trees on to the cultivated plain beyond. There we first saw the enemy's line.

Directly in my front, Múlráj's regular troops were pushing their way in some confusion over fields of sugar; and, through an interval of space caused by a few wells and houses, some horse artillery guns were emerging on the plain.

Round went our guns, and round went theirs; and, in an instant, both were discharged into each other. It was a complete surprise; for the rebels believed truly, that all the guns, we had in the morning, had left the field with the Daúd-pútras; and of the arrival of the others they were ignorant. Down sank their whole line among the long stalks of the sugar; and, as we afterwards learnt from a Gúrkha prisoner, the fatal word was passed that "the Sahib had got across the river with all his army from Dera Ghazi Khan, and led them into an ambush." To and fro rode their astonished and vacillating Colonels; and, while the guns maintained the battle, the intelligence was sent by swift horsemen to the rebel General, Rung Ram, who, seated on an elephant, looked safely down upon the fight from the hills around the village of Nunar.

Meanwhile the Suruj Mukhi and Subhan Khan's regiments had come up, followed closely by the line; and I made the two former lie down on the left and right of the artillery, and the latter halt under cover of the trees.

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The gunners were getting warm. "Grape! grape!" at length shouted the Commandant; "it's close enough for grape!" and the enemy thought so too, for the next round rushed over our heads like a flight of eagles. And there (for the first time, and the last, in my short experience of war) did I see hostile artillery *firing grape into each other*. It was well for us that the enemy was taken by surprise; for they aimed high, and did little mischief. General Cortlandt's artillery were well trained and steady, and their aim was true. Two guns were quickly silenced, and the rest seemed slackening and firing wild. A happy charge might carry all. I gave the order to Subhan Khan's regiment to attack; and away they went—Subhan Khan himself, a stout heavy soldier, leading them on, and leaping over bushes like a boy. Before this regiment could reach the battery, an incident, characteristic of irregular troops, occurred. A cluster of half-a-dozen horsemen dashed out from the trees behind me, and, passing the regiment, threw themselves on the enemy's guns. Their leader received a ball full in his face, and fell over the "cannon's mouth." It was Shah Niwaz Khan of Esau-kheyl, whose family I had recalled from exile to rule over their own country The regiment followed, and carried at the point of the bayonet the only gun which awaited their assault. Another gun lay dismounted on the ground.

While this was doing, our guns poured grape into the cover where the rebel infantry were lying; and these, hearing their own artillery retire before Subhan Khan's charge, retreated hastily through the high crops, with which the fields were covered, but suffered heavily from the fire behind them, and formed again in great confusion, when they reached their guns.

Our whole force now advanced over the contested ground, the men shouting as they passed the captured guns. The enemy then rallied, and the artillery on both sides re-opened.

It was at this point of the battle that a small body of cavalry approached our battery from the left. I asked an orderly, if he knew who they were? He thought they were Foujdar Khan and the mounted chiefs of the Puthans; and I had just turned my horse to ride towards them with an order, when a single horseman advanced, and, taking a deliberate aim, discharged a matchlock at me, within fifty or sixty yards. The ball passed first through the sleeve of the brown holland blouse which I had on, then through my shirt, and out again on the other side through both, and must have been within an hair's breadth of my elbow. But the party paid dearly for their daring, for two guns were instantly laid on them, and horses and rider were soon rolling in the dust.

And now I gave the word for the whole line of wild Puthans to be let loose upon the enemy. One volley from our battery—and they plunged into the smoke-enveloped space between the armies with a yell, that had been gathering malice through hours of impatient suffering. The smoke cleared off: and the artillerymen of two more rebel guns were dying desperately at their posts, their line was in full retreat upon Nunar, and the plain was a mass of scattered skirmishes.—*Vol. II, pp.* 395—398.

With an extract or two, illustrative of the incidents of the battle of Suddosain, we must conclude this hasty review. In the following, Edwardes describes what he calls his equestrian vicissitudes:—

The equestrian vicissitudes, I underwent that day, are truly ludicrous to remember, though very serious matters at the moment. I commenced

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the action on a big chesnut Arab, named Zal; but, sulky at being so long without his dinner, he refused to leap a canal, which had brought the artillery to a halt, and fell with me right into the middle; nor with all my pulling and hauling could I get him out, and I was obliged to leave him till the fight was over. General Cortlandt then got me a bay horse from an officer in his artillery; but I had not gone two hundred yards, when over he came backwards, and bruised me dreadfully on the ground. A shot had grazed his nose. Fat Sadik Muhammad Khan, Badozye, who was my aide-de-camp all that day, next put me on a grey, belonging to one of his own followers; and this beast I had fairly ridden to a stand-still, when up came one of my *syces* (native grooms) with a grey Cabul horse of my own, called Punch. "What are you doing here?" I asked: for I had mounted Lake on this horse in the morning. "Lake Sahib has sent it with his compliments, as he hears you have lost Zal, and he has borrowed another horse for himself!" So I finished the day upon Punch; and, when the fight was over, I thanked Lake for the timely thought. Lake burst out laughing, and said: "I send the horse back? Never. That villain of a syce walked off with it, and left me without any horse at all!"—*Vol. II. pp.* 456-457.

In the next we have an account of the manner, in which Edwardes lost the use of his right hand:—

I was in the very act of writing, when a horseman rode in from the picket, and reported that Múlráj's army were crossing the bridge in the same order that they had done before, and were coming on around to give us battle. Astounded, but unable to disbelieve, I beat to arms, summoned the chief officers, ordered the line to be turned out at once, and was holding a hurried conference with Lake and Cortlandt in my tent, whilst all three of us were jumping into boots, or buckling on swords and pistols, when a second horseman from the picket entered. I had just loaded my pistols, and went on cramming them into my belt, while listening to the man's report. The hammer of one got entangled: but, without looking to see what was the matter, I seized the barrel in my right hand, and pulled the pistol into its place. A loud report, a short pang, and I had lost the use of my right hand for life! The ball had passed through the palm, and lodged in the floor at my foot. But there was no time for regrets.

The line had turned out, and Lake rushed to the field to take my duty and his own. Nobly he would have done both; but I must own it was a great relief to me to hear, that, as our line advanced, the enemy retreated again behind the city walls, and proved to have been only a party of cavalry sent out to reconnoitre our position. Had Múlráj given us battle that day, the result must have been more doubtful than it had ever been before. All Lake's attention and guidance were demanded by his own undisciplined Daúd-pútras. He had had no time to become acquainted with my men, or they with him; and the accident, which had happened at such a critical moment to their customary leader, would have been an omen of certain defeat to their superstitious minds. Even as it was, the occurrence was unfortunate; for while it prevented me from being surrounded by my officers, as I was wont to be all day, and confined me like a prisoner to my bed, in Múlráj's hall of audience it was a subject of loud rejoicing and congratulation. At first I was reported dead, and Múlráj made a present to the messenger, who brought the news, burying me with the decent remark, that I was "a stout youth, and it was a pity I should be cut off so young!" On hearing that I had only lost my hand, he probably took the present back again, and thrashed the messenger.

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After this accident I was twelve days without a doctor, at least an European one. The native doctor of General Cortlandt's troops sewed up my hand with a packing-needle, and thought he had done a fine thing; but the agony it caused me I never can forget; for, what with the laceration of the wound, the tightness of the stitches, and the intense heat of the sun, inflammation ensued, the hand swelled, the stitches grew tighter, and the pain greater, till at last I would have thanked either Lake or Cortlandt, if, instead of nursing me, they had drawn a sword, and chopped the limb clean off. One day too, a sympathizing friend in the Indian Navy came in to see me, and, intending to seat himself on my bed, sat down on my wounded hand, which was stretched out on my pillow by my side, and then asked me, "How I did?"—*Vol. II. pp.* 460—463.

The mention of Lieutenant Lake reminds us, that, in the earlier part of the volume, there is a graceful and well-merited tribute to the fine qualities of this young officer. We must turn back to extract it:—

Thus was Lieutenant Lake, in fact, constituted the Commander-in-Chief of the Daúd-pútra army. How well he justified that unusual trust, to the mutual honour of his own Government and that of the troops he led, will appear abundantly in these pages; but this is the place for me to bear witness that he *did* "co-operate admirably with me" throughout the war. He did more.

By his instructions from the Resident, he was not put under my command. At this time the Resident did not intend, perhaps, that I should ever cross the Chenab, and did not contemplate that Lieutenant Lake's force and mine would be united in one body. It seemed enough, therefore, to tell him "to co-operate according to his own judgment and discretion."

But events brought us irresistibly together. Before Lieutenant Lake could reach his army, I had crossed the Chenab, and saved the Daúd-pútras from a disastrous defeat at Kineyri; and, finding me in the successful execution of my own plans, Lieutenant Lake at once put himself under my command, and, without one selfish thought, devoted his rare abilities and energy to second the operations of another. I felt the generosity of the action then; but I do more full justice to it now, when I look back calmly on those stormy times, and remember how impossible it was that two young heads should always think alike, however true their hearts kept time; yet never was there anything but unity of action in the field. Seldom, indeed, did we differ, even in the council tent; but, if we had two plans, Lake manfully exposed the weaknesses of mine; and, if I was not to be convinced (as I own I very seldom was), gave up his own better judgment, and made mine perfect by the heartiness of his assistance in giving it effect.

My peaceful readers, whose experience of "heroes" has happily been confined within the limits of the "Biographical Dictionary," or the smooth historian's page, may think so well of soldier-nature, as to deem Lake's magnanimity and lack of jealousy a thing of course; but others, who have lived in camps, will know both its rarity and its value, and esteem it the most unfading of the laurels won by Edward Lake under the walls of Múltán. "Better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."*

* Proverbs, *c.* xvi., *v.* 32.

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Lake joined Edwardes in bad health, but in high spirits. How invigorating and re-assuring to the latter it must have been, to receive tidings of the near approach of such a colleague, and that too, in so hearty a manner. After congratulating me on "the last victory," says Edwardes, he wrote, "don't fight any more battles, like a good fellow, till I join you. If there is any *immediate* prospect of work, I will not wait for my traps, and trust to you for board, bed and shelter;" closing with a P. S.—"Let me know if there is any *immediate* prospect of a fight, and I can join you in one night."

One more extract we must give. It is the dedicatory epistle. The book is thus gracefully and appropriately inscribed to Sir Henry Lawrence:—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—If I have been able to serve Government to any purpose, I owe it to your teaching and example; and as the only way I may ever have of proving myself grateful for your friendship, I inscribe your name upon these records of the days I least regret.

Believe me,
My dear Lawrence,
Ever affectionately your's,
HERBERT B. EDWARDES.

Richmond Hill, Jan., 1851.

With this we bring our extracts, and indeed our review, to a close. The author says, that he had three objects in view in writing his book. 1. To put on record a victory, which he remembers with more satisfaction than any he helped to gain before Múltán—the bloodless conquest of the wild valley of Bunnú. 2. To give his countrymen at home an insight into the actual life and labours of an Indian political officer. 3. To contribute his mite of local knowledge to the world's common stock. And all these objects he has accomplished in a manner very refreshing to the reader. "The book," he says, "is simply what it professes to be, the record of a busy year on an important frontier, in a country, and at a crisis, which have excited the national attention of Englishmen." A chapter it is in Indian history, which reflects lasting honour upon the national character.

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ART. VII.—1. *Chaitanya-Charitámrita. By Krishna Dás. Calcutta. B. E.* 1251.

2. *Chaitanya-Mangal. By Lochan Dás. Calcutta. B. E.* 1250.

3. *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus. By H. H. Wilson, L. L. D., F. R. S. From the "Asiatic Researches," Vols. XVI., XVII. Calcutta.* 1846.

THE disclosures of Revelation apart, there is no country in the East—no country in the world, more interesting in a religious point of view than India. A consistent Hindu is the most religious being in existence. He gets up from his bed religiously, anoints his body religiously, washes religiously, dresses religiously, sits religiously, stands religiously, drinks religiously, eats religiously, sleeps religiously, learns religiously, remains ignorant religiously, and becomes irreligious religiously. Not an action he performs, not a step he takes, not a word he utters, not a breath he draws, but he does all agreeably to the institutes of his religion. In no other country has there been an exhibition of so many modifications of the religious feeling. Transcendental Theism in all its loftiness, absolute Pantheism with all its horrors, murky Mysticism with its multitudinous brood of morbid feelings, and Idolatry of the most grovelling species, have all had their high and palmy days in India. Amid the manifold modes of religious feeling which obtain in the world, it would be difficult to point to one that has not had its counterpart in this country.

It is not our object in this article (neither is it possible) to trace all the phases of religious ideas amongst the Hindus from the remotest antiquity to the present day. But, notwithstanding the infinitely diversified modifications of the Hindu faith, the religious history of India may be resolved into three great eras. These are the era of Buddhism; the era of Vaidic Pantheism; and the era of Puránic Polytheism. The researches of the French *savans*, of Wilson and Colonel Sykes, tend, perhaps, to establish the prevalence of Buddhism, anterior to the universal sway of Brahmánism. And the idealistic Monotheism and absolute Pantheism of the Vedanta gave way in their turn to the idolatry and polytheism of the Puránas.

The Hindus, as they exist in our days, have been divided, in a religious point of view, into three great sects, the *Saktas*, the *Saivas*, and the *Vaishnavas*. Whether this classification is sufficiently comprehensive, we shall not stop here to inquire;

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suffice it to say, that it comprehends, if not the whole, at least the great majority, of the Hindus. Of the first two classes, we shall not any further remark at present, than that they profess themselves to be the worshippers of *Sakti*—the ενεργεια, so to speak, of the Hindu Tritwa, and of Siva, the third person of the Hindu Triad.

A Vaishnava may be defined as a worshipper of Vishnu. This divinity, as the preserver and upholder of the three worlds, the patron of the heavenly powers, and the saviour of men, is the object of the Vaishnava's devout contemplations. The celebration of his mighty exploits constitutes by far the greater portion of the later theology of the Hindus. Though no hater of the rest of the gods, the devout Vaishnava believes that his *Ishta-Debtá*—his guardian divinity, the deity of his choice—is the supreme god, the fount of existence, and the abode of all excellencies. It was by his energy and at his bidding that Brahma created the universe. All things live, move, and have their being in him; and into the unfathomable abyss of his personality shall they eventually flow, as the final cause of all creation. It was he, who in olden times assumed the forms of the wondrous fish, the divine boar, the terrible man-lion, and the immoveable tortoise. It was he, who, taking the form of the heroic Rámá, crossed the ocean, and hurled destruction on the ten-headed king of the golden Lanka. It was he, who, assuming the shape of the wanton and merry-hearted Krishna, gambolled in the groves of Brindában, and won the hearts of the simple milk-maids. And, at the consummation of the present Kalpa, he is destined to come once more in the shape of the formidable Kálki. His club and *chakra*—the dreaded Sudarsan—are the terror of the gods. But, on the other hand, the bright-haired and lotus-eyed Vaikantha is the destroyer of sorrow, the husband of prosperity, and the patron of the muses. Such is the *Ishta-Debtá* of the Vaishnavas in general.

All Vaishnavas, however, do not hold the same doctrines, or observe the same customs. They may be divided into four principal *Sampradáyis*, or communities—the Sri Sampradáyi, the Madhwá Sampradáyi, the Rudra Sampradáyi, and the Sanaka Sampradáyi. These have been sub-divided into several sections. Wilson mentions the names of twenty, and we could enumerate more. Most of these sectaries are not found in Lower Bengal. We shall not, however, attempt to indicate the peculiar shades of difference, that distinguish these sects from one another. We shall confine our attention in this article to only one section of

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the Vaishnavas, namely, the followers of Chaitanya, or the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

The founder of the modern Vaishnavas of Bengal is *Sri Krishna Chaitanya*. There have been fanatics in all ages of the world. Ecclesiastical history furnishes many examples of enthusiasts, who gave themselves out to be the lights of the world, and the guides of men's consciences. Men have been found in the middle of the nineteenth century, who proclaimed themselves to be the saviour of the world, and who, in confirmation of their impious ravings, showed to the gaping and credulous multitude the stigmata, the crucifixion marks of the dying Redeemer, in their own persons. After this we need not point to the enthusiasts and fanatics of heathenism. But though the palming of an imposition on the world be not a rare phenomenon, yet it is difficult to maintain it for a long time. To form a new community, to give it laws, and to exert a mighty influence on millions, are not events of every-day occurrence. Whatever may be the estimate we form of the moral character and honesty of the false prophet of Mecca, there can be but one opinion of his talents. To have prevailed upon the idolatrous Arabs to discard their *Kaaba*, to have published a system of religion different from all existing systems, to have converted to his opinions, by whatever means, a whole people, and to have become the founder of a sect, which now comprehends a third of the world's population—all this was the creation of no ordinary intellect. Though we hate his imposition, yet we cannot help admiring the intrepidity of his genius and the energy of his character. The founder of the Jesuits was also no ordinary man. To have trained up the hardy militia of the Apocalyptic Babylon, and to have given them an organization durable as brass, were not the achievements of ordinary abilities.

Chaitanya is the founder of a religious sect, which is said to be eight millions strong. There is scarcely a village in Bengal, in which is not to be found a follower of the Nadiyá mendicant. Of all the Hindu sects, it is at present the most energetic. It has its apostles, its evangelists, its teachers. It sends forth its preachers to win proselytes from the other Hindu sectaries. It seems to be increasing in wealth and influence. Various circumstances may be mentioned, which have contributed to the wide diffusion of the religious dogmas of Chaitanya;—their simplicity, their virtual agreement with existing religious ideas, the boundless credulity of the people, and the zeal of the first Vaishnavas. But, notwithstanding all these concurring circumstances, it must be confessed that Chaitanya had no small

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degree of mental intrepidity. It would be preposterous to place him in the same rank with Muhammad or Loyola; but he may be advantageously compared to Apollonius of Tyana or Alexander of Abonoteichos.

We purpose to give a short account of the life of Chaitanya, as recorded in the two Bengali treatises, the names of which we have placed at the head of this article. But before we begin the narrative, we may say a word or two on the treatises themselves. The *Chaitanya-Mangal* of Lochan Dás, though a respectable authority among the Vaishnavas, is a mere compilation from works of larger size. It does not profess to be a regular biography of Chaitanya; it is but a compend of the leading incidents of his life. The *Chaitanya-Charitámrita*, composed by Krishna Dás, is "the book" of the Bengal Vaishnavas. It is the Vaishnava's gospel. He bows down to it with the greatest reverence, and values it as the most precious treasure. Every intelligent follower of Chaitanya has got a copy of it. He reads it by day and by night, and frequently bedews it with the streams of tenderness that gush from his pious eyes. It professes to be an abridgment of a larger work in Sanskrita by Brindaban Dás; it contains, notwithstanding, upwards of seven hundred octavo pages of close type. It is divided into three sections—the *Adi Lilá*, the *Madhya Lilá*, and the *Anta Lilá*. The first section gives an account of the infancy and youth of the incarnate god; the second, of his assuming the monastic life and his various peregrinations; and the third, of the discourses he uttered, of the doings of some of his principal followers, of his intense meditations, and his ecstatic visions. It is written in Bengali, but profusely interlarded with Sanskrit quotations, chiefly from the *Sri Bhágavat* and the *Bhágavat Gita*. The style is quite *unique*. Difficult Sanskrit stanzas alternate with the most vulgar gibberish spoken by fisherwomen. There is also a good sprinkling of the Hindustani and the Uriya. Its literary qualities are certainly not of the highest order. It is written in wretched taste. Tedious descriptions of the most trifling things fill whole pages. The recital of the various dishes in feasts, in honour of Chaitanya, sometimes takes up two mortal pages. It is written in poetry, that is, in jingling rhyme; for there is no real poetry—not a spark of it—from beginning to end.

In the town of *Srihatta* (Sylhet) in Bengal, there lived a Brahman of the name of *Upendra Misra*. He had seven sons, of whom *Jagannáth* was the eldest. Learned as Jagannáth was in the wisdom of the Brahmans, and impressed with a high idea of the merit consequent on daily ablutions in the sacred Ganga, he removed from Srihatta, and took up his abode

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in the village of Naba-Dwipa (Nadiyá). This small village lies on the banks of the Bhágirathi, seventy miles distant from the metropolis of British India. Owing to the assiduity with which Sanskrit literature is cultivated in this place, it may not improperly be termed the Athens of Lower Bengal. Its school of logic is well known. Some time ago it was graced with many *tals*, or colleges, whither the ingenuous youth of the Bengali Brahmans resorted for instruction. In this village Jagannáth was happy in the company of his wife, *Sachi*, who had given birth to a son named *Viswarupa*. The prospect of another child gladdened the hearts of the happy pair; but the cup of human felicity is seldom without an infusion of bitterness. Distressing anxieties filled the mind of Jagannáth. Ten tedious months had rolled away, and Sachi was still expectant. Various circumstances had occurred to convince the parents that the child, whose birth was delayed, was to be no ordinary being. Adwait-ananda—a reputed sage of a neighbouring village—had paid divine homage to the unborn deity. An astrologer, skilled in the occult profundities of his science, had predicted that the child in the womb of Sachi was none other than the creator of the universe. Sachi herself had seen unspeakable sights in the heavens; while Jagannáth had dreamt that his house was encompassed with a surpassing halo. The people of Nadiyá, who had heard these marvellous reports, waited with anxiety for the birth of the wondrous child. At last the happy and long-wished-for day arrived. Chaitanya, who was full thirteen months in the womb, was ushered into the world in the month of Phalgun, in the year 1485 of the Christian era.* The advent of such an illustrious personage could not take place without the accompaniment of a marvellous occurrence. The moon suffered an eclipse. "The spotless moon of truth, which was to illume the three worlds, having arisen in Nadiyá, the spotted moon of the heavens was devoured by Rahu." Such is the reflection of the devout Krishna Dás—the author of the *Charitámrita*. The joy of the people was great. They flocked to have a sight of the infant divinity. There was one especially whose joy knew no bounds; it was Adwaita Ananda. He danced, wept, and laughed round the village to the infinite amusement of the spectators. But Nadiyá was not the only scene of festivity; the heavens were filled

* It is worth noting that the founder of the Bengal Vaishnavas was born two years after the birth of Luther—the great reformer of Christendom. It is interesting to observe in different parts of the world the contemporaneous march of truth and falsehood. To us, who are believers in the agency of invisible spirits, the coincidence seems far from accidental.

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with gladness, and the Debtás shouted for joy. The countless deities of Vaikantha, and all the bright-robed dwellers of that happy paradise, the biographer gravely tells us, assuming the forms of men, visited the new-born babe and gave gifts to him. The first thing, that attracted the attention of the joyous parents, was the impression on the child of the thirty-two marks of the person of Náráyan. They believed with joy that their child was the second person of the Hindu Triad—the deliverer and preserver of gods and men.

Chaitanya, in his childhood, was by no means a model of gentleness and modesty. The wild and boisterous pranks of his early days stand in ill keeping with the quiet and contemplative character of his after-life. His childhood has been fully described by Lochan Dás in the *Chaitanya-Mangal*. We cannot persuade ourselves, however, to transcribe a tenth of what the admiring disciple has recorded. We shall pass over the miracles ascribed to him in this early stage of his life—the translation of a dog, initiated into the mysteries of *Hari Náma*, into heaven—the prophecies he is said to have uttered—the petty acts of larceny he committed—and the *naivsté*, with which he asked his mother to give him the moon, that he might play with it. The precocity of his talents may be illustrated by the following anecdotes. One day, his mother having given him to eat fried paddy and sweetmeats, he deliberately began to eat clay in preference to them. On being questioned as to the reason of this strange conduct, the infant philosopher replied, that there was no difference between clay and the food given him, and that the latter was only a modification of the former! On another occasion he was observed to stand on an unclean place. His mother ordered him to wipe off the pollution, he had contracted, by bathing in the Bhágirathi, which he refused to do, adding as his reason, that all places were alike, and that purity or impurity could only be predicated of the soul. The wildness of his disposition may be illustrated by the following stories. Being endowed with a robust constitution, he was in the habit of beating all the boys of his age that came in his way. When the girls of the village went into the river to wash, he took away their dry clothes, which they had left on the bank, and did not restore them without getting presents from them. On one occasion he struck his mother so severely, that she fainted away, and was on the point of death, when he himself restored her by working a miracle. He habitually stole away from temples the offerings of the gods. The little rascal also had the impudence to make water on the rice-dish of an esteemed Pandit of Nadiyá.

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Jagannáth Misra did not neglect to procure for his beloved *Nimái* (so was his child named) a learned teacher. He went through the usual course of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He was early remarked for the retentiveness of his memory. While Nimái was displaying the brilliancy of his talents in the colleges of his native village, his elder brother, to the great grief of the parents, assumed the life of an ascetic. Soon after Nimái was married to *Lakshmi*. About this time, old Jagannáth died, whose funeral obsequies his dutiful son celebrated with becoming solemnity. On the decease of his father, Nimái commenced life as a school-master. The fame of his learning attracted many pupils.

While carrying on the peaceful labours of a professor, he made a trip into the eastern parts of Bengal, and surprised the people by the variety and depth of his learning. A Brahman, who had waded through the whole of the Hindu Shástras without discovering the gem of true happiness, was, in a dream, recommended to the divine teaching of the Nadiyá Pandit. On his return home, he found that his beloved partner, the fair Lakshmi, had departed this life. By the solicitations of his mother, he married a second time; and his nuptials with the daughter of Sanátan were celebrated with great pomp. As Nimái was diligent in the observance of the Hindu ritual, he took a journey to Gaya, and offered cakes to the manes of his ancestors. From Gaya he was proceeding towards Mathurá, but was hindered by a voice from heaven.

Books exert vast influence on nations, peoples, and tongues. Who can estimate the amount of influence the Korán has exerted in forming the habits, the dispositions, and the minds of those millions, who are under the strong delusion of the false prophet? Who can calculate the infinity of good produced by that book of books—the Bible? In India, after the expulsion of Buddhism, when the star of Brahmanical authority was in the ascendant, the Vedas were the book of the age. To the Vedas succeeded the Puránas, which exert their baneful influence to this day. The Purána, which seems to have been "the book," by way of eminence, in the days of Chaitanya, was the *Sri Bhágavat*. Nimái had read this book with deep attention. He became familiar with the striking incidents, that fill its thrilling pages. It filled his mind, moulded his soul, and tinctured his fancy. By incessant meditation on Krishna, he entertained unbounded affection for that divinity. He repeated, by day and by night, the name of his guardian deity, and, with high-wrought enthusiasm, celebrated his praises. It was after returning from Gaya that Nimái

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commenced the reformer. During his travels he had found the "riches of Krishna's love," which he was resolved on publishing to the world. All great reformers are men of *one idea*. The human mind, owing to the limited range of its capacities, and of that passion, or enthusiasm, which is necessary to the completion of any undertaking, seems to be utterly unfitted for carrying on at the same time a variety of projects. The reformer of Nadiyá was pre-eminently a man of *one idea*. But this unity of idea may be carried to a morbid excess. When the whole mind, with all its powers and energies, is intensely devoted to the contemplation of an object which fills it, it is necessarily abstracted from all other objects. When this absence, or rather intense presence, of mind is carried to a faulty excess, the mind verges towards insanity. Hence the truth of the common saying, that "Genius is allied to madness." The difference between a maniac and a genius, psychologically considered, is that the former can control the mind and direct it at pleasure to other objects, while the latter has lost all power over the succession of his thoughts. That the Nadiyá saint, by incessant contemplation, rendered himself imbecile, will appear in the sequel. In the mean time we may remark, that this sort of morbid meditation on Krishna appears to have produced in him that state of the mind, which is aptly designated by the term enthusiasm. Immediately before commencing the great work of preaching the "love of Krishna," as he termed it, he fell into an enthusiastic fit of devotion. The intensity of his feelings sought expression in the movements of his body. He fell on the ground, rolled in the dust, wept, laughed, and danced. During this *Prem Práláp*, or "fit of love," which lasted for hours, he neither ate nor drank. When it was day, he would ask what part of the night it was, and, when it was night, he would ask what part of the day it was, while ever and anon he uttered the words—"Krishna! Krishna! Hari bal! Hari bal!"

His native village was the first scene of his labours. On his recovery from the *Prem Práláp*, he boldly proclaimed the name of Hari, or Krishna, as the only deliverer of mankind. Some of the respectable Brahmans of Nadiyá he easily gained over. The village of Nadiyá resounded with the *Hari Námá*. Gourhari (another name of Chaitanya), with his disciples, spent whole nights in singing the praises of Rádhá and Krishna; in discoursing on the amours of the milk-maids of Mathurá; in weeping, laughing, and dancing. In these nocturnal meetings, which often were dissolved at day-break, Gourhari, it is gravely stated, constantly transformed himself into the six-handed Vishnu. Other miracles were not wanting. We shall

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mention only one. When encompassed by his admiring and adoring disciples, *Gorá Chánd* takes the stone of a mango and buries it in the earth. In a moment the seed germinates, becomes a large tree, bears ripe fruits, which "hang amiable" on the bended branches. To the infinite delight of the hungry Vaishnavas, they are ordered to pluck and eat. The nature of these nocturnal devotions may be judged from the following specimen. When assembled in a room, Gourhari, by miraculous agency, stripped all his disciples of their clothes, which so delighted the Bhaktas, that through excess of joy they danced in the room to the unspeakable delight of their gay lord. This devotional dance of naked Vaishnavas is related by Lochan Dás in the *Chaitanya-Mangal.*

Hitherto, the doctrines of Gourhari had been confined to his chosen disciples. The time of his public ministry was now come. "Go," said he to his disciples, in one of the nocturnal meetings described above; "go, and proclaim in every house in Nadiyá 'the name of Hari. Teach it to the old and young, the sinful 'Chandála as well as the righteous Brahmin; then will they 'with ease go across the river of death." For executing the commission of their master, the timid disciples were not yet prepared. They recounted the many dangers that awaited this bold step, the vehement opposition they would likely meet with, and in particular the virulent enmity, which two Brahmans, *Jagái* and *Mádhái*, had conceived against *Hari Námá.* Gourhari, nothing daunted by the representation of these difficulties, determined to go himself, accompanied with all his Bhaktas, into the streets, and fearlessly proclaim the name of Hari. Accordingly, on the following morning, he collected all his disciples, and at their head marched through the streets. Entranced by the music of the *Mridanga* and the *Karatál*, the Vaishnavas with uplifted hands sung the praises of Krishna. Says Lochan Dás— "Nadiyá became an ocean of gladness; the sound of *Hari Ná-'má* reached the skies." The novelty of the spectacle attracted the notice of the whole village. Great was the sensation, tremendous the tumult. Regardless of the remarks of innumerable spectators, and in the teeth of all opposition, the Vaishnavas prosecuted their devotional music, vociferations, and dances. But Jagái and Mádhái, the mortal foes of *Hari Námá*, had not yet appeared in the field. Roused by the harsh dissonance of the Karatál, and the pious yells of the frantic Gorás, scarcely had the infidel brothers come out into the street, when they saw before them the Vaishnava procession. Their rage knew no bounds. Unfurnished with any offensive weapons, one of them took up a broken pitcher from an adjoining dung-hill, and flung it right

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amongst the dancing religionists. Poor Nityánanda, whom Chaitanya loved as a brother, was severely wounded on the head. Fierce flashed the rolling eyes of the Arch-Vaishnava. In the fierceness of his anger, he commanded one of the heavenly powers to destroy the impious striker. While Sudársan was proceeding to effect this bloody commission, the gentle Nityánanda persuaded his enraged master to give place to wrath, and, instead of hurling destruction on the heads of the guilty wretches, to impart to them the riches of Hari Námá. Chaitanya complied with the request of the amiable sufferer. The furious order was revoked. The spirit of contrition was imparted to the infidel brothers. With bended knees and joined hands, they implored and obtained mercy of the incarnate deity, and thenceforward became his zealous followers. The fame of this miraculous conversion calmed all opposition, and spread a wholesome terror through the villages. From this time Nadiyá rang with the praises of Krishna. "The waters "of faith," the pious biographer modestly remarks, "inundated "the sacred city of Naba-Dwipá." By the untiring exertions of Chaitanya's disciples, all the inhabitants were initiated into the mysteries of *Hari Námá*. The village resounded day and night with the Mridanga, and Karatál—to the Vaishnavas more charming than an angel's song.

But the festivity of the joyous town was soon converted into mourning and lamentation. Regardless of the expostulations of his mother and wife, Chaitanya, now twenty-four years old, resolved on becoming an ascetic, set out early one morning for a neighbouring village, where resided a holy sage. There he was solemnly renounced the *Grihashta* life, was taught the formulæ of *Vairágism*, and, in addition to his former names of Nimai and Gourhari, received the new appellation—*Sri Krishna Chaitanya*. The news of Gourhari's *Sanyás* filled Nadiyá with overwhelming grief. The devoted Bhaktas wept rivers of tears. Sachi was inconsolable. Vishnu-Priá, the consort of the ascetic, swooned away at the melancholy news. Unable to suppress their intense feelings, the Vaishnavas ran from one part of the village to another. It seemed as if the demon of distraction had seized the residents of Nadiyá. But the deed had been done. The fine locks of hair, that once adorned the head of Gourhari, and which were the envy of the female sex, had been cut; the *Mantra* had been whispered into his ear; his name had been changed, and the pilgrim staff borne. The drooping spirits of the sorrow-stricken disciples, however, were cheered by the appearance of Chaitanya in the place of his nativity. Intimation of his intended

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visit had been previously given. From an early hour of a certain day, the house of Adwaitánanda had been crowded to excess. They waited with breathless expectation. To their unspeakable delight, Chaitanya suddenly appeared. They received him with shouts of joy. Various were the methods, to which he resorted to animate the spirits of his followers and dissipate the intolerable grief of his fond mother. In the height of their joy in the possession of a present deity, the Vaishnavas sung, laughed, wept, and danced. But Chaitanya must part from them. The holy duties of a renouncer of the world and all its pleasures must be practised. Pilgrimages had to be performed; spots, redolent of the religious recollections of olden times, had to be visited. The still, small, but steady voice of duty made him deaf to the entreaties of his sorrowing disciples. The idea of deluging the arid wastes of India with the floods of Krishna's love took possession of his ardent mind.

After performing a variety of miracles, and assuring the agonizing Bhaktas of his continual presence with them, Chaitanya, accompanied by his attached friend, Nityánanda, departed towards Orissa. In his way, so deeply affected was he with the impiety of the people and their ignorance of Krishna, that he was almost inclined to drown himself for very grief. But the delightful sounds "Krishna! Krishna!" elicited from the mouth of a little boy, altered his resolution, and somewhat relieved his sorrowful heart. He reached *Niláchal* (Cuttack), and took up his residence in the house of a learned Brahman. The chief object of his visit to Orissa was to see the far famed Jagannáth, "the lord of the world." The sight of the armless divinity filled him with ineffable delight. So overpowering were his spiritual sensations, that he fell down insensible on the ground. Every fresh visit similarly affected the Nadiyá fanatic. The people wondered at the fervency of his religious impressions and the ardency of his emotions. For hours together he sat before the *Nim*-built Jagannáth, and, through the eye of lively faith and intense devotion, discerned, in that ugly idol, rays of heavenly beauty and divine effulgence. It would be tedious to recite the conferences he held, the prodigies he performed, and the enthusiastic fits into which he fell, during his residence in the precincts of the temple of the "Moloch of the East." Suffice it to say that he made many proselytes, that the streets of Niláchal resounded with *Hari Bal*, that divine honours were ascribed to him, and that the people hung on his lips with mute attention and intense admiration.

Bent on the accomplishment of the high object of his divine mission, Chaitanya determined to proceed southward as far as

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Rámisseram—the spot where Rámá, having thrown a causeway across the straits, had passed over with his troops to the golden capital of the ten-headed Rávana. The Vaishnavas of Niláchal could scarcely reconcile themselves to the idea of losing, even for a time, the presence of the incarnate divinity; and it was with great difficulty that he was allowed to depart from amongst them. The words which he pronounced, when setting out on his evangelistic expedition, are too characteristic to be omitted; "Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! 'O Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! 'Krishna! O Krishna; Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! 'Krishna! Krishna! O save me; Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! 'Krishna! Krishna! Krishna! O deliver me; Rámá Rághav! 'Rámá Rághava! Rámá Rághava! O save me; Krishna 'Kesava! Krishna Kesava! Krishna Kesava! O deliver me!" Along the whole of his journey, Chaitanya incessantly repeated these words. The people of the countries, through which he passed, thronged round him. Chaitanya said "Hari Bal;" the people, that heard him, said "Hari Bal;" and others, that heard them, said also "Hari Bal." "In this manner," says Krishna Dás, "did the people of the south country (Deccan) become Vaishnavas." And no wonder. No instructions had to be given, no doctrines taught, no ceremonies practised, no duties enjoined. Proselytism under these circumstances was the simplest thing under the sun. The man, that repeated the words "Hari Bal," was reckoned a convert.

It is not our design, in this running sketch of Chaitanya's life, fully to describe the various incidents that occurred in his pilgrimage to the south. The leading stages of his journey can only be glanced at. On the banks of the Godavery he met with the king of the adjacent country, to whom he showed his divine form, and discoursed on the mystic love of Krishna and the Gopís. On the banks of the Cavery he spent four months with a Brahman, who became his convert. As he proceeded southward, he visited all those places, which are celebrated in the Rámayana. On the plains of Panchavati the recollections of olden times, embalmed in the immortal song of Válmiki, rushed into his mind—the disfiguration of Surpanakhá, the murder of Marichi, the rape of Sita, and the inconsolable grief of the heroic Raghava. On reaching his journey's end he recited the poem of Válmiki. From Ramisseram he returned by the same route, confirming the Bhaktas. Thus, after accumulating in his person the sanctities of all the holy places in the south, and proclaiming to thousands the marvellous efficacy of Hari Náma, Chaitanya returned to Niláchal.

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The return of Chaitanya was celebrated with public rejoicings. The Vaishnavas of Bengal, to whom notice of his arrival had been sent, flocked to see the incarnate lord of the universe. The sacred city put on the appearance of festivity. Its walls echoed with the praises of Chaitanya and the music of the Mridanga. But the day of the grand Vaishnava demonstration was approaching. The festival of the Rath Játrá drew near. Crowds of people poured in from all parts of India to witness the pompous celebration. The idol Jagannáth, riding on his proud car, was to make a procession through the sacred city. Vast was the concourse of men, women and children. Chaitanya with his followers, Bengalis and Uriyas, joined the crowd. At the sight of the idol he was convulsed with joy. With the view of taking a conspicuous part in the proceedings of the day, he divided his disciples into four large Sampradáyis, or bands, who were to celebrate the *Sankirt'tan* on four sides of the magnificent car. To each band were attached two players on the Mridanga, a principal singer, and a chief dancer, besides a number of ordinary disciples. The sound of "Hari Bal" on all sides of the car attracted the curiosity of the vast multitude. The sound of the musical instruments, the violent dancing of the Vaishnavas, and their devotional screamings produced a great sensation.

But we have kept out of sight the hero of the day. Chaitanya had not joined any of the bands, yet was he present in them all. He was seen every where. He was observed singing and dancing with all the bands at the same time. But this was not all. The author of the *Charitámrita* tells us, that he constantly transformed himself during these dancings. He was in a tremendous dancing-fit. He perspired so profusely, that those who stood near were moistened. This was a high day of the Vaishnavas. Says Krishna Das—"The sound of the Kirttan filled the three worlds." So captivating was the sound of the Vaishnava-maddening Mridanga, so graceful the evolutions of Chaitanya's body, and so mellifluous the song of the Bhaktas, that the car stopped in the middle of the road, and the lordly deity with steady eyes gazed at the pious show. The marvellous feats of the day were concluded by a miracle. The car of Jagannáth stood motionless. The innumerable multitudes had tried their united strength. The gigantic elephants of the Raja of Púrí had failed. The grief of the pilgrims at this catastrophe knew no bounds. Chaitanya came to their rescue. He pushed it by his head, and the car moved along. Soon as the wheels of the unwieldy chariot clattered along the ground, the multitudinous host shouted "Hari Bal." These

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scenes were annually renewed when the Vaishnavas of Bengal came to Púrí at the Rath Játrá. The rest of the year was spent by Chaitanya in propagating his doctrines, in proselytizing, in confirming the faith of his followers, and the celebration of the Kirttan. His residence in Niláchal contributed not a little to infuse life into the worship of Jagannáth. The number of pilgrims increased every year, who returned to their houses laden with the treasures of Bhakti.

After spending four years in this manner, Chaitanya made a short tour to Bengal, visited his mother, and confirmed the faith of his drooping disciples. After returning to the sacred city he set out on a pilgrimage to Brindában. Leaving the main road, and entering into the jungles on the left of Cuttack, accompanied by his devoted disciple, Bala-Bhadra, he proceeded towards Mathurá. The marvels, which attended his journey, merit a somewhat more than cursory notice on account of their characteristic richness. The jungles, through which he passed, were full of savage men and doleful creatures. They were the haunts of tigers, leopards, wild elephants, and all sorts of ravenous beasts of prey. The habitations of human beings were few and far between. But these inconveniences and dangers did not damp the ardent zeal of the Vaishnava preacher. The name of Hari, which he ever and anon repeated, operated as a charm against the attacks of rapacious beasts. We must allow Krishna Dás to speak for himself. "Mahaprabhu," says he, "leaving the common route, entered into the dense jungles 'on the left of Cuttack, with the name of Krishna in his 'mouth, at the sound of which tigers and elephants made 'way for him. The lord passed through herds of tigers, ele-'phants, rhinoceroses, and wild boars. The simple Bala-Bha-'dra was astonished to see those furious beasts keep a res-'pectful distance from the Mahá-prabhu. One day, as the 'lord was passing on, his foot chanced to strike a tiger, sleeping 'on the road. The lord said, 'Krishna! Krishna!' at the 'sound of which the tiger, rising up, danced for joy. On ano-'ther occasion, as the lord was bathing in the river, a flock of 'intoxicated elephants came thither to drink water. The lord, 'throwing water at them, said, 'Repeat the name of Krish-'na"; on which all the elephants shouted 'Krishna! Krishna!' 'and, moved by faith and love, danced and sung: some of them 'fell to the ground, and others made a loud noise, to the great 'wonderment of the simple Bala-Bhadra. When the lord cele-'brated the praises of Krishna, flocks of deer attended him on 'both sides of the way to hear the delightful sound. The lis-'tening deer were joined by five or seven tigers, who all went

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'along with the lord. The lord said to them, 'Say Krishna! 'Krishna!': and the deer and the tigers, with the name Krishna 'on their lips, danced with joy. To the surprise of Bala-Bhadra, 'and the amusement of the lord, the tigers and the deer em-'braced and kissed each other. Peacocks and other birds hung 'on the lips of the lord, and, repeating the name of Krishna, 'danced with joy. The lord said 'Hari Bal;' and plants and 'trees swelled at the joyful sound. The vegetables and miner-'als of the country of Rashi-khanda, hearing the name of Krish-'na, became mad with love."

When he went to the abodes of human beings, he was supplied with all manner of provisions: milk, sugar, curd, and ghi—that nectar of the Hindus—they gave him in abundance. The people gladly received the Hari Námá, and became his converts. In this manner, preaching through the wilderness, he came to Benares. In Benares—the most sacred city in the world—the residence of Siva, a city isolated from the universe, shining like the setting sun, and taking away the sins of men, Chaitanya made many converts. Passing through Prayág (Allahabad), and, bathing in the Jumna, he came to the city of Mathurá. The sight of the birth-place of Krishna affected him in the highest degree. Overwhelmed with deep feeling, he fell to the ground and became insensible. On his recovery from this love-fit, with indescribable enthusiasm he sauntered about those places, where occurred the marvellous incidents recorded in the *Sri Bhágavat*. There was not one sacred spot in the *circle of Mathurá*, as it is called, which he left unvisited. The twelve groves, which still breathe of the amours of the Mathurá lover and his mistress Rádhá, he took especial delight in minutely inspecting. The inhabitants of Golok-Dhár found in him all the characteristics of their favourite deity. The cows of Mathurá recognized in him that wanton god that was born there; the birds of the twelve groves sat on his hands as he passed, and cheered him by their sweet melody; the peacocks vied with one another in displaying to their lord the splendour of their plumage; and the flowers fell off their stalks at his feet, and worshipped him. All nature became vocal with the praises of Chaitanya. But it is needless to say more; for, as writes Krishna Dás, "ten "millions of volumes will not suffice to describe only the trans-'formations of Mahá-prabhu in the sacred city of Brindában."

While returning to Orissa, he held conferences with his celebrated disciples, *Swarupa* and *Sanátán*, at Allahabad and Benares. It was at this time that he displayed his skill in the Sanskrita by affixing no less than sixty-one meanings to a single stanza of the *Sri Bhágávat*. After passing through

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Bengal, where he comforted his sorrowing Bhaktas, he returned to Niláchal, from whence he was destined never to depart. The twelve years, that he spent at Niláchal, are void of incidents. His time was devoted to the instruction of his followers, the explication of the doctrines of the *Sri Bhágávat*, the receiving of visits and adorations from the Vaishnavas of Bengal, and the several exercises of Vaishnava devotion —laughing, weeping, singing, and dancing.

He now frequently fell into fits of insanity, miscalled devotion. His mind, which was early tinctured with no small degree of fanaticism, now displayed unmistakeable signs of imbecility, however they may be explained away by his admiring biographer. We have already seen that the *Sri Bhágávat* gave a colour and complexion to his mind. During his last residence at Niláchal, he gave himself up to intense meditation on the incidents recorded in the above-mentioned Purána. The adventures of Krishna were the objects of his day-dreams and night-visions. He saw Krishna every where. Every reservoir of water was to him the veritable Jumna, on whose mimic streams his guardian deity made merry excursions. He confounded the subjective feelings of his mind with the objective realities of the external world. In the company of his followers he often fancied that he was walking among the groves of Brindában, or bathing in the Jumna, or dancing with the shepherdesses and milk-maids of the Indian Arcadia. These fits of downright insanity are represented by Krishna Das as holy raptures and extatic visions. Under the influence of these fits, he drowned himself in the sea. This last incident of his life is recorded in the 18th section of the 3rd book of the *Charitámritá*. It is too long to be transcribed here; we shall therefore give a short abstract of it.

With a mind absorbed in meditation on the Lilás of the shepherd-god of Mathurá, he drew near the sea-shore with a view to sequestrate himself for a few hours from the bustle of the world. Looking intently on the hoarse-resounding main, he fancied it to be the Jumna, on whose crystal waters the Gopis of Brindában were swimming. Eager to join in the frolics of the highly-favoured maids, he jumped into the sea. Emaciated as his body was by constant vigils and fastings, it floated on the water, and fell into a fisherman's net hard by the shore. It was night. The fisherman, perfectly unaware of the circumstance, congratulated himself on the success of the day, as he felt the heaviness of the net. With all the strength he could command, he dragged the net to the shore; when, lo! instead of a large fish, a human corpse made

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its appearance! With all possible haste he drew it ashore, when the apparently lifeless corpse made a faint sound, which curdled the blood of the fear-stricken fisherman. He concluded it to be a Bhút. Distracted with fear, with trembling feet and an agitated frame, the fisherman was pacing along the sea-shore, when he was met by Swarupa and Rámánanda, who had been seeking from sun-set their divine master. The fisherman told his tale. On reaching the spot, they recognized in the fisherman's Bhút, the saviour of the universe. They laid the remains of their submerged lord on the sandy beach, and rent the air with the sounds of "Hari Bal." The music of Krishna's name, it is said, restored life to the dead. As the Vaishnavas pretend that soon after this Chaitanya made his disappearance from the stage of the world, and as Krishna Dás closes his biography with this incident, without telling us what became of him afterwards, there can be no doubt that Chaitanya did not survive his marine excursion. He was then about 43.

We have given a pretty full account of the Mahá-prahbu of the Vaishnavas; of his eminent disciples we cannot afford room for saying much. Of these the two most celebrated were Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda. Nityánanda, who is represented to have possessed a portion of the Divine nature, was born in a village near Nadiyá. He was one of Chaitanya's earliest followers, and bore to him the tenderest attachment. He accompanied him into Orissa, immediately after Chaitanya had assumed the life of an ascetic. He was subsequently installed primate of all Bengal, in the discharge of which office, he had Adwaitánanda for his assistant. Faithful to the instruction of his master, he annually led the Vaishnavas of Bengal to witness his marvellous feats at Niláchal. Unlike his lord he did not become an ascetic, but retained his secularity all his life. In the list of the disciples he holds the foremost place, and is, indeed, honoured with divine worship in company with his master. At Ambiká, fifty miles north of Calcutta, on the bank of the Bhágirathi, stands a temple dedicated to him and Chaitanya. It is graced with their images of the size of life, which are the objects of the adorations of the Vaishnavas. The descendants of Nityánanda, together with those of Adwaitánanda, are the acknowledged heads of the Vaishnavas.

Of Adwaitánanda little is known. He was an inhabitant of *Sántipur*, where he was teaching with distinguished success, when Chaitanya was born. We have already mentioned his prediction regarding the son of Sachi, and the homage he paid to the embryo-divinity. He became one of his ardent Bhaktas, and with Nityánanda ruled the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

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Of the six leading Goshwámis, the eight Kavi-Rájas (noble bards), and the sixty-four Mahantas, who form the hierarchy of the Vaishnavas, it is needless to say much. Suffice it to say that they are represented as men whose equals the world never produced—men remarkable for the depth of their wisdom, the comprehensiveness of their learning, the simplicity of their faith, the austerity of their devotions, and the endless multitude of their good works. The names of the most famous were Rúpa, Sanátan, Sri Nibás, Hari Dás, Rámánanda and Raghu Náth Dás. Rupa and Sanátan—two brothers in the service of the Mussulman ruler of Bengal—attracted the notice of Chaitanya in the village of Rámkali. Charmed by the unusual glory of his person, the holiness of his life, the fervour of his faith, and the purity of his doctrines, they became his main disciples. By their solid learning, extensive influence, and vast wealth, they contributed not a little to adorn Vaishnavism in Upper Hindustan.

We have already spoken of Rámánanda, the king of Bidyánagar, on the banks of the Cavery. He resigned his numerous possessions, and removed to Niláchal, where he enjoyed the company of the Nadiyá mendicant. And what shall we say of Hari Dás, whose marvellous feats and austere devotions are described in the *Charitámrita* in the highest strains of eulogy? Retiring from the haunts of man, he repaired to a thicket, where he carried on his devotions, which consisted in repeating the name of Hari three hundred thousand times a day. The austerity of his devotions attracted the curiosity of the people, who ran in crowds and rendered him divine homage. But the Muhammadan Governor of the district could not endure the sight of a mortal honoured with divine worship. Baffled in all his expedients to divert the mind of the enthusiast from the Hari Námá, the infidel functionary hoped to entrap him by the blandishments of women. Accordingly, a harlot decked with all possible charms took her seat at the door of the humble cell of the devotee. Addressing Hari Dás, she said that she had a petition to present. The all but omniscient Vaishnava, aware, by the energy of his far-seeing faith, of the wicked device of the infidel ruler, requested her to wait till the end of his devotions. She waited, but to no good effect, for the devotions continued all night. The following night she again repaired to the hermitage, received the same answer, and was similarly disappointed. Night after night she visited Hari Dás, and night after night returned disappointed. The simple and austere disciple, blind to all female charms, pursued his avocation without any distraction of mind. But the harlot, enamoured of

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the beauty of holiness, forsook her sinful courses, and betook herself to the Hari Námá. "Behold here," says the author of the *Charitámrita*, "the efficacy of the blessed Hari Námá."

The theology of the Vaishnavas of Bengal will not detain us long. The supreme object of adoration is Krishna. He is the fount of the divine essence. He is the *Param-átmá*—"the soul" by way of eminence, having no equal in the universe. With Spinoza, whose theological ravings were only modifications of Oriental pantheism, the Vaishnava maintains the existence of but one substance: that substance is Krishna. The earth, with all that inhabits it, is a modification of the Vaishnava's divinity. It has been justly affirmed that Hinduism in all its shapes is pantheistic. The Saktas, the Saivas, and the Vaishnavas are all pantheists. The universal diffusion of Pantheism in India is, we think, a clear proof of the high mental capabilities of its vast and diversified population. That, which was the fashionable creed of philosophers only in the high and palmy states of Athens and Rome, is the creed of the million in India. Ask the dullest husbandman that ever handled the plough, who it is that speaks and acts, when *he* speaks and acts, and he will unhesitatingly answer, "God." By the way we may remark how futile are the pretensions of the Neo-Vedantists of the city of palaces, who profess to derive a pure and simple theism from the Vedant. Like the Deists of Europe, who, deriving their notions of God, creation, Providence, and futurity from the Christian Scriptures, ascribed these discoveries to their lame natural theology, the members of the Calcutta Brahmá Sabhá, gathering their imperfect theology and mutilated morality from European sources, pretend to draw them from the dry wells of the Vedanta and the Upanisháds. But that their pretended demonstrations are "baseless as the fabric of a vision" could be abundantly shown were this the place to do so.

In common, therefore, with all Hindu sectaries, the Vaishnavas are essentially pantheistic. But the great peculiarity, in the theology of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, is the identification of Krishna with the mendicant of Nadiyá. When the Vaishnavas dwell on the divine attributes of the warrior-god of Mathurá, and invest him with all perfections, the other sectaries have not much to object, for agreeably to the accommodating, compromising spirit of all false religions, all gods are viewed in the same light. But when they attempt to identify the divine lover of Rádhá with the fanatic of Nadiyá, they are reckoned heretics. The Vaishnavas, accordingly, in all their

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religious books, lay great stress upon this point. They fill the pages of their sacred books with cart-loads of quotations from the *Sri Bhágavat* and the *Bhágavat Gitá*. But they have signally failed. They have not been able to find one pretended prophecy within the entire range of Hindu sacred literature, one line prophesying the incarnation of Chaitanya. They endeavour to make out that Chaitanya is the *Purna Brahm* of the Hindu Shástras; that he is the source of all the incarnations; and that all the multitudinous gods of the Hindu Pantheon have derived their being from him. They believe that the brightest display of the divine nature has been made only twice, since the commencement of the present Kalpa, viz., in the Dwápara Yuga in the person of Krishna, and in the Kali Yuga, about three hundred years ago, in the person of Chaitanya. Divine essence, they say, is susceptible of division. Krishna and Chaitanya possessed the full quantity of the essence, the other gods possessed only a part. Brahmá, Sivá, and the rest of the gods were only *Ansás*, or parts of the Param-átmá. The *Ansas* again were divided into *Annansás*, or part of parts; and these latter into still more minute sub-divisions. Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda, though inferior to Krishna or Chaitanya, held the same rank in the heraldry of the gods, as Brahmá and Sivá; for they too were *Ansás* of the ocean of divine essence.

But the greatest peculiarity in the theology of the Gauriya Vaishnavas is the doctrine of *Bhakti*, or faith. This is a new element in Hinduism: it is wanting in the Vedanta and all ancient Hindu scriptures. The method of deliverance which the Vedant points out, consists in the *knowledge* of God. The knowledge of God is the great purifier of the human mind. It frees man from all carnal impurities, delivers him from every taint of sin, annihilates the passions, and fits him for absorption into the unfathomable abyss of Brahm's essence. It only has the efficacy of emancipating the spirit of man from the gross impediments of material pollutions. The ritual of a later date introduced endless and unmeaning ceremonies and rites, ablutions and fastings, all which are said to have the efficacy of procuring endless felicity. The Vaishnava does not deny that these were heaven-ordained methods of attaining supreme happiness. Knowledge, incessant meditation, austerities, good works, are no doubt recommended in the Shástras. But in this age of rampant vice, rife carnality, and wide-spread ignorance, they are difficult of attainment. In ages of purity and innocence and primitive simplicity, they, unquestionably, were the only means whereby to attain to Mukti. But the dispensation

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of knowledge and of works has ceased; and the new dispensation of Bhakti or faith is begun. Sinners have now only to believe in Krishna, to repose all confidence in Chaitanya. Great virtues are ascribed to the principle of Bhakti. "The efficacy of good works, austerities and knowledge, is nothing compared with that of Bhakti." "Without Bhakti there can be no deliverance, (Mukti.") "Bhakti is more efficacious than all the works, meditation and knowledge, recommended in the old Shástras." Vaishnavism, like every other species of fanaticism, discards *knowledge*. Blind Bhakti, or faith without the basis of knowledge, is of itself sufficient to procure endless felicity. Krishna Dás, on the alleged authority of the *Gitá*, puts it down as an infallible doctrine, that Bhakti without knowledge procures final liberation. Faith is the root of all practical religion; where this is wanting, religion is wanting. The bare existence of Bhakti, whatever be the object of this blind and implicit faith, is alone essential to salvation. In perfect consistency with their patheistic notions, the Vaishnavas maintain that any thing whatever, a water-pot, a plant, a log of wood, believed by the devotee to be Krishna or Chaitanya, becomes to him such, and ensures to him happiness in the realms of Vaikantha. This simple tenet of the religion of Chaitanya is eminently calculated to make it popular. While Vedantism requires in its followers a degree of knowledge and abstraction, to which the generality of the people are incapable of attaining; and while popular Hinduism prescribes a round of rites and ceremonies which cannot be performed without trouble and expense, the system of Chaitanya lays stress only upon a mental affection, to which knowledge is by no means essential.

The analysis of Bhakti is given at large in the *Charitámrita*. There are five stages of it, the *Sánta*, the *Dásya*, the *Sákhya*, the *Bátsalya*, and the *Mádhuria*. *Sánta*, or quietism, is the lowest state of Bhakti. It indicates no warmth, no fervour of heart; it is a sort of cold intellectual faith, at the greatest remove from enthusiasm. Though inferior in merit to the rest, it is nevertheless efficacious in procuring future happiness; it consists in a calm, collected and unimpassioned contemplation of the supreme deity. Bhakti in this simple state was practised by many of the holy sages of antiquity.

Dásya, or servitude, is a higher stage, and implies greater devotion. The heart is more animated, the mind more active, and the affections warmer. Actuated by this faith, the devout Vaishnava swears eternal servitude to his god, dedicates to his service all his powers and energies, and acknowledges him to

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be his only lord and master. The relation, which obtains between Krishna and his votary, when under the influence of this faith, is not so much the relation of a master to a servant, as that of a lord to his purchased slave.[1]

Sákhya, or friendship, is the third degree of Bhakti. Influenced by this faith, the votary no longer regards Chaitanya as his lord and master, for the promotion of whose glory he was created, but as his personal acquaintance, his companion and friend. Believing his own soul to be a part of the Param-átmá, he throws aside the badges of servitude, and recognizes in the divinity his friend and associate. The phraseology of reverential fear is laid aside, and the language, applicable only to human friends, takes its place in the breathings of devotion.

Bátsalya, or filial affection, is a still higher degree of faith. It implies such an affection in the votary for Krishna, as obtains between parents and children. It is something different from that devotional frame of mind, which recognizes in God the father of the human race. It is a sort of appropriating faith, under the influence of which a believer is entitled to say to his maker, "Thou art *my* father."

It were well if this last were the highest species of Bhakti. But where reason ends, fanaticism begins. A still higher degree of faith is *Mádhurya*, or sweetness, which is the efflorescence of Bhakti. It implies an enthusiastic fondness for, and passionate attachment to, Krishna—an unusually tender affection for the supreme deity. As described in the *Charitámrita*, and expounded by learned Vaishnavas, it seems to be little different from that violent and passionate love, which attaches a lover towards his mistress. Indeed the archetype of this high and mystical faith is plainly set forth to be the wild and delirious passion, which the milk-maids of Brindában entertained for their divine paramour. It is represented to be highly mystical and allegorical. But however mystical it is to the devout Vaishnava, we confess we perceive here the clearest indications of licentiousness. We are well aware of the nature of the connection that united the Gopis of Brindában to their lord, and when this connection is made the type of the highest sort of faith, its meaning cannot any longer be hidden from us. The quintessence of *Mádhurya* faith was enjoyed by Rádhá, the fairest and best beloved of the milk-maids. It is impossible, indeed, to read without feelings of horror the disgusting and licentious manner, in which the union of Rádhá and Krishna is detailed in the sacred books of the Vaishnavas.

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It is certainly curious to trace the apparent similarity that exists between the Bhakti, as described above, and the nature of Christian faith, as set forth in the only true revelation. We may recognize the *Sánta* in that gentle opening of the heart, which is unaccompanied with strong convictions of sin, manifested to the outward senses; the *Dásya* in the language of the humbled disciple, "Lord what wilt thou have me to do?" the *Sákhya* in that spirit of humble boldness, in which a Christian feels that his lord is his greatest friend, and brother born for adversity; the *Bátsalya* in that spirit of adoption which cries "Abba, father;" and the *Mádhuria* in the mystical union of Christ with the Church. It is interesting and curious also to mark that while Luther on the European continent was reviving the old, but then forgotten, doctrine of justification by faith alone, the founder of the Vaishnavas in Bengal was expounding its false show in the doctrine of the Bhakti.

The heaven of the Vaishnavas is *Vaikantha*. Here, freed from the illusory influences of *Abidya*, and exalted above the region of the *Avatárs*, the Vaishnavas expect a sea of felicity. The identification of the divinity and his votary is a dogma of the followers of Chaitanya. Agreeably to this tenet, they represent that their highest felicity is their deification in Paradise. Possessed of the attributes of divinity, omnipotence, omniscience, and immutability, they will be transformed into gods, and reign for ever in the realms of *Swarga*.

The Vaishnavas are idolators. In common with other Hindu sects they maintain that it is impossible for spirit, as such, to become the object of our contemplation. In order to worship it, we must at least in our minds make an image of it. Agreeably to this principle, they make images of Krishna and Chaitanya. The images of Krishna are more numerous than those of Chaitanya. The former is worshipped in the various forms of Gopal, Gopinath, Madan Mohan, &c. The Madan Mohan, originally of Vishnupur, in the zillah of Bankura, but now of Calcutta, and the Gopinath of Agradwipá, in the zillah of Krishnaghur, are the most celebrated in all Bengal. But public temples are not the only residences of the idols. Every Vaishnava family is provided with some one or other of these idols. In general they are worshipped twice every day; once in the fore-noon, and again immediately after sun-set.

The religious duties, or *Sádhanas*, of Vaishnavas are sixty-four in number. It would be useless and uninteresting even to name these duties: we shall advert to some of the leading ones. That which is reckoned to be of the greatest importance, and

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occupies the foremost place in the list of the Sádhanas, is the *Guru Pádásraya.* In common with all Hindu sects, it is the invariable custom of the Vaishnavas to receive from some accredited spiritual teacher certain religious formulæ, embodying, in a few words, generally one or two of their leading sectarial notions. These sectarial formulæ are called *Mantras;* on the due repetition of which the future felicity of the devotee in the world of the immortals is made to hang. The teachers, that perform this important initiatory rite, are called *Gúrús.* The Gúrús of the Vaishnavas are the *Gosains,* the descendants of Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda. They give no instructions to their disciples. They whisper only two or three words at the most into the ear of the *Sishya.* "*Kling Krishna,*" "*Kling Rádhá,*" "*Ring Dhung,*" are specimens of Vaishnava Mantras.

The meaning of these words is not expounded; no exhortations to moral purity are given; no instructions of any kind imparted. In a solitary room, with closed doors and in a low voice, the Mantra is poured by the Gúrú into the ear of the Sishya, and the strictest silence is enjoined. It must not be revealed to any other mortal on pain of the loss of everlasting happiness. He is forbidden to drink water or taste food, without repeating the Mantra mentally at least one hundred and eight times. After the initiation, the Gúrú is presented with money, clothes, and other valuables according to the Sishya's ability. This is all that a Gúrú ever does. But what is the nature of the obligation on the part of the initiated disciple? The following texts are taken from standard authorities. "The Mantra is 'manifest in the Gúrú, and the Gúrú is Hari himself." "First, 'the Gúrú is to be worshipped, and then I am to be worship-'ped," says Krishna. "The Gúrú is always to be worshipped: 'he is most excellent from being one with the Mantra. Hari 'is pleased, when the Gúrú is pleased; millions of acts of 'homage else will fail of being accepted." "When Hari is in 'anger, the Gúrú is our protector; when the Gúrú is in 'anger, we have none." By such audacious and impudent falsehoods have the Gosains arrogated to themselves a power, if possible, more than omnipotent, and an authority more than divine. Awful is the reverence paid by the disciple to his Gúrú. He is looked upon as a god in human shape.

The visits of the Gúrú to his disciple are by no means "few and far between:" he favours him with a visit whenever he is in want of money. Unlike ordinary visitors, he comes with great *eclât.* A herald with the *Trisula* in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, on entering the out-skirts of a village,

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breathes into the "sounding alchemy," and, by its well-known voice, gives notice to the inhabitants of an approaching Gosain. The Vaishnavas rush out of their houses to welcome him, whose wrath is as dreadful as the flaming fire. A short and fat squab of a Gosain, riding on a white palfrey, attended by a band of musicians and a motley group of *Neráś* and *Neris*, makes his appearance. The disciple, whose Gúrú the fat gentleman happens to be, accosting his lordship with becoming reverence, prostrates himself on the ground. His Gúrú-ship, dismounting from his horse, pronounces a benediction over the prostrate Sishya, by the appropriate act of touching his head with his foot. When the procession reaches the threshold of the house, the wife or mother of the Sishya, as the case may be, after proper salutations, takes hold of his lordship's legs, washes them in a vessel of water, and wipes them with her hair. The water containing the washings of his feet, dignified by the name of the *holy nectar*, is devoutly drunk by the whole family. Men, women, and children diligently employ themselves in serving the well-favoured preceptor. His body is anointed with the best oil the family can procure, and bathed in the best water the tanks of the village afford. Ablutions and morning worship over, his lordship sits to his dinner, composed of all the delicacies, such as they are, which the family can command. A quantity, more than he can consume, is set before him, that the Bhaktas may have the privilege of eating the leavings of his plate. He fares in this lordly manner two or three days; on the expiration of which, after fleecing the Bhaktas of as much as he can, he joyfully returns home, chuckling, no doubt, over the gullibility of the simpletons he has been visiting.

This is no Utopian picture; it may be witnessed any day in all the considerable villages of Lower Bengal. This servile adoration of the Gúrú is the most degrading element in the faith of the Vaishnavas. To such reverence, all but divine, the Gúrú has a perpetual and inalienable right: no moral turpitude, of how deep a dye so ever, can deprive him of it. Worst of all, this veneration is hereditary. To the successor of a deceased Goshwami the same reverence is paid. The *Gúrú Pádásra* is a melancholy proof of the utter prostration of humanity under the despotic sway of a most galling superstition, and of the audacious height to which imposture has reached. Degrading as were the superstitions of ancient Greece and Rome, there was nothing in them at all equal to it. Intolerable and overbearing as was the priest-craft of the church of Rome, during the dark ages, it devised nothing so base and disgusting

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as the Gúrú Pádásraya of the Gosains. It has been said that the original founders of Vaishnavism ought to be absolved from the guilt of devising this vile rite. Profound as was the reverence which they enjoined upon every Bhakta to pay to his Gúrú, it fell far short of the all but divine adoration rendered to him in our days. We are glad to perceive, however, that with the introduction of knowledge, liberal sentiments, and Christian truth into the community, the authority of the Gúrú has been considerably shaken. An important schism has already taken place amongst the Vaishnavas. The *Spashta Dásyahs*, maintaining all the tenets and doctrines of Chaitanya, have openly repudiated the Gosains. A few years more, and Gúrú-craft will be numbered with the things that were. The two castes amongst the Hindus, who are most servilely attached to their Gúrús, are the bankers and the weavers. But even amongst them we perceive the infusion of liberal sentiments. Many of them have begun to treat their Gúrús coldly; and we know of cases in which they were without ceremony driven from the house, on the discovery of gross immorality practised under the veil of religion.

The second, *Sádhana*, we shall mention, is what is called the *Námá Kirt'tan*. This is a very simple matter. It consists in the mere repetition of some of the names of Krishna. The formula of the Námá Kirt'tan, prevalent in this part of Bengal, is as follows: "*Hari Krishna, Hari Krishna, Krishna, Krishna! Hari, Hari, Hari Rám! Hari Rám, Rám, Rám! Hari, Hari!*" The *Hari Námás* are counted by beads of the sacred *Tulasi* plant. The rosaries are of different lengths. We have seen a rosary consisting of one hundred thousand beads. But the common rosary consists of one hundred and eight beads. The piety of a Vaishnava is generally estimated by the number of times the rosary is gone round. No real Vaishnava, under whatever circumstances, drinks water, or tastes food, without making at least one revolution of the sacred *Málá*, the name by which the rosary is designated. It is an object of adoration, and is generally enclosed in an envelope of silk, neatly and tastefully made. In every village of Bengal, the Grihastha Vaishnavas are seen, after the morning ablutions, and at nights, duly counting their rosaries. While walking in the streets, their fingers are observed rolling over the Tulasi beads, and their lips in motion. The Námá Kirt'tan, however, is performed in silence. No audible voice is heard: the fingers and the lips are only observed to be in the utmost activity. Experienced Vaishnavas—veterans in the service of the Námá Kirt'tan—can manage

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very often to serve God and Mammon at the same time. They may be seen listening to a conversation and taking their part in it, and at the same time engaged in counting their beads.

Marvellous efficacy is ascribed to this Sádhana. It is the only thing *necessary* in this age of sin and vice for the attainment of future felicity. The neglect of the rest of the Sádhanas can amply be atoned for by a diligent performance of *Hari Námá*. This is pre-eminently the duty of the Káli Yuga.

The Sádhana of *San-kirt'tan* is different from the *Námá Kirt'tan*. The latter is performed by an individual Vaishnava by himself; the former in the company of other Vaishnavas. The Námá Kirt'tan is celebrated inaudibly for the most part, without the accompaniment of music. The Sankirt'tan, on the other hand, is celebrated vociferously, accompanied with musical concerts, such as they are. The one may be regarded as personal and private devotion; the other social and public. Specimens of the Sankirt'tan have already been offered to the reader. The enthusiastic dancing and singing, and devotional vociferations of the Nadiyá saint and his fanatical followers round the car of the great Jagannáth of Niláchal, are examples of what is meant by the Sankirt'tan. It is by no means unusual amongst the Vaishnavas. On occasions of the great Vaishnava festivals, such as the Rádhá Ashtámi, or the Nandatsab, the Rath, or the Rás Jatra, processions of the followers of Chaitanya are to be met with in innumerable villages in Bengal, who by their pious shrieks rend the skies. The enthusiasm they manifest is worthy of a better cause. The flow of religious sensibilities and the play of the feelings are worthy of note; while the streams of tenderness rushing from their eyes bespeak the warmth of their passions and the sincerity of their professions. We have often accompanied these devotional bands, and witnessed evidences of the fanaticism of the devotees. Their minds intently fixed on the sole object of worship, with up-lifted hands and brazen throats, they celebrate the praises of Hari. They sing, they weep, they laugh, they dance. Much, if not the whole, however, is mere animal excitement. And here let us remark once for all, that the devotion of the Vaishnava consists greatly in frames of the body, and sensations of the nervous system. A Bhakta of an emaciated frame of body and a weak voice, has very slender chance of attaining to religious notoriety. A Herculean frame of body and a Stentorian voice generally gain the day. We cannot help contrasting the deep solemnity, the peaceful tranquillity, the calm repose, that pervade a place of Christian worship, with the

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noisy uproar, the discordant music, and the incessant screams that attend the public celebration of the San-kirt'tan.

The next Sádhana, that merits attention, is the *Mahatsab*, literally, *great joy*. On the death of a Gosain, or a notorious Mahanta, or Vaishnava of celebrity, the Bhaktas meet together, perform the San-kirt'tan, and crown the celebrations by a grand religious feast. This feast is called the *Mahatsab*. In a properly conducted Mahatsab, eight *Málsás*, or plates, are offered to the gods and sages of the Vaishnavas; three Málsás to the three *Prabhús*, Chaitanya, Nityánanda, and Adwaitánanda; eight Málsás to the eight *Kavi Raájas;* six Málsás to the six Gosains, and sixty-four Málsás to the sixty-four Mahants. One great peculiarity of these feasts is that no distinctions of castes are observed: indeed, the principles of caste, as such, are repudiated by the system of Vaishnavism, as we shall see in the sequel. Another peculiarity is the eating of the *Prasád*. After the rice and the several dishes are cooked, they are heaped up together in a corner of the kitchen. The head Gosain, or Mahanta, as the case may be, takes a small quantity from this heap, eats it, and mixes it with the rest. The whole then becomes *Prasád*, which is greedily devoured by the hungry Vaishnavas, with great Bhakti. The eating of the Prasád is said to be accompanied with great merit. But this is not all. The eating of the *Adhramrita* is accompanied with the largest quantum of merit, or *phal*. Now what may our readers suppose this mysterious Adhramrita to be? It is nothing else than the leavings in the plate of the Gosain, or Mahanta, after he has satisfied his hunger. This food, highly delicious to the sanctified palate of the humble Bhakta, and dignified with the names of the Maha-Prasád and Adhramrita, falls not to the share of the vulgar herd of common Vaishnavas. It is partaken of only by those who stand high in the favour of the Gosain, or the Mahanta, and who have made considerable attainments in devotion. This certainly, like the servile veneration of the Gúru, is a disgusting feature of the religion of Chaitanya. We may remark that these feasts are sometimes celebrated on other occasions than those of the decease of any remarkable Vaishnava. An annual Mahatsab is celebrated in the grandest style at *Agardwipá*, a noted sanctuary of the Vaishnavas in Bengal.

It is unnecessary to pursue any further the religious duties of the Vaishnavas. We shall barely mention a few more of the sixty-four Sádhanas.

Some of them are mere moral duties, such as avoiding detraction and calumny; subjugation of the passions of anger, lust,

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fear, and grief, &c. Others are ludicrous, such as the adoration of the cow, Tulasi plant, and banian tree; non-indulgence in reading many books; dancing, singing, and prostration.

To one in particular, called *Bhágavata-Sraban*, or the hearing of the Sri Bhágavata repeated, a great deal of religious merit is attached. Not unlike the wandering minstrels of by-gone ages, the troubadours of Provence, the Minne-singers of Germany, and the Improvisatori of Italy, there are reciters in India, dignified with the appellation of *Kathaks*, who make it their business to recite large portions of the Sri Bhágavat, or any other religious poem. Seated on an elevated platform, with the sacred volume before him, his person adorned with a garland of flowers, with a clear voice and melodious tone, the orator recites and expounds to the enraptured multitude, that hang on his lips, some episode from the Sri Bhágavat. This periodical recitation of the principal religious books is a strong incidental cause of the perpetuation of Hinduism.

Another is *Mathura-bás*, or a residence in the city of Mathurá. To a Vaishnava no other city in the world has greater attractions than that in which his lord and master was born. He therefore regards residence in it as a sojourning in the blissful realms of Vaikantha itself. To this Sádhana the highest merit is attached. "Of all the Sádhanas," says the author of the *Charitámrita*, "the most efficacious are the following; the company of pious Vaishnavas; Námá Kirt'tan; the hearing of 'Bhágavat; residence in Mathurá; and the adoration of the '*Sir Murth*."

After dwelling at some length on the "credenda et agenda" of the theology of the Vaishnavas, we shall conclude this article with a few remarks on their social characteristics, and general habits and manner.

A Vaishnava is known by his peculiar *Tiloka*, which consists of two perpendicular lines of white ochre, that, descending from the forehead, meet in a point near the root of the nose, and are continued in one line to its extremity; by his *neck-lace*, consisting of Tulasi beads; and by his *Japa-málá*, or rosary, commonly of one hundred and eight beads. Not unlike the Pharisees of old, his breast, temples and arms are stamped with the names of Rádhá and Krishna. But the modern Vaishnava has beaten the old Pharisee hollow. The latter used only phylacteries, on which some memorable sentences of the law were inscribed, but the former often uses a piece of cloth, every inch of which is stamped with the names of his favourite deity. The Vaishnava also has his peculiar way of cropping the

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hair. When he cuts his hair short, he leaves a slender lock in the crown, which hangs dangling towards the back, and which he sanctifies by the name of *Chaitanya-sikha*. Thus accoutred, he is an object of universal gaze. He is, indeed, a city set on a hill. Wherever he goes, he is known by his unique dress, while the words, which incessantly escape his lips, *Gour-bala, Rádhá, Krishna, &c.*, mark at once his faith and his creed. The Vairági, or the ascetic Vaishnava, has, in addition, a basket, or pot, or a dried pumpkin shell, in which to collect alms. He never condescends to ask alms, but, standing at the doors of private houses, he repeats "*Glory to Rádhá Krishná*"—the usual formula of mendicity. The *regular* Vaishnavas, as contra-distinguished from the *secular* Vaishnavas, take the vow of poverty. They profess to acquire no property, but live upon alms. Some of them live congregated together in something like monastic establishments, called *Akrás*, or *Maths*. A *Math* consists of a temple, a residence for the *Mahanta*, or abbot of the establishment, and huts for the accommodation of the resident and travelling Vaishnavas. The gleanings of daily mendicity are the means of their support. They have, of course, a sort of community of goods. But regular and well-conducted Akrás are not found in Lower Bengal. We have seen several Akrás of the Bengal Vaishnavas: but they are miserable and wretched establishments, compared with those of Upper India.

The laws of the Vaishnavas, (we mean the Vairági Vaishnavas) regarding marriage are very loose. The institution of regular and legalized marriage does not exist among them; they live in a sort of promiscuous concubinage. Though dignified with the name of Vairági, or *passionless*, many of them are monsters of vice. By the payment of the paltry sum of one Rupee and four annas, a Vaishnava is joined, we shall not say, in marriage, but concubinage, to a female of that persuasion. But should he be inclined to repudiate his mistress, it can be done with the greatest facility by the payment of the same sum again to a Gosain. We need not say that this pernicious custom is the fruitful mother of a thousand immoralities. Indeed it is doubtful whether a set of more immoral men, than the lowest sort of the Vairagis, is to be found in all Bengal. We will not outrage the feelings of the reader by detailing the atrocities of the *Nerás* and *Neris*, a species of male and female Vaishnava vagrants. They are justly reckoned by the mass of the Hindu population as monsters of iniquity and the pests of society.

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The natural tendency of Vaishnavism is to break down the fetters of caste. Chaitanya repudiated this baneful institution, inasmuch as he is said to have converted five Muhammadans to his faith. Though a Brahman, he freely mixed with all the castes, and bestowed the treasures of Bhakti upon any one, that chose to receive them. Agreeably to the spirit of their faith and the practice of their master, the Vaishnavas receive all castes into their communion. The *Hari Námá* is given to the Brahman as well as the Chandála. The Vairágis, though originally of different castes, eat together, and look upon each other as brethren. A Brahman Vairági, *as such*, is not more honoured than a Vairági of one of the low castes. Muhammadans have been received into the community of the Vaishnavas; but such cases have rarely happened. Amongst the secular Vaishnavas, however, the distinctions of caste are observed with the greatest rigidity. Though believers in the divinity of Chaitanya, and in all his doctrines, though full of respect and reverence for the Vairágis of all castes whatsoever, they observe amongst each other the rules of caste with the greatest pertinacity. That system, indeed, is too deep-rooted to be eradicated by the efforts of any Hindu sect.

We may remark here, that in opposition to the universal practice of all the Hindus, the Vaishnavas feel no scruple in burying, instead of burning, their dead. This is true only of the Vairági-Vaishnavas. Neither is it to be fancied that all the Vairágis are buried. Far from it; the major part of them are burned like the rest of the Hindus; while the remains of a celebrated Vairági or Mahanta may occasionally be seen to be interred.

Before concluding this imperfect sketch of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, a slight notice of the two heresies, that have risen amongst them may not be unacceptable to the reader. These heretics pass under the names of the *Spashtha Dáyakas* and the *Karttá-Bhajas*. The chief peculiarity of the former is the repudiation of that servile veneration, which is rendered by all the other Vaishnavas to the Gúrú. A mystical association of the male and female devotees, not unlike that which obtained among the Belgic and German Beghards in Europe, is another of their characteristical features.

The Kartá-Bhajas, so called from their devotion to the one Kartá, or Creator, are the reputed followers of one *Oule Chánd*, a fanatic of no mean order. Professor Wilson, on the authority we presume of Mr. Ward, makes Rám Saran Pál the founder of the sect. But this gentleman was only one

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of the twenty-two disciples of *Oule Chand*, the original founder of the sect. The stronghold of Kartá-Bhajism is Ghoshpárá, opposite Tribeni, on the banks of the Bhágirathi, thirty miles north of Calcutta. The whole of their practical religion is comprised in the following precept of the founder :—

"Gúrú Dhara, Satya Bala, Sanga Chala."

i. e. "Attach yourself to a Gúrú, follow him, and speak the truth." Discarding the Gosains, the Gúrús of the orthodox Vaishnavas, they attach themselves to the Páls of Ghoshpárá, to the chief man amongst whom they render a homage almost divine. Miracles are not infrequent amongst them. The Kartá cures all manner of diseases without the application of medicine. They send forth evangelists and deaconesses to make proselytes of the other sectaries.

The system of Chaitanya is an important innovation on Hinduism. It is interesting to contemplate, as an index of the march of religious ideas. It contains the germs of certain great religious truths. There is a tendency in it to universal diffusion. This is an important idea in religion. It was lost sight of by the ancient religionists of India. Like the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of the Greek philosophers, the Hindus had, and still have, one religion for the lettered few, and another for the ignorant many. The *Gyán Kanda* contains the theology of intellectual men, and the *Karma Kanda* that of the illiterate multitude. The transcendental theosophy of the priestly class is quite different from the mythical religion of the people. This want of a fellowship in religious interest between men of culture and the unthinking multitude is repudiated by Chaitanya. His system encourages no monopoly of religious knowledge. It places the same doctrines before learned and unlearned men. It has no mysteries, into which all its votaries may not be initiated. Its simplicity is another important peculiarity. This too is a move in the right direction. Unlike the metaphysical abstractions, refined subtleties, and hair-splitting distinctions of the Vedanta, all which pre-eminently unfit it to be the religion of a whole nation, the doctrines of Chaitanya are simple and level to the comprehension of the meanest capacity. Unlike too the multitudinous rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Hindu rituals, it proclaims the omnipotence of one principle, and the vast efficacy of one religious duty. In insisting on Bhakti, as a *sine quâ non* of personal religion, it has made a faint approximation to faith, that prolific principle of the Christian revelation. It has brought out a new

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element in the natural history, so to speak, of religious feeling. In opposition to the cold, intellectual and abstract idea of religion, which the Vedanta proposes, and the totally external view, which the popular superstition gives of it, Chaitanya lays much stress on the affections and sensibilities as constituting a great part of religion. We say not that the aspect, in which the system under review regards religion, is not external; for that much of it is so, in a very gross sense, will be evident from what we have already written. But yet it is delightful to observe that the heart, with its affections and feelings, has not been entirely thrown aside. We regard the system of Chaitanya as an interesting development of the religious consciousness of India. It is a sign of the times, and an index of the march of liberal ideas in religion. It contains the germs (and only the germs) of great religious principles, which were unknown to, or lost sight of, by the ancients, and which have had their full development in the pages of the only true revelation vouchsafed to man. Christianity, of all systems of religion, is the best fitted to become the universal religion of the world. It teaches the universal depravity of the whole human race, and consequently proposes the same remedy to all. It presents the same divine truth—the truth that sanctifies—to the free and the bond, the learned and the unlearned, the mighty and the ignoble. It is adapted to all countries. It is a plant whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. And by what divine simplicity is it pervaded! Although it has heights inaccessible and depths unfathomable by the mightiest intellect, yet its cardinal doctrines are such as "a way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein."

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ART. VIII.—*The Englishman, Bengal Hurkaru, Morning Chronicle, Citizen, Friend of India, Eastern Star, Delhi Gazette, Mofussilite, Lahore Chronicle, and Agra Messenger.* 1850.

THE publication of the first number of this *Review* for the present year reminds us of the engagement we made to offer our readers a brief notice of the transactions of each succeeding year, more especially at this Presidency, drawn from the local chronicles enumerated above, and from all other sources of information, to which we might obtain access. In our review of the previous year, we had occasion to record the decisive victory of Guzerat, which terminated the second war in the Punjáb, and which was followed, as a necessary consequence, by the incorporation of the remainder of Runjít Sing's kingdom on both sides the Indus with our own territories. We have now the pleasure of stating that, with the exception of an insignificant outbreak of the mountaineers of Kohat, who cannot brook our interference with their wild independence, the whole of the Punjáb has continued during the past year in a state of profound peace. That year may therefore be considered as the first season of repose from military operations and political anxieties, which we have obtained since we crossed the Indus, at the beginning of 1839. During the ten years, which have elapsed between the passage of that river on the 14th of February, 1839, and the battle of Guzerat on the 21st of February, 1849, we have, it is true, enjoyed intervals of freedom from actual warfare; but we have never been at liberty to contemplate the reduction of our war establishment. The temporary lull of warfare was disturbed by perpetual anxieties regarding the future; and we were still constrained to hold ourselves in readiness to meet and repress the hostility of the remaining independent princes of India, who had large armies at their command. This period will, therefore, be marked in our Indian annals as the ten years of war, by which the process of consolidating our power in India was completed. The transactions, by which it was successively marked, are so evidently linked with each other, that they may be regarded as belonging to the same series of events, which have resulted in the final extinction of the native powers of Hindustan, and the establishment of our power on a firm basis. Every military movement, after our expedition into Affghanistan may be traced, directly or indirectly, to the influence which our disastrous retreat exercised on the minds of the independent sovereigns of

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India, and on our own views of policy. The entire annihilation of so large a British army by the Affghans produced the effect of giving fresh heart and encouragement to the princes who were still possessed of military power and resources, and of reviving the apparently forlorn hope of being able to expel us from the country. At the same time, the disasters and disgrace of that period appear to have created, in the minds of our own rulers, an idea of the necessity of repressing, by efforts of extraordinary vigour and severity, any indication of presumption and assurance, which might be manifested by the native powers. We seemed to feel that we had the 'prestige' of our invincibility to restore, and that the slightest opposition, which could be traced to the lower estimate of our power created by our expulsion from Affghanistan, must be met by immediate and decisive action. We had become sensitive of the smallest resistance: and those proceedings on the part of Native princes, which might have been before passed over without notice, assumed a degree of importance from the delicacy and difficulty of our position. To this cause may be attributed, in a great measure, the wars with Scinde and Gwalior. It is not improbable, that neither the Amírs of Scinde nor the Ministers at Gwalior would have ventured to encounter us in the field, if the Affghans had not taught them that our power might be successfully assailed. It is also quite possible, that, under other circumstances, we could have afforded to overlook any indisposition on their part to yield instant compliance with our wishes.

The Punjáb wars are still more closely linked, as cause and effect, with the annihilation of our army in the passes of Affghanistan. Lord Hardinge left Calcutta in October 1845, with the firmest resolution *not* to go to war with the Sikhs: and, when he was reminded of this circumstance after the four battles of the Sutlege, he was enabled to say with strict truth, that he had not deviated from his resolution; and that it was the Sikhs, who went to war with him, not he with the Sikhs. The wanton invasion of our territories by the army of the Khalsa was the natural result of our former disasters, which had inspired the Sikhs with an overweening confidence in their own strength and resources, and a corresponding contempt for our prowess. The reasoning of the Punjáb soldiery was very simple, and to their own minds perfectly conclusive. The Affghans had recently chased the English from their territories with ignominy and slaughter; but the troops of Runjít Sing had before that period humbled the Affghans, and wrested Peshawur from them; the Sikh troops must therefore be more than a match for the English. We thus trace the three wars we have waged within

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the Indus to our expedition beyond it: and, however unadvisable that expedition may have been, it has thus been the means, directly or indirectly, of forcing on those measures, which have resulted in the complete consolidation of our power. We have extinguished the three independent military organizations, which existed within the Indus when we crossed that river in 1839. We have captured the formidable artillery, consisting of more than a thousand pieces of cannon, which these independent princes possessed, and reduced their countries to the same state of subordination, as Bengal and Behar. Not a shot can now be fired from Peshawur to Cape Comorin without our permission. Colonel Clive, after the re-capture of Calcutta and the humiliation of the Nawab in 1757, uttered the memorable expression, "We cannot pause here;" and the course of events has fully verified his prophecy. In that year, we placed a Nawab of our own on the musnud of Múrshedabad. Before a century has elapsed, we have placed a king of our making on the throne of Cashmere: and that remote valley, hitherto known only to our poets, has become the summer resort of our officers. In the intermediate period, we have succeeded in subduing every independent prince: and those, who retain any degree of power, are indebted for it to our consideration and forbearance. We have been ninety-two years, reckoning from the battle of Plassey to that of Guzerat, in establishing our absolute and undisputed supremacy throughout the Mogul empire: and the year, we are now reviewing, is the first in which we are enabled to contemplate the consolidation of our authority.

The present is, therefore, the most appropriate time for looking back, and counting the cost of the ten years' war, which has rendered us supreme throughout India. The question is one of interest, if not of importance. We have therefore endeavoured to form the most accurate estimate of the expenditure occasioned by our four expeditions to Affghanistan, Scinde, Gwalior and the Punjáb. For this purpose we have consulted the financial statements, annually prepared at the India House, and printed by order of Parliament. We have taken the expense of our military establishment during the four years of peace, which preceded the ten years' war: and the average of these peaceful years we assume as the expenditure, which would in all probability have been incurred in the military department, from 1838-39 to 1848-49, if we had not crossed the Indus and planted ourselves at Kabul. The average of this expenditure (for the four years) is, in round numbers, a little above eight crores of rupees, or Eight millions sterling. If the same scale of expenditure had been continued from 1838-39 to 1848-49, the

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total expense of the war department would have been eighty-eight crores and a half of rupees: but the expenditure has actually amounted to 108 crores and a half of rupees. The difference is twenty crores, or Twenty millions sterling: and we are therefore fully borne out in assuming this sum as the cost of our campaigns during this period. It may be necessary to state, that we have included in this account, not only the entire charge of the military department and of extraordinary war charges at each Presidency, but the charges incurred in England, which, either strictly or apparently, belonged to this department.

It remains now to consider from what sources this expenditure has been obtained. When the hostility of the frontier tribes at the Cape recently constrained the British authorities to take the field, the campaign entailed an expenditure of more than a million sterling on the British Exchequer, for which the people of England were called to provide. Whatever may be the moral character of the wars in which we have been engaged during the last ten years, and whatever the political value of the territories which have thereby been added to our Indian empire, we have at least this satisfactory consideration, that England has been burdened with no portion of the expense. It has been met, partly from the resources of the country itself, and partly from loans borrowed on the security of Indian revenue. On turning to the published accounts, we find that the Indian debt, which stood at Rs. 32,26,65,000 on the 30th of April, 1838, had risen to Rs. 45,95,76,000 on the 30th of April, 1848, the latest date to which we have any statement. The debt has thus been augmented by a little less than Thirteen millions and a half; and, if we add—at a hazard—two millions more for the year 1848-49, we shall find the increase of our debt during this period to have amounted to about Fifteen millions and a half sterling. The remaining Four millions and a half of the war expenditure have evidently been supplied from the revenues of the country. Our Indian national debt has thus been swelled to Forty-eight millions, which does not exceed two years of gross income. The permanent burden thereby imposed on the resources of the country, for the interest of these loans, is £760,000 a year. Considering, however, the consolidation of our power, which has thus been achieved, the removal of all cause of anxiety from the ambition or folly of native chiefs, and the thorough hold we have hereby acquired of the country—these permanent advantages cannot be said to have been too dearly bought by this additional charge on our revenues. There is moreover one peculiar feature in the public

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debt of India; that, as it is owing chiefly to natives of influence in all parts of the country, it gives them the strongest interest in the permanence of our power.

That the extension of the empire has contributed to its strength in no ordinary degree, will not at this time of day be disputed by any, but those who refuse to allow experience its due weight in correcting their own foregone conclusions. Throughout the whole period of the growth of the empire, some of the most illustrious of Indian statesmen have been found to deprecate the expansion of our territories, as the greatest calamity which could befal us, and the inevitable fore-runner of our downfall. One of the wisest and most intelligent officers, by whom the Government of India has ever been administered, Mr. Charles Grant, thus wrote in 1792: "This probable ne-
'cessity of extending our conquests is one of the disadvantages
'attending our dominion in Hindustan; for the wider it spreads,
'the more vulnerable we become. It was the unwieldiness of
'the Mogul empire, that accelerated its fall." Similar sentiments have been promulgated, at every stage of our progress, by men of large reputation for wisdom and fore-thought: and there was at the time every reason to put confidence in their correctness. It was indeed impossible to ascertain their fallacy, till we had reached the termination of our conquests and extinguished every opponent. It is only at the present time, when we have reached this consummation, that we are enabled, from our own more enlarged experience, to discover the utter unsoundness of these opinions. It was not the unwieldiness of the Mogul empire, or of any other dynasty in India, which occasioned its downfall, but the utter want of capacity in the purple-born princes, who succeeded the iron warriors by whom these empires were founded. As soon as the throne came to be filled by one, who had been nurtured in the lap of oriental effeminacy, the sceptre departed from his House. Had every Mogul emperor possessed the talent and vigour of Akbar, the Mogul empire would scarcely have been dissolved. The unity of the Mahratta power of Sevají was broken up within a short period of his death; and Runjít Sing had not been dead four years, before the kingdom, created by his genius, became the prey of the wildest anarchy. There is no such element of weakness and dissolution in the British empire in the East. Its earliest were its weakest days. With the progress of improvement in our native land, under the eye of Parliament, and the control of public opinion, and the vigilance of the public press, the administration of India has gradually become more pure, healthy and vigorous; and there is infinitely more

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administrative energy in it now, when it embraces the whole of India, than when we possessed only Bengal and Behar. There is a constant infusion of fresh Anglo-Saxon blood into the veins of the administration, which maintains the robustness of its constitution, and imparts to it the highest moral and political vigour. The English Government in India, say the natives, is always strong, because it is always young.

The opinion, which the Duke of Wellington (then General Wellesley) delivered in 1800, has also been frequently quoted against the extension of our territories. In a letter to Sir Thomas Munro, he wrote:—

> In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those, who heretofore found it in the service of Tippú and the Nizam. Whenever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and of means of subsistence all, who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies; at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our Government and of defending ourselves are proportionably decreased.

But our means are at present more than equal to the extension, which our territories have acquired. Our military resources and the organization and efficiency of our military power have been improved to a degree, of which the Duke could then have had no idea. As far as "means" are concerned, we are much more competent to maintain our supremacy throughout the whole of India, than we were to meet the various exigencies of our position in 1800. The Duke wrote correctly and wisely according to the circumstances of the times, when, after the conquest of Mysore, there still remained five independent and powerful princes in India, supported by large and well-equipped armies, and ready to take advantage of any event, which might afford them the prospect of expelling us. During the last half-century all these powers have been reduced to such a state of absolute subordination to our will, and have been so completely stripped of all political influence and military power, that their existence from year to year depends on our moderation and forbearance. We have become the sole and absolute rulers of the country, and all our political anxieties have ceased. We have now experience of the fact, that it is far easier to manage the whole of India, when we have no enemy left, than to govern any considerable portion of it, when surrounded by jealous princes and powerful armies. The strength of our empire has increased with

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its size; and we are now enabled to administer a country, 2,000 miles in length, and 1,800 in breadth, with greater ease and fewer anxieties and embarrassments, then when we had only two provinces to look after. We are, moreover, in the age of steam and electricity—two mighty agencies, by which the unity and the vigour of a central Government may be maintained with matchless ease at its distant extremities. It is in a great measure by the aid of these modern instruments of Government, that the Republic of North America presents the phenomenon of a union of the most remote states by the feeble bond of republican institutions: and, great indeed would be our shame, if, with the same powerful means at our command, we are unable to keep our Indian empire from being dismembered.

The finances of India have furnished a prolific topic of discussion to the influential press of London and our local journals. The last accounts, presented to Parliament, exhibited a deficit of more than Two millions and a quarter sterling. This announcement naturally became a source of disquietude—more especially as the deficiency was greater than it had been at any former period, and appeared to be gradually increasing. Those, who looked only at the surface, were led to conclude, that the finances of the country were irretrievably disorganized, and that the Government of India was rapidly approaching the crisis of bankruptcy. As the termination of the Charter was at hand, it was surmised that Parliament would not only be constrained to place the administration in other hands, but to assess the people of England to relieve the finances of India. But it only required a close and diligent examination of the various items to perceive, that all these gloomy anticipations were altogether out of place; that the deficiency arose from peculiar and transient circumstances, and must necessarily disappear, as soon as they passed away. It was manifest on the face of the accounts, that three-fourths of this deficit, or £1,600,000, arose from the extraordinary expenses of the last campaign in the Punjáb, which was terminated by the victory of Guzerat; and that it would not appear in the accounts in the next year. The balance of the deficiency, about £660,000, must be considered as the additional charge for the interest of loans contracted during the last war, which are, of course, of a more permanent character, and can only be met, either by retrenchments, or by an improvement in the resources of Government—for the next twenty-three years. At the end of that period—that is to say, in the auspicious year 1874—that most extraordinary and unjust arrangement, by which the revenues of India were (in 1833) saddled for forty years with the

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payment of the dividends on East India Stock, will terminate by effluxion of time; and the interest on our increased debt in India, if not provided for before, will be made up by the lapse of the dividend funds. For the present, however, this demand must be made good, either by a diminution of expenditure, or by the increase of our receipts. Some of our establishments may be susceptible of economical reductions—though we have but one sinecure at this Presidency, the Quarter Master Generalship of Queen's troops, an office kept up solely as a piece of Horse Guards' patronage. But our chief expectation must rest on the augmentation of the public revenue: and there is every reason to believe, that the Court of Directors will soon be able to present a far more satisfactory balance sheet; and that, if there be no surplus of income exhibited in a year or two, it will arise simply from the large and liberal expenditure of Government on objects of national importance and utility—canals, railways, and electric telegraphs.

In reference to the annual revenue of Bengal proper, we are enabled to refer to the statements published annually by order of the Deputy Governor of Bengal in the *Official Gazette*. No corresponding statement of the revenues of the North West Provinces is published by the Goverment of Agra, which, though pre-eminently liberal in the communication of statistical information, has not hitherto thought it advisable to put the public in possession of such a return of its revenues, made up by its own Accountant. We feel confident that this omission has arisen entirely from inadvertence, and that when the subject has been brought distinctly to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor, we shall speedily be furnished with these statements, in that invaluable repertory of facts, "The official correspondence of the North West Provinces." The annual statement of the receipts and disbursements of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, published in the *Official Gazette*, to which we have alluded, informs us that, including about six lakhs of rupees from the eastern settlements, the sum collected in the last official year was Rs. 10,72,58,000; while the expenditure required for the local administration was Rs. 3,58,48,000, leaving about 714 lakhs, or a little above Seven millions sterling, for the interest of the debt, the military establishments, and the home charges. This is the largest revenue, which these provinces have ever yielded in any year, since they came into our possession. The highest amount, which the revenue of these Súbahs ever attained, even under the rack-rent system of Mír Cossim, from 1760 to 1763, was about Two millions and a half sterling. We obtained the Dewanny in 1765; but,

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during the seven years, which succeeded that event, the revenues of Bengal were left a prey to native depredation—while the servants of the Company devoted their attention exclusively to their private trade, and were often able to realize an income of £10,000 a year, while enjoying an official salary of only Rs. 200 a month. When Warren Hastings assumed charge of the Government in 1772, he found the finances of the province a complete chaos. He applied his magnificent talents to the reformation of abuses, and the creation of a system of finance: and he pursued his plans with such undaunted resolution, amidst the most formidable obstacles, that he was enabled to inform his Honourable Masters, on quitting the Government in 1784, that the revenues of the province had been augmented to Five millions and a half sterling. Of the revenues of the North West Provinces, we have no return later than that of 1848-49, published by order of Parliament on the 25th of June last. From it we learn that the gross collections under the Government of Agra amounted to Rs. 5,83,17,000. Putting these two sums together, we have a revenue of Rs. 16,55,75,000, or Sixteen millions and a half, derived from two divisions of the Presidency of Fort William.

This income is more than Four millions in excess of that, which was obtained from these provinces at the commencement of the present Charter. It may not be deemed uninteresting to the reader, if we enable him to trace the various items to which this increase is to be referred. We have, therefore, placed in juxta-position, the details of the revenue in the two divisions of the Presidency at these two periods:—

Bengal Presidency.

	1835-36.	1849-50.
Mint,	3,20,000	4,20,000
Post Office,	5,66,000	4,92,000
Miscellaneous General,	3,42,000	2,83,000
Stamps,	18,95,000	22,52,000
Judicial,	3,62,000	10,48,000
Land Revenue,	2,97,96,000	3,71,95,000
Abkari and Sayer,	21,07,000	37,61,000
Miscellaneous,	.....	56,000
Miscellaneous in the Revenue Department	6,72,000	.....
Customs, including town and transit duties,	31,12,000	.....
Customs, without town and transit duties,	.....	88,43,000
Opium,	1,68,96,000	3,77,57,000
Salt,	1,65,56,000	1,35,28,000
Marine,	5,04,000	8,47,000
Eastern Settlements,	11,74,000	6,80,000

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Miscellaneous Civil Receipts,...	6,42,000	.....
Interests,.....	3,51,000	96,000
Total...	7,49,95,000	10,72,58,000

If we turn the Sicca Rupees of 1835-36 into the new coinage of Company's Rupees, in which the revenues of 1848-49 are represented, we shall have a revenue of Eight millions sterling in the former, against the Ten millions and three quarters of the later, period.

North West Provinces.

	1834-35.*	1848-49.
Post Office collections	.....	7,95,000
Stamp duties, ...	9,34,000	14,80,000
Judicial Fees and Fines, ...	1,50,000	2,15,000
Miscellaneous Civil Receipts, ...	.....	26,000
Land Revenue, ...	3,83,13,000	4,72,80,000
Sayer and Abkári, ...	16,61,000	27,50,000
Miscellaneous Revenue Receipts,	2,04,000	1,06,000
Customs, ...	47,68,000	11,65,000
Receipts from Salt duties, ...	.....	45,00,000
Interest on arrears of revenue,	48,000	.....
Land and Sayer revenues in the Ceded Saugor and Nerbudda territories, ...	28,59,000	.....
	Sa. Rs. 4,89,37,000	Co.'s Rs. 5,83,17,000

Although it is no part of our design to review the financial position of the other Presidencies, we shall not be considered as going far beyond the scope of this article, if we take the present opportunity of correcting a very important error, which has hitherto been committed, in estimating the revenues of the British Empire in the East. From the peculiar form, which has been adopted for many years at the India House in making up the financial statements presented to Parliament, it has been supposed that the revenue, obtained from all the provinces of India and administered by the East India Company, did not exceed Twenty millions sterling. But this is altogether a fallacious view of the case. On casting up the receipts from the four Presidencies and the Punjab, it will be found that the gross revenue of the British Empire in India at the present time amounts to more than *Twenty-seven millions and a half sterling.* In the following schedule, we have put down the latest authentic return of receipts from each province which

* We have taken the accounts of this year for comparison, because those of the next year are less particular and clear.

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was available, and the reader may receive it with the most implicit confidence:—

	Rupees.
Bengal Presidency, 1849-50	10,72,58,000
North West Provinces, 1848-49	5,83,17,000
Madras Presidency, *idem*	5,15,14,000
Bombay Presidency, *idem*	3,94,14,000
Punjab, old and new territory, 1849-50	2,03,81,000
Grand Total, Rs.	27,68,84,000

The three great items, which constitute the main stay of our revenues in India, are—the Land-rent, the Salt, and the Opium. During the year under review, the revenue derived from the article of salt in the Bengal Provinces exhibits little difference from that of the preceding year; the receipts were Rs. 1,35,28,000, and the expense of manufacturing it, Rs. 32,73,000, leaving a nett profit on the salt manufactured by Government, of Rs. 1,02,45,000, or about One million sterling. Since the year 1846-47, the manufacture of salt in Bengal has been materially reduced, and with it the revenue derived from this source. The following statement will exhibit the difference:—

	Outlay.	*Return.*	*Profit.*	
1846-47	41,58,000	1,64,40,000	1,22,82,000	Rs.
1849-50	32,73,000	1,35,28,000	1,02,55,000	,,

But this has been in some measure compensated by the increase of imports, more especially from England, and the consequent increase of the import duties. The excise duty on salt manufactured for Government in Bengal, is fixed at two rupees eight annas the maund; and this sum, added to the expense of manufacturing it, constitutes the price at which it is sold to the community. In order to afford a fair competition to the merchant, and to place his imported salt on terms of equality with the Government salt, a corresponding amount of customs duty is imposed on salt imported into Calcutta, from whatever port, and under whatever flag. Under this arrangement, foreign salt—that is, salt imported by sea—has to compete only with the actual cost of salt manufactured in the country. The following table will shew the quantity of salt imported from all countries, and also from England, in the last six years and a half:—

	Imported from all countries.		*From England.*	
1844-45	9,70,595	Maunds.	791	Maunds.
1845-46	15,81,986	,,	5,02,616	,,
1846-47	14,66,744	,,	3,52,835	,,
1847-48	16,15,084	,,	7,52,998	,,
1848-49	16,26,706	,,	4,59,803	,,
1849-50	21,26,848	,,	6,24,673	,,
Six months of 1850-51	14,55,007	,,	6,72,092	,,

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It will thus be seen that the importation of English salt in the first six months of 1850-51, that is, from May to October, 1850, exceeded the imports of the entire preceding year.

This increase of imports has not only supplied the market with a superior article at a cheaper rate, but it has silenced the clamours of those who were interested in the salt works in England. They had been led to suppose that it was the monopoly of the manufacture of domestic salt, retained by Government in its own hands, which extinguished their prospect of obtaining a market for their salt in India, and were thus led to place themselves in direct hostility to the East India Company, and to prepare for a vigorous campaign against the monopoly at the close of the present Charter. They have now discovered their mistake. They have found that whatever obstacle existed to the freedom and extension of their salt imports, really lay in their inability to land their own salt in Calcutta as cheap as it could be manufactured in this country. They have now succeeded in sending salt which is able to compete in price with the indigenous salt; and, in proportion as the import of salt from England has increased, the outcry against the monopoly has died out. The question of an excise duty on manufactured salt, and of customs duty on that which is imported—both being equal—is now felt to be a financial, and not a commercial, question. The retention of the monopoly of manufacture in the hands of Government, moreover, is rather beneficial than the reverse to the interests of the importers. The salt, thus made, is chargeable with all the expensive machinery which the State maintains, and which serves to enhance the cost of the article with which they have to compete. If the manufacture of salt on behalf of the State was abolished, and every man was at liberty to manufacture whatever quantity he chose for sale, throughout a line of sea-coast extending many hundred miles along the Bay of Bengal, the indigenous salt would be sold at a price far lower than that, at which it would be profitable to introduce salt from England. At the same time it is proper to mention that the natives will not use Liverpool salt, if they know it to be such; nor will they eat any white, clean looking salt, lest it should be from Liverpool. Strange to say, that salt has to undergo a certain process of adulteration, by mixture with mud and black solar evaporation salt, before it becomes fit for the Bengal market.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader, to bring before him into one point of view, the whole of the revenue derived from the single article of salt, throughout all the territories over which Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row rule—Scinde except-

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ed. The following abstract is drawn from the latest return at each of the Presidencies, which we have been able to obtain. After deducting all the expense of manufacturing the article, the nett income derived from it is found to exceed Two millions and a half sterling. Thus:—

Bengal: profit on manufactured Salt.....	Rs.	1,02,55,000
Duty on imported Salt, deducting the cost of collection	„	44,86,000
North West Provinces.....	„	44,00,000
Madras	„	37,69,000
Bombay	„	22,33,000
The Punjab	„	11,00,000
	Rs.	2,62,43,000

Assuming the population of British India, including the Punjab, at eighty millions, we find the sum, contributed to the State by every man, woman and child, for the salt consumed in a twelve month, to be about five annas, or *seven pence half penny.*

This revenue is extracted from our own subjects. The profits of the opium are drawn from those of the Emperor of China: and the financier will be happy, and the benevolent will lament, to hear that the returns have been larger in the past year, than in any preceding one, since the manufacture of the drug was made to contribute to the revenue. The cost of manufacturing it is put down in the official statement at Rs. 98,28,000; the returns from the sales at Rs. 3,77,59,000—leaving a clear profit of Rs. 2,79,31,000. The amount received, during the same period at the Bombay Presidency, for the passes granted for the exportation of Malwa opium, were Rs. 71,50,000 on 17,875 chests, making in the whole Rs. 3,50,81,000. The Government here were convinced that a larger produce would be beneficial to the revenue, and (in 1845) proposed a series of measures to the Court of Directors intended to encourage the cultivation of the poppy. The Court refused to sanction them, thinking the Government wrong, and being of opinion that the produce ought not to be increased. Meanwhile, the cultivation increased of itself, without the application of any stimulus, until, in 1848, the annual supply reached 35,000 chests, when the Government became alarmed and prohibited further extension. But it has since been found that even this increase does not lead to a proportionate fall in price, but on the contrary has greatly augmented the revenue. The prohibition has, therefore, now been taken off. Next year, the ryots of the central provinces will be allowed to grow as much poppy as they please; but they will only receive from the Government three rupees

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eight annas a seer, instead of three rupees ten annas, or three rupees twelve annas, as they have hitherto done. This reduction on the cost will produce a saving to Government of about Rs. 3,00,000 a year.

The External Trade of the Presidency during the period under review has reached a degree of expansion, which it never attained before, since these provinces came under British authority. The Imports amounted to Six crores and a half of rupees, the Exports to a fraction under Eleven crores—a crore of rupees being equivalent to a million sterling. Of the imports about two millions and three quarters sterling, consisted of Piece Goods, Twist and Yarn from England. Of the entire imports of the year, amounting to Six millions and a half sterling, Four millions were received from England.

The increase of our Imports and Exports, since the Government of this country was relieved of its commercial character, and its responsibilities were made exclusively political, will be found deserving of particular attention. The comparative statement stand thus:—

	Imports.	*Exports.*
1833-34.....	2,71,15,000	4,57,17,000
1849-50.....	6,49,71,000	10,93,27,000
Increase, Rs.	3,78,56,000	Rs. 6,36,10,000

The last year has been rendered particularly memorable in the annals of British India by the commencement of two works, destined, we believe, to exercise the most important influence on its future welfare—the Rail Road and the Electric Telegraph. The Rail in India was first projected by Mr. Macdonald Stephenson, in the year 1844, when he addressed a Memorial on the subject to the Deputy Governor of Bengal, Mr. William Wilberforce Bird, pointing out the importance and the feasibility of the enterprize. Mr. Bird, in his official reply, stated his conviction of the great blessing which the establishment of Rails would confer on India, gave the undertaking the cordial approbation of Government, and engaged to promote it to the full extent of his power. When India is covered with a net work of Rails, a future age will turn with interest to the record of this first effort to introduce them into this country. With the assurance afforded by the Deputy Governor, Mr. Stephenson proceeded to England, to organize a Company for the prosecution of the work. The Court of Directors received the proposals with that caution, with which every thing novel is regarded in Leadenhall Street, waiting for the development of circumstances and the impulse of events,

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before they ventured to pledge the patronage of Government, or the revenues of India, to its support. While they were looking at the project with great caution, sixty thousand Sikh soldiery burst the boundary of the Sutlege, and poured a stream of invasion on our provinces; and thus a new object of absorbing interest arose, to cast the Rail into the shade. But through the untiring efforts of Mr. Stephenson, the project was gradually making way in influential circles, and acquiring that position as an object of public importance, which would render it indispensible for the Indian authorities at Home to come to some decision on the subject. It was perceived at an early stage of the question that the capital for the undertaking must be furnished from England, and that, without a guarantee of a sufficient dividend from the Indian Government, no capitalist would invest his money in the undertaking. The leading principles, on which the Rail was to be extended to India, became at length matured, and embraced the following provisions; that the work should be conducted by a chartered Company, under the controul of the officers of Government in India; that the Government should provide the land, and also pay interest at the rate of four—subsequently increased to five—per cent. on the capital subscribed; and that the State should be at liberty to take over the whole enterprize, and to replace all the capital, if it was not found to answer in the hands of the East India Railway Company. While these negotiations were pending, a mercantile crisis arose in England, and the value of money was raised to eight per cent.; it became necessary, therefore, to fold up the project for a more auspicious season. Mr. Stephenson watched with much anxiety the return of prosperity, and the repletion of the commercial arteries with capital: and, after five years of alternate hopes and fears, and exertions and disappointments, he had the happiness to see the East India Railway Company incorporated, and a contract entered into between it and the East India Company, on the 14th of August, 1849. The Court of Directors had originally offered to guarantee the employment of Three millions sterling on the Rail. It was subsequently cut down to One million, for an experimental line. But when the question came to be examined on the spot, it was found that so limited a sum as One million would not be sufficient for the completion of any line in any direction, from which any return could be expected; and that, if the extension of the Rail was to depend on the pecuniary success of the first portion of it, it would be more advisable to abandon the enterprize at once. The limited and conditional arrangement regarding the one million sterling, which had been

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adopted by the Home authorities, became equally distasteful to the members of Government and to the public in India, and gave birth to loud complaints. When the remonstrances of the Indian community and the press reached England, Mr. Wilson, the Secretary to the Board of Controul, to whom the department of the Rail had been almost exclusively entrusted, declared, in his place in Parliament, and through the columns of his journal, the *Economist*, that the views of the Indian Government at Home had been misunderstood; that the experimental line was only another name for the First Section of the Rail; and that there was no intention of stopping at the one million.

The contract was signed on the 15th of August, 1849; but the detailed instructions, which were to accompany it, were not completed at the India Board before the middle of November. The Board and the Court were, however, anxious, that the time, which had thus been lost in London, should be made up by superior diligence in India: and they inserted the most positive injunctions in their despatch, that no time whatever should be lost in giving possession of the ground to the Railway staff. To give additional emphasis to this order, it was not only inserted at the beginning of the despatch, but repeated in the closing sentence. When this communication was opened by Lord Dalhousie in Calcutta, in the first week of March, the Railway staff had not arrived. When the staff arrived, Lord Dalhousie had gone up for the season to Simlah, more than a thousand miles distant. Ten days of personal conference between the Railway officers and the head of the Government would have saved us many months of delay and disappointment. To obtain immediate possession of the ground, it was necessary to pass a new Act: but the preparation of the draft was delayed for five months, and was not promulgated before the 1st of September, when two months more were allowed for the consideration of it. When, however, the time fixed for passing it arrived—that is to say, the 1st of November, which was also the commencement of the season for field operations—it was found that, from some unexplained cause, the Act was not ready for enactment; and it did not actually become law before the 25th of December. Even after it had passed, another month was allowed to slip away before the first foot of ground was made over to the Railway establishment. The result of these various delays, which are so characteristic of all Indian measures, has been the irreparable loss of the present season: but, if they produce the salutary effect of preventing similar procrastination in future, they may not be without

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a countervailing advantage. Considerable allowance must be made for the novelty of the undertaking, and the peculiar circumstances of the Government. Hitherto every public operation in India had been carried on with slow and measured steps; the work of months has usually been extended over the surface of years. The public authorities were not prepared for the vigorous commencement of an undertaking, in which the work of years was to be crowded into months. It took them in a great measure by surprize; and hence it was by no means astonishing that an undertaking, in which the value of time was counted by hours, should have been retarded in a country, in which time had never been accounted of any value whatever. We have not, therefore, made much more progress during the last fourteen or fifteen months, than to learn how future progress may be accelerated.

We have stated that the Indian authorities at Home sanctioned the expenditure of One million sterling on the first section of the Rail, leaving it to the Government of India to determine the direction of the line and the application of the capital. It was, therefore, proposed by the Railway Directors in India to employ it in the construction of a line from Howrah, opposite Calcutta, to the Burdwan Collieries, a distance of about a hundred and thirty miles; and the proposal met the cordial approbation of the Governor-General. Contracts have been made for the first forty miles of this line to the village of Pandúah; and, at the time of our present writing, about five thousand men are employed in raising the embankments. It is to be hoped, that the whole of the line, between that point and the Ranígunge Colliery, will be surveyed, and that the plans will be sanctioned, before the beginning of November next; so that operations may commence with vigour at the setting in of the ensuing cold weather.

As it regards the continuation of the line to Allahabad and onwards through the Doab to Delhi, we are now enabled to bring down our report of progress to the end of March of the present year; and to state that Major Kennedy, who succeeded Mr. Simms as the Consulting Engineer of Government in September last, does not consider it advisable to carry the Rail, as was originally proposed, in a direct line from the Collieries to Mirzapore through the hills of Behar, a distance of three hundred miles; partly, because that hilly region, and more especially the Dunwah pass, present the most formidable engineering difficulties, and partly because the Soane, which is found to be only three quarters of a mile broad at its junction with the Ganges, is two miles and a half wide at the point at which it must be crossed on the di-

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rect route—not to mention that this long line of territory is almost without inhabitants, and that no return whatever could be expected till the Rail had actually reached Mirzapore. Major Kennedy has, therefore, proposed to turn it off from some place near Búdbúd, a few miles west of Burdwan, and run it in a northerly direction to Rajmahal; and to carry it from thence along the right bank of the river to Patna, Mirzapore and Allahabad. It remains for the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul to prove the sincerity of their wishes to extend the Rail throughout this Presidency, by giving their immediate sanction to this second section of the line, and the proportionate augmentation of the capital of the Company.

Towards the close of the year 1849, Government appears for the first time to have contemplated the establishment of communications in India by means of the Electric Telegraph; and Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, who had been engaged for many years in similar experiments, and had been successful in blowing up the wrecks of the *Equitable* and the *Sir Herbert Maddock*, was directed to prepare a report on the subject. His report has not as yet been made public by Government; but its contents have generally transpired. He is understood to have entered very minutely into the subject, and described with great ability the various difficulties, which were likely to be experienced in constructing the lines above ground, and under ground. The result of his examination was to recommend an experiment upon the subterranean plan. His report is also said to have treated of the establishment of telegraphic lines through India, which should extend from Calcutta to Agra, with branches to the most important stations on either side of this route, and from Agra—which was to be the great centre of communication—to Simla and Lahore, on the one hand, and to Bombay on the other. It was calculated that the entire distance, included in these various lines of communication, would be equal to about 2,500 miles. The expense of such an undertaking in a country, of which there was as yet no experience, and the peculiarities of which differed so essentially from those of England and America, it was impossible to calculate with any degree of accuracy. The most approximate estimate, which Dr. O'Shaughnessy was enabled to form, for a double set of lines, is understood to have been about 750 Rs. the mile, which is only one-half the cost of Electric Telegraphs in England, and about 30 per cent. more than the general expense of such undertakings in America; and it was calculated that the subsequent annual expense for repairs and establishment, through the whole length of the line, would amount, exclusive of inter-

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est on the original outlay, to about 86,000 Rs. The importance of establishing such a line of communication through this extent of territory, both as regards the political and the military, the commercial and social interests of the country, it would be perfectly superfluous to dwell upon. The intelligence, brought from England by the steamer to Bombay twice a month, would thus be communicated within an hour to Agra and Lahore, to Simlah and Calcutta. Commercial advices would be conveyed three and four times a day to all the great marts of commerce. The Government of India would always be enabled to convey important political communications to London within a month; and orders from the seat of Government to the various military stations in the North West, where more than half the army is congregated, would be communicated with instant speed; while the Governor-General, though residing at Simlah, might hold intercourse, hour by hour, with the Supreme Council in Calcutta. Previously to the commencement of any extended operations, however, it was proposed to Government to sanction an experimental line from Calcutta to Hugli, that some experience might be obtained of the expense of the undertaking and of the local difficulties which India presented. Strange to say, the proposal for this short, simple, and inexpensive experiment encountered so serious an opposition from one of the most eminent officers of Government in Calcutta, whose opinion had been sought, as had well nigh proved fatal to the whole scheme; but it is generally understood, that either the Military Board, to whom Dr. O'Shaughnessy's report was addressed, or its liberal-minded secretary, Captain Scott, contrived to neutralize these sexagenarian objections, and prevailed on Government not to abandon so magnificent a plan without an experiment. Every officer, whose advice Government is required to seek, should be constrained to visit England once in ten years to bring himself abreast of the age.

The Government accordingly determined that an experimental line should be attempted, and that it should be carried, not from Calcutta to Hugli, but from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, under Dr. O'Shaughnessy's superintendence. The deepest interest, as might have been expected, was felt by all classes in this great national work; and information regarding its progress was eagerly sought by the conductors of the press, and communicated from time to time to their constituents. From these successive records we learn that the work commenced on the 5th of November, and was completed as far as Diamond Harbour; but that Dr. O'Shaughnessy was obliged

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to quit his labours on the 27th of January, to take charge of the Assay office at the Mint: and this circumstance has prevented the extension of the line beyond thirty-two miles and a half. The wire, used by him, was an iron rod, three-eighths of an inch in diameter, coated with two layers of cloth, saturated with pitch, and then laid in a bed of roofing tiles, in a melted composition of three parts of sand and one of rosin, which, when cool, becomes as solid as a stone, and is impervious to white-ants, or vermin, or the saline influence of the soil. Before the completion of the experiment, the stock of rosin in the market was reduced, and the price rose to such an extent as to constrain Dr. O'Shaughnessy to make the second section of his line with three layers of Madras cloth, saturated with pitch, and laid in the ground without cement. A considerable portion of the line to Diamond Harbour runs through a morass; and in many places the water was only kept out by baling. The line may therefore be considered not only subterranean, but subaqueous. As yet, the experiment has completely answered expectation, and messages have been signalled throughout with perfect ease; still, the undertaking is at present considered only in the light of an experiment, the result of which cannot be ascertained, with a view to ulterior operations, until it has been tested by a succession of thunder-storms, and by an entire rainy season. The greatest difficulty, which has been experienced, is in the instruction of a body of signallers. The class of native pupils was at once disbanded, on the death of one of them, at a little distance from Calcutta, from fever. They refused to leave town for an unhealthy locality, and it has been deemed necessary to place a class of European boys under tuition. Such is a brief narrative of the progress which has been made in this experiment, the full results of which will not be known till the commencement of the next cold season. If it should then be found that the wires have effectually withstood every disturbing and deteriorating influence, it is to be hoped that Government will not hesitate to sanction the outlay necessary for carrying out the whole of Dr. O'Shaughnessy's plan. Five years would be amply sufficient for the establishment of the entire line of 2,500 miles; which would connect Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, Simlah, and Lahore, and the various intermediate stations.

During the past year, a commission has been appointed to enquire into the present state of the Post Offices throughout India, with a view to an organic reformation. It arose out of the vehement, but just, complaints, which had been made for several years, regarding the utter inefficiency of the postal ar-

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rangements at this Presidency. Thirteen years have now elapsed since a similar commission was appointed by Government in Calcutta to examine and to reform the working of the office. From their labours, the public derived some important advantages. Subsequently to that period, improvements, which appear almost incredible, had been introduced into the Post Office department in England, by one whose name will go down to posterity, as one of the greatest benefactors of the age. Under the impulse of Mr. Rowland Hill's genius, not only had the blessing of a uniform and cheap postage been conferred on England, but the machinery of the department had been brought to a degree of matchless perfection. As these improvements were successively announced in India, they only served to augment the discontent and irritation of the community, by the deplorable contrast which our postal arrangements presented to them. It appeared as if the progress of inefficiency and deterioration in this country was destined to keep pace with the progress of improvement in England; and the demand for investigation and reform became at length irresistible. It was the general desire of the public that a committee of inquiry should be appointed, consisting partly of official and partly of non-official men: but Lord Dalhousie, on his return from the Straits in March last, wisely determined to entrust the responsibility of these measures to a single individual; and he selected for this purpose one of the very ablest members of the Civil Service, Mr. Cecil Beadon, the secretary of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. He was withdrawn from his post at that Board, and directed to enter upon the most extensive and searching investigation of the state of our postal arrangements throughout the country, to receive evidence regarding it from those who had any thing to communicate, and to digest a plan of reform suited to the present advanced state of the science of Post Office communications. Lord Dalhousie went a step farther, and wisely determined that these investigations and improvements should not be limited to a single Presidency, but embrace the whole of India; and he accordingly appointed another commissioner at Madras, and a third at Bombay, to the same duties. These gentlemen were directed to meet at Calcutta, after they had completed their local enquiries, and embody the result of their observations and their views in a single report. This report is at the present time nearly complete, and is about to be presented to the Governor-General. The nature of the reforms, which the commissioners are said to have recommended, cannot, of course, be accurately known to the public; but the general impression is, that they intend to

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propose the establishment of a low and uniform rate of postage throughout India. If this should eventually turn out to be the case, and if it should receive the sanction of Government, this commission of Post Office enquiry will prove by far the most interesting act of Lord Dalhousie's government, and entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the country. The financial risk, which may be involved in this scheme, can scarcely exceed £50,000, the whole of which will probably be made up by the increase of correspondence. But, supposing the greater portion of this sum to be irretrievably sacrificed by the reform, still it forms so small a fraction of the entire revenue of the country, consisting, as it does, of more than Twenty-seven millions sterling, that this pecuniary consideration cannot for a moment be supposed to present any obstacle to the adoption of the plan. When a similar improvement was proposed by Mr. Rowland Hill in England, the Ministry did not shrink from risking an annual sum of a Million sterling out of an income only twice as great as that of India. It is to be hoped that Lord Dalhousie will be induced to sanction this measure at once, without waiting for a reference to the Board of Controul, or the Court of Directors. We believe that his lordship has sufficient political nerve for so bold and decisive a step; and we are confident that he will meet with such general support, both in England and in this country, as to obviate all apprehension of his incurring the displeasure of the Indian authorities at home. Indeed the popularity of this measure will bring so much additional strength to the Government of the East India Company at this important crisis, that, we believe, the only feeling which the Court of Directors are likely to entertain, if it should be at once sanctioned, will be that of regret at having lost the pleasure of participating in the grant of the boon.

At the period of our last review, the agitation in the European community regarding the 'so-called' Black Acts had reached its climax. Of the Acts, which were rather arbitrarily strung together under this designation, the most important was that which was designed to subject British settlers in India to the jurisdiction of the Company's Criminal Courts, in the same manner as they had been subjected to the Civil Courts thirteen years before. A large meeting was held in Calcutta, at which the conduct of Government in depriving British subjects of their sacred and inalienable rights, was denounced with the utmost indignation; and it was determined to memorialize the authorities at Home and the British Parliament against these atrocious measures. A subscription was opened to meet the expenses which might be incurred in resisting them; and the sum of

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30,000 Rs. was soon put down on paper—no part of which, however, has yet been called for. Two other Acts, the drafts of which were simultaneously promulgated, were placed in the same category with the Act for subjecting Englishmen to the Criminal Courts, and represented as parts of a deep plan for depriving British subjects in India of their rights and privileges. One of these Acts provided, that whenever British subjects desired to be exempted, as such, from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts, they should plead and prove this privilege of exemption. But if the former Act should pass, and the exemption should be taken away altogether, this Act will necessarily fall to the ground; it is, therefore, the least important of the three. The third Act, included in this category, was intended to provide for the greater security of officers, when acting in their judicial capacity. It provided that no Judge, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Collector, or other person, acting judicially, should be liable to be sued in any Court for any act done, or ordered to be done, by him in the discharge of his judicial duty, whether or not within the limits of his jurisdiction, provided, that he, at the time, in good faith believed himself to have jurisdiction to do, or order, the act complained of. It was based on the well-known Act of the 21st of George the Third. It was suggested to the Legislative Council by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sir Lawrence Peel, and was drawn up in strict accordance with his views. It was passed on the 4th of April last year, without exciting any attention; and, though described as the most atrocious of the three, has now been in force for nearly a twelve-month without entailing any inconvenience on British subjects, or filling any of the judicial officers of the Company with a feeling of presumption. We, therefore, naturally conclude, that the main objection to the proposed legislation had reference to the obnoxious Act, which placed British subjects under the Criminal Courts of the Company.

One of the most vehement objections, brought against this Act, was the absence of any enlightened and consistent code of Criminal Law in India. Our Criminal Law is a patch-work of Muhammadan precepts, British regulations, and legal precedents. The basis of it is the Muhammadan code, which we found in force, when we took charge of the administration in 1772 and commenced the construction of our infant establishments. The British Government, at that time, had little, if any, knowledge of the country or of the people, or of their habits, laws, or institutions; and, being anxious to avoid all violent changes, determined to continue the laws, which were then current—more especially as all the Criminal Courts, from

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the highest to the lowest, were presided over by Muhammadan Judges. The Muhammadan code, which we thus preserved, was, with some few exceptions, a more mild and equitable law, than that which was at the time administered in England—before our laws had been defecated by the benevolent labours of Romilly and Mackintosh. Whatever was found to be inconsistent with reason or humanity, or with the improved principles of the age in the Muhammadan law, was gradually modified by the British Government; and thus the edifice of our criminal law in India, though based on a Muhammadan foundation, has been so materially changed by the superstructure, we have subsequently erected on it, that no Muhammadan lawyer could identify it with that, which prevails under any pure Mussulman Government. Still, this motley collection of laws is not a code in accordance with the progress, the spirit, or the wants of the age. This objection was urged, not only by the remonstrants, but also by the Judges of the Supreme Court; and it was felt by Government to carry so much weight, that it was considered desirable to promulgate an entirely new Criminal Code for the guidance of the courts, before British subjects were made subject to their jurisdiction.

There was, at this time, a Criminal Code, slumbering on the shelf of the Legislative Council, which had been compiled by the Law Commission thirteen years before, and which, in compliment to the genius of its President, was usually designated the Macaulay code. Mr. Macaulay, while legislative member of Council in India, had given his closest attention to its construction: and it embodied all those improved and enlightened principles of criminal jurisprudence, which had been elaborated by the labours of the ablest jurists in Europe and America. It shared the unpopularity, which had been attached to Mr. Macaulay's name, and was unscrupulously and indiscriminately assailed by his opponents—and, with such success, that, for several years, it was never mentioned but with the utmost contempt. His opponents have now sunk into obscurity, while his reputation has been gradually increasing in brilliancy. The feelings of that period of irritation have died out; and the code has now been examined on its own merits, and discovered to be admirably adapted to the wants of India. It has been subjected to the revision of the first lawyers in India, both in the service of the Crown and the Company, and their comments, five times as bulky as the code itself, have been published by order of Parliament. Lord Dalhousie, determined, if possible, to render the labours of Mr. Macaulay and his coadjutors subservient to the benefit of the

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country. He placed the code in the hands of the Legislative Council on his departure for the North West Provinces in April last, and requested that they would fix a day in each week for the special purpose of revising it for publication. This labour the Council has long since completed: and the code will, at no distant period, be submitted to the Governor-General, and transmitted to the public authorities in England; and, if ordinary diligence be used, India may yet have the honor of producing the first Criminal Code in the British empire.

The Act for the protection of judicial officers, to which we have alluded above, was enacted, as we have stated, on the motion of Sir Lawrence Peel, who suggested to the Council to provide in a distinct Act, that no Judge, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Collector acting judicially, or other person acting as a Judge, should be liable to be sued for any act done, or ordered to be done, by him in the character of a Judge, whether he acted without jurisdiction or not, provided that he *bonâ fide* believed himself at the time to possess the jurisdiction which he exercised. The draft of the Act was accordingly drawn up and promulgated in the Official Gazette, for the information of the public; and it was transmitted, at the same time, to the various public functionaries, whom the Legislative Council is in the habit of consulting, before it ventures to pass any enactment. As might have been expected, the Act was viewed in different lights by different minds, and gave rise to very conflicting opinions. As the question has excited particular attention in the European community in India, we have been led to think, that a synopsis of the arguments which were brought forward, both in favour of the enactment, and in opposition to it, would not be considered uninteresting. We have made considerable exertions to obtain it, and are now enabled to present our readers with the result of our researches. This abstract may also be useful in conveying to the public some idea of the mode, in which our Indian legislation is generally conducted, and in manifesting the great care which is used to obtain the opinions of the ablest functionaries in India, before any Act is placed on the statute book. We must, however, caution the reader against supposing that any of these opinions were advanced by way of reply to other and opposite opinions. They were simultaneously and individually sent in by those, who had been consulted on the occasion.

On the one side it was observed, that, after the enactment of the draft, many an officer would weigh, with far less nicety than he had been accustomed to do, suggestions regarding his want of

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jurisdiction; that he might become less careful in initiatory and ex-parte proceedings; and that, if the liability to actions for acts done in excess of jurisdiction was materially weakened (if not practically done away), there might be a necessity for increased vigilance, on the part both of the Executive Government and the higher courts of law, to keep Magistrates within the bounds of their duty. It was also said that the protection afforded by the Act was carried to an unreasonable extent, and that the proper limits, within which such protection should be confined, were those pointed out by the decision of the Privy Council in the case of Calder *v.* Halkett; that Judges, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and officers acting judicially were already sufficiently protected, and that the proposed Act would amount to little short of a legislative declaration that those functionaries could do no wrong; that the somewhat similar measure, passed in England for the protection of Magistrates, was of local requirement, and appeared to have been called for by the keen competition among legal practitioners, who, either from public spirit or the prospect of costs, could always be found ready to take up a case against a Magistrate exceeding his jurisdiction. Finally, it was remarked that the draft appeared imperfect as containing no provision, declaring judicial officers liable to a civil action for damages on account of illegal or oppressive acts done *malâ fide*.

On the other hand, it was observed that the proper check on judicial officers did not consist in their being made amenable to the ordinary Civil Courts in actions for damages; that the Company's Civil Courts could not extensively exercise the power of awarding damages against officers, employed in the same districts with themselves, without producing injurious consequences; and that, to check irregularities, arising out of a Magistrate's exceeding his jurisdiction, it was not desirable to continue a class of actions in the Supreme Court against judicial officers, which gave rise to much irritation, and which, if successful, resulted in awarding a very trifling sum by way of damages, and inflicting an excessive penalty in the shape of costs on the defendant, or on the Government which indemnified him. It was also observed that this Act, as far as the courts of the East India Company were concerned, made the law correspond with what was believed to be the intention of the legislature in England; that Justices of the Peace, as well as inferior Judges generally, were very inadequately protected; that the principle of the proposed Act was a correct one, inasmuch as the protection of the judicial officer proceeded on grounds of public policy alone, and had no reference to the personal dignity

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or comfort of the Judge; that its aim was to promote his judicial independence, a thing of inestimable value; that the lower in station the Judge, the more likely was he to be brought, from timidity, under compliances, if likely to be harassed by vexatious litigants; that, if the result of the Act was to render Judges negligent of their duty, it would overbalance any good which might otherwise result; but that the Government might effectually repress the evil, if it should arise, by increased vigilance, and by removing careless, negligent and ignorant, as well as corrupt, Judges. It was also stated that the apprehensions, which were entertained by Europeans in India, that the proposed Act was one of a class, which would deprive them of redress in the Supreme Courts, was groundless, as every European and Native Judge of the Company's Courts was subject in an action of tort to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; and that a corrupt or oppressive use of authority, even when there was jurisdiction, would not be exempted from liability, either civil or criminal, by the proposed Act.

Among the notable events of the past year, we must not omit to mention the resignation of Sir Charles Napier, the Commander-in-Chief, and the novel circumstances, under which it took place. He came out to this country in the preceding year, to assume the command of the army, in consequence of the extraordinary panic, created by the disaster and disgrace of Chillianwallah, which was attributed more to the incompetency of Lord Gough, than to the want of courage in our troops. The Court of Directors were constrained, as much by the force of public opinion, as by the importunity of the Ministry, to overcome the repugnance they naturally felt towards one, who had heaped the most abusive epithets on them, and to despatch Sir Charles Napier to India to repair the errors of his predecessor. But, before he reached its shores, he learnt that the victory of Guzerat had completely broken the military power of the Sikhs; and, before he arrived in the Punjab, he found that Lord Dalhousie had annexed the country to the British dominions, and completed all his arrangements for its administration. The two objects of laudable ambition, which Sir Charles Napier had set before him on leaving England—that of conquering and of governing the Punjab, as he had conquered and governed Scinde—were thus placed beyond his reach. He found himself with a large income, but no vocation such as he had been expecting; and the disappointment appears to have exasperated his temper, never the most exemplary, and given an unfortunate bias to all his official intercourse.

The necessity of reducing the extraordinary allowances,

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given to the troops who had been engaged in the conquest of the Punjab, was at this time forced on the consideration of the Government. They had been allowed, while in the field, the same amount of batta, which had been allotted to the troops serving in Scinde. These extra allowances involved an annual expenditure of more than Twenty lakhs of Rupees; and it was felt, that if it was allowed to become permanent after the province had been incorporated with the British dominions, an intolerable burden would be entailed on the finances. It was resolved, therefore, to take advantage of the relief of the regiments, cantoned in the Punjab in the winter of 1849-50, to effect the desired retrenchment. These allowances were, for obvious reasons, to be continued to the troops stationed beyond the Indus at Peshawur, but withheld from those, who were marching from our older provinces across the Sutlej into the Punjab. The measure was not sufficiently explained by commanding officers to all the corps; and a feeling of discontent, as might naturally have been expected, arose among some of them, when they perceived that they were not to receive the same sum, which had been enjoyed by their brethren whom they relieved. The 66th Regiment, marching into Umritsur, in February last year, exhibited a spirit, which was considered mutinous. Their misconduct on this occasion has been greatly exaggerated; but it was unquestionably necessary to repress in the bud any such spirit of disaffection. Happily, the corps was reduced to a state of subordination by a very slight exertion on the part of the officers. Sir Charles, however, with a view to the complete eradication of every symptom of disobedience, resolved to make an example of the corps, in which this disposition had been manifested. He hastened to Umritsur, and, at once, and of his own authority, disbanded the whole corps, and placed an irregular Gurkah corps on the roll in its stead. This act was, of course, beyond his individual authority: but Lord Dalhousie perceived that it was salutary, if not necessary, at the crisis which it was intended to meet, and, so far from reproving Sir Charles Napier for having taken upon himself to act on his own responsibility, gave this measure his full and entire approbation.

Soon after, however, another and more serious difficulty arose from an unnecessary assumption of authority by Sir Charles Napier, and led to discussions, which terminated in his abrupt resignation of office. We quote the particulars from one of the journals placed at the head of this article:—

By an old rule, which has been in existence for a long series of years, the native troops receive compensation, when the price of *atta* and other neces

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sary articles exceeds a certain price. Sixteen seers per rupee for atta is, we think, the maximum. In the Punjab, atta was very dear, nine or ten seers for a rupee; ghee, dal, and other articles, correspondingly cheap. The Military Auditor General explained to Government some time ago, that the calculation for remuneration, as laid down in the rules, was not adhered to. The basis of it was, that a sepoy's food should not cost him more than three Rupees and a half, or half his pay. The Auditor General therefore stated, that the account should be in the nature of a debit and credit one; that is, that the loss on the atta, and the gain on other articles should go against each other; and that the difference was the sum he was entitled to. There is no doubt, we believe, that this is the correct rule; it was in this manner that the remuneration was calculated in Cabul. The Governor General in Council on this wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting that the compensation might in future be calculated on this principle; but his Excellency, on receiving the communication, issued a Circular to the Generals and Brigadiers in command, to say that this was altogether a mistake, and that they were to make no difference in the system they had pursued. The Governor General, as might have been expected, felt no inconsiderable annoyance. He did not think fit to alter Sir Charles Napier's order: but he pointed out, that the instructions he had issued, as the head of the Government, were clear and explicit, and could admit of no doubt; and that if the Commander-in-Chief could thus set them aside, no order of Government could be of any avail.

This proceeding on the part of Sir Charles Napier was palpably unconstitutional. The duty of regulating the pay and allowances of the army belongs, in India, as it does also in England, to the Government of the country, and not to the Commander-in-Chief; any interference on his part is an encroachment on the province of the Governor General and his Council. Sir Charles Napier flared up at Lord Dalhousie's remonstrance, and, in a moment of petulance, sent in his resignation. The question was referred to the home authorities: but they took the same view of the character of this proceeding, which the Governor General had done: and, instead of endeavoring to soothe the Commander-in-Chief's irritated feelings, and soliciting him to remain, as he had expected, proceeded at once to appoint his successor. Sir Charles sailed down the Indus, and closed his Indian career by embarking for England from Bombay.

The year 1850 has also been distinguished above all others in the annals of British India, by the establishment of the principle of religious liberty throughout the whole of the country. We made a reference to this measure, while yet under consideration, in our review of the previous year; and we need not therefore farther revert to the history and character of the enactment, than to state, that the extinction of liberty of conscience under the British administration in India, for so long a period, arose entirely from our ignorance of the peculiar laws and institutions of the Hindu religion, when we entered for the first

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time, on the duties of legislation, in 1772. It was then enacted, simply as a matter of justice, that all questions of Hindu inheritance should be determined by the Hindu law. Our legislators were totally ignorant of the fact, that, by the Hindu law, every one, who followed the dictates of his own conscience and renounced his ancestral creed, was doomed to the loss of his paternal inheritance, and reduced to beggary. We thus became, inadvertently, accessary to the violation of the most sacred principles of religious freedom. Lord William Bentinck, the most cautious of statesmen, but the most courageous of reformers, undertook to remove this opprobrium from our administration, as far as his authority extended. At the same time that he passed those regulations, by which the natives were admitted to share largely in the public administration, he ordained, in reference to the provinces at this presidency, that no man should forfeit any property or privilege by a change of creed, to which he would, but for that change, have been entitled. The Act, to which we now refer, has extended this enlightened principle to the rest of India, and abolished all those pains and penalties, which had hitherto been attached to the relinquishment of Hinduism. This measure, though in accordance with the enlarged and liberal views of the present age in England, is utterly repugnant to the principles of the Hindu and Muhammadan creeds, which are fortified by the same penal enactments, which so long continued to disgrace our statute book at home.

The enactment produced no sensation at Bombay. At Madras, where the profession of Hinduism is accompanied by a stern oxthodoxy, which almost amounts to bigotry, meetings were held and adverse resolutions passed: but there was no Marquis of Tweedale to be identified with the measure, and the opposition to it, as compared with preceding agitations, was extremely languid and faint. In Calcutta, the great Babús expressed their decided disapprobation of the Act, though it did not affect them, as it was simply intended to extend the law, under which they had been living for eighteen years, to the rest of India. But it was supposed to aim at the encouragement of Christianity: and the most opposite parties—those, who treat the popular superstition with the utmost ridicule, and those, who are completely enslaved by it—united in opposition to the measure. Still, the opposition was of a very feeble character. It scarcely extended beyond the limits of the town. The Muhammadans, who were equally affected by the law, manifested a perfect indifference to the measure: and, although the Act was passed in March last, eight entire

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months were suffered to elapse, before the memorial of the Inhabitants of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as the Calcutta Memorial was pompously designated, was ready. It was a long and labored document, without point or spirit. It appeared much more like an attempt to save appearances, by issuing a manifesto against the progress of Christianity, than the earnest and impassioned appeal of men who felt that they had any thing to lose. The memorial has been sent home to England, and entrusted to the advocacy of Mr. Leith, formerly a Barrister of the Supreme Court in Calcutta: and it will probably be presented to Parliament, just at the time when the question of the papal aggression is under discussion, and the strongest determination is manifested by all parties in the House, not to permit even that provocation to lead to the revival of religious penalties. Of the fate of the appeal there can, of course, be no doubt.

Since this article was commenced, a case has been decided at the Bombay Presidency, which clearly illustrates the importance of the new law, and renders its abrogation absolutely impossible. A native had embraced Christianity, while his wife continued in the ranks of heathenism, and refused to give up his child. He appealed to the Civil Court; and the Native Judge, who presided in it, decided the case in his favour. His wife appealed the suit to the European Judge of the district, who reversed the decision of the lower court, and declared that the man, by embracing Christianity, had become an outcast, and had forfeited all his civil rights and privileges, and of course all claim to the guardianship of his children. The case was then appealed to the highest tribunal, the Sudder Court. Fortunately for the convert, the Act, establishing liberty of conscience through India, had been intermediately passed; and the Judges, upon the strength of its provisions, at once restored the child to the parent. This is the first and the only instance of the operation of the law since its enactment; and it has incontestibly demonstrated its necessity.

The establishment of the Small Cause Court in Calcutta belongs also to the present year. The original Court of Requests was instituted in Calcutta three years before the battle of Plassey, while Calcutta was yet but a factory, and all the territories belonging to the Honorable Company at this Presidency did not amount to eight square miles. Calcutta then possessed only a Mayor's Court, which had been set up in 1727; but, like the Supreme Court, which was subsequently substituted for it, the expense of its process was so insupportable, that a Court of Requests was erected by charter, for hearing and

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determining all disputes, in a summary way, when the matter in litigation did not exceed five pagodas. The Court of Directors ordered that their own covenanted servants should preside in it, without any other remuneration than the "conviction that, by an honest and faithful discharge of duty, they might be a blessing to the country." The court was remodelled by an Act of Parliament in 1797, in which it was stated that the provisions, made by the charter of justice for the Court of Requests, had been found "beneficial and convenient." But Sir John Anstruther, the Chief Justice in Calcutta, who undertook to superintend the remodelling of the court under the Act, found that this representation was very wide of the truth. The court exhibited scenes of venality and oppression, such as were unexampled, even at that time, in any other part of India. No case could be brought to a decision without bribing the Native officers. The number of fictitious suits exceeded that of real suits. Defendants were summoned, who did not owe a farthing; and any man, who wished to annoy his neighbour, immediately resorted to this court, and put its process in operation. Even when decrees were passed, they were never executed. What else could have been expected from a tribunal, in which nineteen amateur and unpaid Judges presided? Civilians, who had returned from furlough, were directed, while waiting for some new appointment, to take a turn on the bench of the Court of Requests: and fourteen young members of the service, the oldest of whom was not twenty-one, assisted in passing its decisions. Sir John Anstruther at once swept away all this useless machinery, and prevailed on Government to appoint three able Judges, at 1,200 Rs. a month each. He manifested the deepest interest in the success of the court, laid down rules for its guidance, and watched over its working with a paternal anxiety. Under his fostering care, it became so popular and so useful, that thirty thousand suits were instituted in it in the course of four years; and the court was not only able to meet all its own expenses, but to contribute a lakh of Rupees to the treasury of Government. During the twenty years, which followed the remodelling of the court, a fund was accumulated from its fees, after the whole of its establishment had been paid, of not less than Seven lakhs of Rupees. Of this sum, half a lakh of Rupees were expended in the erection of a jail, which has been removed to make way for the new Medical College; Two lakhs and a half were made over to the Lottery Committee for municipal improvements; and Four lakhs have been entombed in the General Treasury, from whence there is no resurrection.

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Since the year 1823, however, the court had never paid its expenses. Its utility had been in a great measure neutralized. Its jurisdiction had been contracted; and the cognizance of every kind of suit, except for simple debt, taken out of its hands. On one occasion, the commissioner of the court was brought up before the Supreme Court, and fined 500 Rs. for a mere error of judgment of much nicety. The operations of the court were crippled by this and other proceedings. The Government was urged by Mr. Macaulay, nearly fifteen years ago, to reform and improve the court; and strenuous efforts were repeatedly made by the Supreme Council to enlarge its jurisdiction, and to ameliorate its constitution: but these benevolent exertions were always thwarted by the predominance of professional influences in the councils of Leadenhall Street. The reformation, we now record, is to be traced to the progress of public opinion in England. The remonstrances of the law-ridden community in England had at length constrained the Ministry and the Parliament to grant the establishment of County Courts, in which suits of small amount could be adjudicated with speed, simplicity and economy. The Court of Directors felt that, while England resounded with gratitude for this boon, they could not continue to refuse the same blessing to India, without essentially damaging their own reputation. On the last occasion, therefore, on which they threw out the measure proposed by the Government of India for the reform of our Court of Requests, they are understood to have offered to sanction the construction of a court at the three Presidencies, upon the same principle as the English County Courts. The Legislative Council again set to work upon a new Act—the third—and drew up the scheme of a court, in every way suited to the wants of the metropolis, and in some respects in advance of the courts in England. At length, after ten years of alternate hope and disappointment, the Small Cause Court was established in Calcutta on the 1st of May, 1850. The two Judges of the Court of Requests, Mr. Brietzcke and Babú Russomoy Dutt, were continued as commissioners of the new court; and Mr. Reddie, formerly Chief Justice of St. Lucia, who had been driven from his appointment by the Colonial Office, in consequence of some disagreement with the Governor, was constituted the first Judge of it. It has worked well, and given the highest satisfaction to the community: and it is to be hoped that in due time, when the experiment is sufficiently mature, its jurisdiction will be enlarged to 1,000 Rs., and that the beneficial effect of this system of cheap and expeditious justice will be extended throughout the country.

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The Ganges Canal is the most magnificent, and the most useful of all the works, which the British Government has ever undertaken in India, whether we regard the difficulties attending it, or the magnitude of the benefits it is certain to confer on the country through which it passes. For this great undertaking we are indebted to the genius and indefatigable exertions of Colonel Cautley. The best and latest description, we possessed, of this undertaking was that furnished by Lieut. Baird Smith of the Engineers, in his article on "Canals of Irrigation" in this *Review* (No. 23, *pp.* 150—181), and in his pamphlet on the agricultural resources of the Punjab in the middle of 1849.

The greatest work in this department, the Grand Ganges Canal, projected and superintended by Major Proby Cautley of the Bengal artillery, is now in progress of execution, and will be completed in about five years. It will have a discharge of 6,750 cubic feet per second, and is expected to cost about 1,250,000*l.* Its total length, navigable throughout, is 898 miles; and it will furnish irrigation to a tract of country, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, having an area of 5,400,000 acres. Its annual income from sale of water, &c., is estimated at about 160,000*l.*; and the increase of land revenue, which will be derived from the country under its influence, will not be less than 240,000*l.* per annum.*

The works of the Ganges Canal are of a magnitude unprecedented in India. The great aqueduct across the Solani river alone will require for its construction nearly ninety millions of the large bricks employed in this country, and a million cubic feet of lime, employing nearly 6,000 men daily, for five years, on the masonry and earth work connected with it. The other works are of proportionate magnitude; and the whole, when finished, will form a monument worthy of our national character, and will leave lasting proof that the British Government in India is not so unmindful of the great interests committed to its charge, as some would desire to have it believed. The works are advancing with great energy; and, to his honour be it stated, that, even during the enormous financial pressure of the late campaign, the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, would admit of no check being given to an undertaking calculated to promote so materially the best interests at once of the Government and the people.

But this estimate of £1,250,000 made in 1845, was insufficient to carry out the work in all the details, which practical experience with the mountain torrents in the upper portion of the canal has suggested. The calculation has accordingly been revised: and the sum, now required, is estimated at Rs. 15,558,000, that is, rather more than a million and a half sterling: and we have every reason to believe that this increased estimate has received the sanction of Government. The canal, according to the last and most accurate statement, will occupy 765 miles, which is divided as follows. The main trunk line extends from Hurdwar to a point below Allyghur, 180 miles.

* In his revised estimate in the *Review*, Lieut. Smith estimates the addition to the Government revenue at £350,000.

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At this point, the canal is divided into two channels of nearly equal capacity; the left runs a course of 170 miles in length, to the Ganges river at Cawnpore; while the right channel pursues a course of about 165 miles, and joins the Jumna, in the neighbourhood of Humírpore. From the Main Trunk Canal, again, one branch extends 150 miles to Futtyghur; another, fifty miles to Bolundshuhur; and a third, fifty miles to Coel.

The first, or northern, division of the Main Trunk Canal, extending twenty-four miles in length, is that portion of the canal in which is included the low, or Khadir, lands of the Ganges. The line of canal is crossed by four principal mountain torrents, and many minor lines of drainage. All the difficult and most expensive works are included in this section; and, on the 31st of December, last year, about Thirty lakhs of Rupees had already been expended on works alone. The most important of the works in this division is that connected with the Solani torrent. The masonry aqueduct consists of fifteen arches, or openings, of fifty feet each. This work is connected with the earthen aqueduct, the masonry revetments of which extend across the valley on one side 10,101 feet in length, and on the other, 2,118. At these terminal points are bridges spanning the canal, with ghauts for the convenience of men and cattle. The quantity of masonry included in these works, is about ten millions of cubic feet, and that of the earth work about seventy millions. The estimated cost of these works, and of others carried out in the execution of the principal works, is about Twenty-seven lakhs of Rupees, of which about Thirteen lakhs had been expended on the 31st of December last. Connected with these extensive works, there is a rail, or tram, road extending to a length, including branches, of about five miles. Upon this road numerous ballast waggons ply, drawn by horses, or propelled by men. Earth for the aqueduct is brought by these means, and by means of branch rails, to the several brick manufactories from a great distance; material is thus laid down at the works at a very cheap rate. In the present year, a locomotive engine will, it is supposed, be at work. The excavation of the channel is very nearly complete throughout the whole length of this division, in which ground was first broken in April 1842: but the work was soon after interrupted by the war of retribution. Owing to this and subsequent circumstances, the works were not prosecuted with vigor before the cold season of 1847-48. We should also mention that, of the estimate for the whole of the original works—establishment and ordinary repairs excepted—amounting to about 142 lakhs, the works in this first division of twenty-four miles will absorb about Fifty-seven lakhs and a half of Rupees.

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The second division of the Main Trunk Canal extends about eighty-six miles, and requires not less than 826 millions of cubic feet of earth work. Of the channel excavation, sixty miles are already complete, sixteen nearly so, and ten are just commenced on. Of the seven masonry falls, four have a water-way of 200 feet each, and three of 150 feet each; two of the largest are complete, and the others are in various stages of forwardness. In this division, there are also twenty-six masonry bridges, varying in capacity from three arches of 55 feet, to three arches of 45 feet each. Work was first commenced in this division in 1844, but it was not pushed on with vigor before the winter of 1847-48. The sum expended on it, to the close of last year, was Nineteen lakhs.

The third and last division of the Main Trunk Canal extends seventy miles in length: but the works, though important, are of diminished magnitude. It comprises about 375 millions of cubic feet of earth work. Of the excavation forty-two miles are complete, and eight miles in progress. Of twenty-three masonry bridges, varying from three arches of 45 feet, to three arches of 40 feet, twelve are nearly complete, and the remainder in various stages of progress.

The left channel, as we have stated, extends from the southern terminus of the Main Trunk Canal to Cawnpore. It will run 170 miles in length, and require 403 millions of cubic feet of earth work, and fifty-seven masonry bridges, varying from three arches of 33 feet each, to a single arch of 25 feet, together with locks and buildings at the terminus. Of the excavation, eighty-six miles, and of the bridges, twenty-one miles, are in various stages of progress, but no portion of the works has been as yet completed. It was commenced in the cold weather of 1848-49, but various causes have operated to retard its progress. These have now been in a great measure removed, and it is hoped that the operations will proceed with increased energy. Of the right channel, which extends about 165 miles to Humírpore on the Jumna, about forty miles have been begun upon: but, of the sixty-six bridges which will be required, not one has yet been commenced. In fact, the work in this division only commenced last year. The three branches have not yet been accurately laid down. It is expected that water will be admitted into the main lines, in the year 1853. We have only farther to remark that, of the sum of Rs. 1,55,85,000, which is the present estimate for the whole of this magnificent undertaking, 63,44,000 Rs. had been expended at the close of last year, leaving about Ninety-two lakhs yet to be provided by Government.

In our Summary of events for 1849, we gave a brief sketch

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of the most important measures which had been accomplished during that year in the Punjab. Our review for the past year, would be incomplete without a similar retrospect. The new and old territory, entrusted to the government of a Board of Administration, whose head-quarters are at Lahore, extends, as we formerly explained, from the banks of the Jumna to the Solimani range. It comprises an area of not less than 130,000 square miles, containing a population, which has been officially estimated at upwards of eight millions of souls. The old territory, that is, the districts east of the Beas and Sutlege, nearly the whole of which was acquired during, and subsequent to, the Sutlege Campaign, yielded, for the official year 1849-50, Rs. 69,00,000, at a cost of Rs. 26,35,000, exclusive of military expenses. "Punjab Proper," in other words, the territory, annexed to British India by the edict of March 1849, yielded for the same period, being the first year after annexation, ending with the 30th of April, 1850, the sum of Rs. 1,34,81,362. While all the local expenses (that is, all but those of the regular army) have fallen short of seventy-six lakhs of rupees—thus giving a clear nett income for the first year, of Fifty-eight lakhs of rupees, for a country, which some of the ablest men in India have asserted could never pay!

The following may be considered a faithful abstract of the different heads of revenue:—

	Old Territory.	New Territory.	Total.
1 Land Revenue	52,94,052 11 2	1,01,90,413 0 7	1,54,04,465 11 9
2 Excise Collections, Stamps, &c.	2,59,777 15 8	3,49,448 7 9	6,09,226 7 5
3 Punjab Customs abolished	0 0 0	5,56,405 9 9	5,56,405 9 9
4 Salt Revenue, Current and Arrears	4,25,449 9 4	10,31,396 3 4	14,56,845 12 8
5 Tributes	4,88,336 0 10	17,579 11 7	5,05,915 12 5
6 Toshakhana, Miscellaneous, &c.	1,16,068 5 10	9,84,816 2 8	11,00,884 8 6
7 Post Office	1,72,645 2 9	1,77,545 8 0	3,50,190 10 9
8 Local, Road and Ferry Funds	2,14,153 6 9½	1,83,757 6 6	3,97,910 13 3½
Grand Total	69,00,483 4 4½	1,34,91,362 2 2	2,03,81,845 6 6½

An analysis of the expenditure gives the following details:—

Civil	19,00,498	
Military Police	7,34,596	
Expenses of the old Territory		26,34,994
Civil and Political expenses	41,72,789	
Arrears of pay to old Durbar establishments at Lahore	15,02,040	
Pay of Punjab Corps and Guides	17,52,522	
For local improvements	1,19,130	
Expenses of the new Territory		75,46,481
Total expenses for new and old Country		1,01,81,475

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Thus it will be seen that the whole of the territories under the Board of Administration yielded, for the first year of management, 2,03,81,845, at a cost of Rs. 1,01,81,475, giving a nett revenue of Rs. 1,02,00,209, or a trifle above One Million and Twenty Thousand pounds sterling. For the "Punjab Proper" the pension list does not exceed Rs. 3,68,368; the smallness of which is accounted for by the fact, that, until the old soldiers and servants were paid up and pensioned, they were allowed their full pay. The whole expenditure, in the form of arrears of all kinds, was no less than Rs. 27,71,587, being upwards of one-third the cost of management. The fact, that but a trifle above one lakh of rupees was expended on local improvements, arose from the circumstance that little could be done in the first year beyond surveys and estimates for public utility.

For the current official year, *i. e.* the second year of British management, ending with the 30th of April, 1851, the estimate of income is not less than that for the year under review, while the expenditure may be estimated as follows:—

Civil Establishment	44,00,000
Pensions	10,00,000
Customs, &c	8,00,000
Arrears of old establishments	10,00,000
Punjab corps, camel, and guide corps	21,50,000
Public works	5,00,000
Miscellaneous expences	6,50,000
	100,00,000

By adding to this sum the following items for military expenditure, we obtain the probable extra cost entailed by the annexation of the Punjab, exclusive, however, of commissariat, and building expenses:—

Three European corps	16,50,000
Two hundred men for 75 Native Infantry corps	15,00,000
Peshawur batta	6,00,000
	37,50,000

The expenditure on account of arrears will probably cease altogether by the commencement of the third year, while the pension list and the cost of public works will be increased. If Government, therefore, make no reduction in the batta at Peshawur, or in the number of men in the Native Infantry corps, both of which we are inclined to think might gradually

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be reduced, the permanent expense of annexation will probably average 131 lakhs of rupees, thus:—

Military expences	37,50,000	
Punjab corps, camel and guide corps	21,50,000	
Civil establishments, customs, &c.	47,00,000	
Pensions	15,00,000	
Public works of utility	10,00,000	
Total permanent cost	131,00,000	
Against a revenue of		140,00,000

The revenue, however, will gradually encrease by the lapse of life jaghirs, which amount to a considerable sum, and by the returns which the canals may be expected to yield. The heavy list of pensions will also be diminished, as the greater number of them have been given only for life. For the whole territory, new and old, the land-tax is expected to yield, in round numbers, 1,60,00,000; the excise and other indirect sources of revenue, 40,00,000.

During the current year, much progress has been made in reforms, tending to improve the material condition of the mass of people. The assessment and record of the land-tax have been completed by summary settlements, which will continue in force, until the general survey and revised assessment of the country is completed. The actual amount of revenue, now paid by the agriculturists is less than that collected under the late rule, by a sum equal to from fifteen to thirty per cent.: while the expenses of collection, which under the Durbar was excessive, do not exceed six per cent. Thus, though we tax the country more lightly than formerly, the nett revenue accruing to the State is fully equal to what was collected under Sikh rule. In the heaviest taxed lands, the assessments, we understand, do not exceed one-fourth of the gross produce: while in poor, remote and thinly-peopled districts, it falls as low as a fifth, a sixth, and even an eighth, of the produce. The abolition of export, import and town duties has also had a similar beneficial tendency: while the loss to the State, or at any rate, a large portion of it, promises to be rapidly made good. The salt tax, which consists in an excise of two rupees per maund of 80lbs. on all Cis-Indus salt, yielded for the first year upwards of eight lakhs of rupees, which it is confidently anticipated will rise to fourteen lakhs for the current year. By the abolition of customs duties, a considerable impetus has been given to the northern trade, as well as to that of English piece goods.

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It has been objected, we think on insufficient grounds, that the abolition of the customs duty was an unnecessary sacrifice of revenue. But, if it be borne in mind that the greater portion of the income derived from the customs must necessarily have been relinquished, and that the remainder could only have been collected by a system harassing and inquisitorial in the extreme, it must be allowed that the change was not injudicious.

Prior to the annexation of the country, the Punjab customs on exports and imports were derived from three different sources, which yielded an aggregate revenue of about Six lakhs of rupees annually. The duties on the Northern trade were collected by a line of posts along the Indus. Another line along the base of the Hills intercepted the trade between Maharaja Golab Sing's territory and the Punjab: and a third line on the Sutlej and Beas brought under taxation the traffic to and from the eastward. These last duties yielded a revenue of about Two lakhs of rupees per annum, the greater portion of which was derived from taxes on British goods, which had already paid duty on their importation by sea. It is obvious, moreover, that, on the annexation of the Punjab, these duties became mere transit duties, and, as such, could no longer be levied with any degree of justice. The line along the foot of the Hills did not yield more than Rs. 30,000 per annum, and was not worth retaining. There remained then but the northern line, which yielded from two lakhs to two lakhs and a half per annum. A considerable portion of this revenue arose from export duties on indigo and similar articles, the growth of the Punjab, and therefore formed no inconsiderable impediment to our own trade and agriculture. On indigo, in particular, which yielded the largest item, the duty pressed so severely as to render its suspension at an early date after annexation indispensable. Under the least favourable view of the subject, we gave up but a gross revenue of two lakhs and a half of rupees per annum, the greater proportion of which was derived from a tax on the industry of our own territory. We consider that the arrangement was wise and politic. It has given occupation to a large number of Muhammadans on the frontier, who, from their habits and prejudices, are better adapted to trade, than to any other calling, except perhaps that of military service: and there can be no question that the change was highly popular.

The excise on Cis-Indus salt, as we have already said, yielded the first year Eight lakhs, and for the second year, is expected to yield Fourteen lakhs of rupees; but, of this sum, perhaps one-sixth should be deducted for the expenses of collection. Under

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the Sikhs the excise actually yielded no more than a nett revenue of Four lakhs of rupees; but, on the rate of duty which then obtained, might probably have risen to Six lakhs under their management.

As some misconception appears still to exist regarding the salt excise in the Punjab, and as this form of raising revenue has been, moreover, for some time, a fertile topic of discussion, we will add a few words on this subject. At the period of annexation, the people of the Punjab, as regards the salt tax, were divided into three classes, those of the Trans-Indus states, those of the country lying between the Indus and the Beas, and those east of the Beas and Sutlej. As regards the first class, they obtained their salt from the mines in the Kohat and Khuttuck districts, where the duty at the mines was nearly nominal, and where it is still very light. But as this salt travelled, it became, under the old system, subject to various imposts in the shape of town and transit duties. Thus, before it had passed the Peshawur valley, it was thrice taxed, and, if introdued within the town of Peshawur, it was taxed a fourth time—the duty being collected by a farmer, who had the sole right to retail the article. All these duties were swept away by the new system; and a single tax was substituted, in the shape of an excise of two annas on the maund at the Bahadúr Khail mine, and of four annas at the other Trans-Indus mines. The difference in favour of the Bahadúr Khail mine arose from the circumstance, that the merchants, engaged in that trade, had before them a long and expensive land journey.

These arrangements have been assailed by two parties, the one insisting that the change was unjust and oppressive, and thus led to the outbreak in the Kohat defiles; the other reproaching Government with having tamely given up a considerable revenue. Neither accusation is just. The Affredies had broken their engagements, and plundered and murdered travellers and traders, previous to any change in the salt duties. The tax on salt can be hardly said to affect these wild tribes as consumers. Setting aside its cheapness, salt is so abundant, cropping out in various directions all over these hills, that, so far as their own wants are concerned, the poorer classes could collect enough for their consumption from the surface of the ground. The Affredies, Wuziris and other hill tribes, looked on the salt tax solely, as it affected their trade with the countries they supplied as carriers. And it may be very reasonably concluded that a single excise duty of two or four annas, on the maund

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of 80lbs. weight, was more advantageous to them than three or four separate duties at different localities, the delay and annoyance incident to the collection of which would usually entail a greater loss, than the whole sum of the excise duty at the mines. On the other hand, as regards the argument that we needlessly sacrificed revenue, no individual, with any pretension to the reputation of a statesman, will for a moment contend in the abstract for this or that amount of duty. A high duty was impolitic, because the collection of it would have cost more than the income derived from it. A moderate tax is paid readily and of free will. Considering the physical difficulties of the country in which the mines lie, the warlike character of its inhabitants, their poverty, the distant trade which they carry on, and the large military establishments which a high duty would have rendered it necessary to maintain on the spot, it was clear to all, who had studied the subject, that a low excise would be the most profitable arrangement. The possession of these mines will go far to meet the expenses of the occupation of the Kohat district, which it is impossible that we could ever safely abandon, so long as we retain the Peshawur valley: while it affords us a ready mode of coercing a contumacious tribe, by debarring them from the salt trade. If we gave up the salt duty to-morrow, it would only embolden our enemies to new and more audacious demands.

To return, however, to the general salt question. Under the Sikh rule, salt, in the Cis-Indus tracts, paid an excise duty of two rupees the Punjabi maund, which is equal to ninety-eight pounds avoirdupois weight. Our duty is two rupees on the Government maund of eighty pounds. We have thus raised the duty a trifle more than eighteen per cent.: and salt now sells at a price, varying from 26 to 34lbs. the rupee, between the Indus and Beas river, with reference to the distance from the mines. The increase of duty has increased the price of salt, within the tract above described, on an average about one-fourth; while it will have increased the nett revenue from Six to Fourteen lakhs of rupees.

This considerable increase has arisen from various causes, among which are the general extension of the market, and the superior probity and vigilance of the establishments, by which fraud in serving out salt to the dealers, as well as smuggling generally, have been almost totally suppressed. Under the Durbar, the mines were farmed out; and the farmer, who enjoyed a monopoly, sold as much salt as possible at the lowest price which

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would remunerate him. Hence the price of the article has risen since the annexation of the country in a greater proportion than the duty. The Lahore Government had also for many years been in the habit of granting assignments on the salt mines in the form of pensions, chiefly to religious characters. These parties were entitled to receive a given number of maunds per annum, gratis: and this salt, being subsequently brought into the market by them, came into competition with that which had paid duty, and tended to keep down the market price.

The third class, affected by the salt arrangements, were the inhabitants of the districts east of the Beas and Sutlej rivers. These comprehend the Jullunder Doab, the Cis-Sutlej States, and the whole Alpine region from the banks of the Ravi to the neighbourhood of the Jumna. In this vast tract the price of Lahore salt ruled as high as from 12 to 16lbs. the rupee; for, previous to annexation, this salt, besides paying the Durbar excise at the mines, was subject to a duty of two rupees the maund of eighty pounds. This duty was collected at the custom-houses, posted along the line in the vicinity of the Beas and Sutlej, which extended up to the Hills opposite Bossowly in Maharaja Golab Sing's territory. The sum of the duties thus paid on salt in the districts above mentioned was equal to Rs. 3-10 on the Government maund. Simultaneous with the abolition of the Punjab customs, and the increase of duty at the mines, arrangements were made for the removal of the Beas and Sutlej line, which taxed salt and sugar on exportation, and cotton on importation. The effect of this change, by which Government gave up a revenue of five lakhs and a half of rupees, one-third of which was expended in the collection, has been to lower the price of salt by full one-third, and to make cotton and sugar free. The high price of salt in the Trans-Sutlej, Territory, since the Sutlej war, was gradually diverting much of the trade from our territory into that of Golab Sing, and increasing the demand for salt from the little state of Mundi, which lies along the right and left banks of the Beas, north of Hoshearpore and Nadoun. This salt is very impure; it has been ascertained by analysis to contain full half its weight of earth, and is not generally used beyond the vicinity of the Alpine region, and, even there, chiefly for cattle. It was gradually becoming diffused through the plains, but has now been contracted within its ancient limits. To sum up in a few words the result of the fiscal arrangements, as regards the customs

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in the Punjab, we may state that trade in every article of consumption within the newly annexed territory is made free; that the price of salt—exclusive of the Trans-Indus, where it averages the former price—has been raised by one-fourth, and now sells at from 34 to 36lbs. the rupee, and that in our old territory, the price of this necessary article of consumption has been reduced by about one-third, and now sells at from 20 to 22lbs. the rupee. Cotton and sugar, the only articles besides salt, on which duty was levied since the Sutlej war, have also escaped duty. The sacrifice made by Government in these great changes will not exceed a nett revenue of from four to six lakhs of rupees.

To return, however, to the general administration of the Punjab. A powerful and efficient Police has been organized for the security of life and property. This force may be divided into two classes, the organized, or Military, Police, and the Town and Rural Police. In the old territory, one corps of the irregular cavalry, which is borne on the military rolls, is placed at the disposal of the civil officers, and relieved every three years. This was an arrangement introduced by the late Governor-General; but it does not work very well. The corps is necessarily broken up into detachments; and this is injurious to military discipline, and to the general efficiency of the sepoys: while this constant change prevents their taking that pride and interest in their duty, without which it cannot be well performed. These changes moreover prevent the men from acquiring that knowledge of the people and of the nature of the country, which is so necessary to a policeman.

There are also four regiments of locals, which were raised in 1846 by Lord Hardinge, and placed under the civil power. The men of these corps are chiefly inhabitants of the Cis and Trans-Sutlej states; so that such regiments afford employment for a considerable number of the warlike youth of the country, and give us the advantage of their local knowledge, and their acquaintance with the peculiarities of the district and its inhabitants. The expense of the four local corps of infantry is Rs. 5,41,225, and of the corps of cavalry Rs. 1,93,371, the latter being paid by the military department. In addition to this force, the ordinary Police consists of about 1,800 men; and the cost of this establishment may be set down at Rs. 1,50,000 annually.

For the service of the annexed territory, or "Punjab Proper," containing probably upwards of six millions of souls, who inhabit a tract of 80,000 square miles, there are six regiments

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of organized Police, and twenty-seven ressalahs of horse, besides Town and Rural Police. The force may be thus estimated :—

	Men.
Six Regiments, ...	4,800
Twenty-seven Ressalahs,...	2,700
Detective Police, ...	6,000
	13,500

The whole cost does not fall short of Thirteen lakhs of rupees yearly.

The organized Police, horse and foot, consisting of 7,500 men, are regularly armed and equipped, and are under the superintendence of a Commandant and two Police Captains, who are British officers. Of the six battalions, four are old Sikh regiments, who remained faithful during the late war; the other two have been newly raised. Each regiment has its own Native Commandant. The Police horse are selections from the Ghorchuras of the Durbar, who did good service during the war. This force consists of Muhammadans, Sikhs and Hindus. In the cavalry, the Sikhs perhaps predominate; in the infantry, the Muhammadans.

The respective duties of the two forces, organized and detective, may be thus distinguished. The infantry furnish guards for jails and treasuries, escorts for civil officers, and for treasure in transit. They also provide guards for such forts, as it may be considered expedient to keep up on the frontier, but which are not held by the military, as well as for the gates of large towns, like Lahore and Umritsir. They are also ready to turn out and reinforce the Detective Police at the shortest warning. Parties of the mounted Police are posted on the different high roads, which they patrol, and they further aid the Detective Police in the pursuit and capture of robbers and other dangerous characters.

The Detective Police are the town and rural force. They are employed in patrolling in and round towns, and along the high roads. They investigate and report on crime; track and arrest offenders; collect supplies for troops; watch ferries; collect boats for the passage of rivers; escort criminals from the interior of the country to the courts of the magistrates, and serve processes. Their officers furnish daily diaries of all information, which they may acquire; they keep a record of all that occurs within their divisions; and lastly, they form the link of communication between the magistrate and that useful body, the village watchmen.

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Of the efficiency of these Police arrangements as a whole, we may judge from the fact, that, while we now write, the jails in the Punjab do not contain less than 5,000 convicted offenders; that, during the past two years, upwards of 150 of the most desperate dacoits and marauders have already expiated their crimes on the scaffold, and that treble that number have been sentenced to banishment. It is not pretended that crime has ceased in the Punjab; so long as vice, poverty, and misery exist, this is impossible: but we think it may be safely asserted that peace and security, such as is not exceeded in any part of India, such as the Punjab has not known for centuries, now prevail in that country. As an illustration of these remarks, we may draw attention to the remarkable facility with which the population of the country were disarmed by the Police, who have collected and sent in little short of 200,000 stand of arms of various descriptions, among which were upwards of fifty pieces of cannon. Many of the magistrates are living in the interior of the country, and carrying on their duties at a distance from any military force, in perfect security.

As regards the military arrangements in the Punjab, the distribution of the regular troops is essentially that which the late Commander-in-Chief sanctioned. There have been a few changes, some of them hardly for the better. The large force at Seroki, west of Wuzirabad, is about to be transferred to Sealkote—a position in every respect advantageous as regards salubrity, but rather too near to the territory of the Maharaja Golab Sing. We are inclined to think that the extensive plain, south of Guzeranwallah, would have proved an equally healthy and a better military position. Guzeranwallah is on the high road, which runs from Lahore towards Peshawur; it is well and centrically situated, so as effectually to coerce the inhabitants of the Rechna Doab, to reinforce Lahore, to cover the passage of the Chenab, and to draw supplies from the towns of Ramnuggur, Sealkote, Guzeranwallah, and Wuzirabad. Sealkote on the contrary is almost in a corner, and so near Jummu, that, in the event of a war with the Maharaja, no portion of its force could be safely spared for service elsewhere. In the first Sutlej war, we found Ferozepore to be too close to our neighbours; and the same objection applies to Sealkote. In the event of a quarrel with Maharaja Golab Sing, he might throw the whole weight of his power on one division of our army, long before it could be reinforced.

The wisdom of the change of the Lahore cantonment from Anarkulli to Mean Mir is very questionable, especially as

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the site, which has been selected, is so distant from the city. In 1847, '48 and '49, Anarkulli was remarkably healthy. The year 1850 was a sickly year throughout India; and the troops at Mean Mir suffered equally with those at Anarkulli. The latter station was also much too crowded, especially in the European barracks. The new cantonment is full six miles from the nearest gate of the city, seven from the civil station, and nearly eight from the citadel. It does not appear judicious, especially in a new country, to separate the military and civil establishments by so great a distance. The presence of the one is essential to the security and confidence of the other. At a distance of seven miles, the troops will be inconvenienced by their distance from the treasury and the magistrate's court. The station is likely to lose much as it regards good roads and shady trees and similar improvements, to be expected from the civil power; while the latter will be deprived of much of the security, which the presence of the military confer. Anarkulli possesses a magnificent soldier's garden, two ball courts, excellent public bazars, and good roads planted on both sides. We may safely affirm that in ten years the new cantonments will not present so flourishing an aspect as the old one.

The border districts on the frontier, stretching from Kohat to Mithankote, a distance of about 400 miles, were, in the first instance, as the reader is aware, occupied and defended by such portions of the old Durbar force as remained faithful. These have now been nearly all disbanded, or absorbed into the Police force. The border is now held by the "Punjab Corps," which the Governor-General raised after the annexation, and by the camel corps transferred from Scinde. The Punjab force, as is well known, consists of ten corps—five of infantry, five of cavalry and three batteries of six guns each—the whole commanded by Brigadier Hodgson, one of the best soldiers of the Bengal army. The final distribution of troops is not yet fully determined; but they will probably not much differ from the following detail:—

	CORPS.		
	Infantry.	*Cavalry.*	*Guns.*
District of Kohat	2 Corps.	1	6
Bunnú	1	1	6
Dehra Ismael Khan	1	1	0
Dehra Ghazi Khan and Mithankote	1	2	6
	5	5	18

One corps of "Punjab" infantry has been reserved for

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service in Hazara; and its place is supplied by the camel corps above alluded to. Besides this force, two of the six Police corps and seven hundred of the mounted Police have been allotted to the border. Brigadier Hodgson is now carrying out the details of the frontier system of defence under the Board of Administration. Under his auspices we are sanguine that a border foray will soon become a feat of rare and desperate achievement, if not altogether a matter of history. So efficient already are the arrangements in that quarter, that the utmost tranquillity has existed throughout the year. The only incursion from the hills, beyond a mere row for cattle lifting, was met and repulsed in the Bunnú valley in November last, when the assailants suffered considerably.

The state of the Kohat district, which lies between the province of Peshawur and the Derajat, has been more satisfactory than might have been anticipated. After the affair in February 1850, when Sir Charles Napier marched through the defiles leading to Kohat with a force, and dispersed the Affredies who opposed his passage, they sued for peace and forgiveness for the past. That affair, as is well known, did not result in humbling the pride of these fierce mountaineers, who, though they suffered to a certain extent, inflicted probably an equal loss on our troops. In fact, they affected to consider that they had been successful in repelling our attacks; which, though doubtless a delusion on their parts, was not altogether unnatural, considering the little damage we inflicted, and the celerity, with which we passed through the defiles on the return to Peshawur. Fearing, however, that a second and more systematic attack, and with greater numbers, might follow, and knowing that the harvest time was approaching, when their crops could not fail to suffer in the event of hostilities, they made submission through the heads of their clans, who came to Peshawur for that purpose.

The terms, they received, were essentially those they had formerly accepted, and which were in force at the time of the annexation. They bound themselves to keep up a given number of men for the protection of the pass, and to become responsible for all loss suffered by traders and travellers, who may be plundered in their passage through the defiles. On these conditions we pay them Rs. 6,000 per annum. On their again violating their engagements, we excluded them from the Kohat and Peshawur valleys, by which they were deprived of all the advantages of the salt trade, as well as of the market at Peshawur for the sale of their hill products. These measures

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had the desired effect; and they have since adhered to their engagements with some degree of good faith. How long this may last, it is difficult to say. In the mean time it is to be hoped, that we are slowly gaining a knowledge of the country, and of the means by which its inhabitants may hereafter be coerced, should that necessity arise. It has been proposed to fortify the whole pass from end to end. If this can be done with any reasonable expenditure of labour and money, it is clearly desirable. But, while doing so, we must keep a little army in the field; and it is by no means very clear that the measure would be effectual. Throughout the defiles water is scarce, and only procurable at the bottom of the hills; whereas the towers, required for its protection, must be planted on high and commanding points. Reservoirs, in which rain water could be collected, can no doubt be made; but the supply from this source would be scanty and precarious.

The gradual withdrawal of the dead currencies is steadily progressing. The large expenditure, consequent on the location of upwards of 50,000 regular troops, besides other establishments, and the extensive public works now in progress, will greatly facilitate this measure. The expenditure of Bombay exceeds its income by full half a million of money. This deficit has hitherto been made good from Calcutta and Madras. But remittances of the old coinage can now be made with advantage, direct from Lahore by water, to re-appear in the shape of "Company's" Rupees from the Bombay mint.

During 1850, considerable progress has been effected in public works intended to facilitate communication, to open up distant markets, to increase the fertility of the soil, and to secure the harvests as much as possible from the vicissitudes of seasons. Upwards of 1,000 miles of road have been surveyed and marked out. From Putankote, the northern extremity of the Bari Doab, to Umritsir, and thence by Lahore to Múltán, a good road has been made, on which it is already proposed to run carriages to convey the post. The great military road from Lahore to Peshawur, which from the Jhelum to the latter city runs through one of the most difficult countries in India, is now in progress. The estimates, exceeding fifteen lakhs of rupees, have already received the conditional sanction of Government. From Rawul Pindi to Mari on the Indus, opposite Kalabagh, a distance of 110 miles, an excellent road has been made which will enable Government to reinforce the Derajat from the line of military stations along the northern high road. Plans and estimates for a great canal, at a cost of full half a million sterling,

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have been designed, conditionally sanctioned, and the work commenced on. This canal will do more to reconcile the warlike population of the Manjha to peaceful pursuits, than any other measure which could be devised. Its effect will be more tranquillizing than the presence of 10,000 extra troops. Inundation canals in the province of Múltán and the Derajat have been improved and extended, considerable sums for these objects having been allowed by Government. The village boundaries, as far south as the parallel of Lahore, have been marked off; and a scientific survey has commenced. In Hazara and Peshawur geographical surveys have also been nearly accomplished. A committee has also been nominated to investigate and report on the mineral wealth of the upper portion of the Sindh Sagor Doab, commonly known as the salt range.

Some attention has also, we are happy to find, been directed to the state of education in the Punjab. Government have called for returns from all the different districts. At Lahore two schools have been established by private subscriptions, and are in a flourishing condition. In the Lahore division, which comprises the districts of Battala, Umritsir and Lahore in the Bari Doab, and of Wuzirabad and Shekhupura in the Rechna, it has been ascertained, that a population of two millions four hundred and seventy thousand supports 1,385 public schools, in which 11,500 boys receive instruction. The following return of them is given in the *Lahore Chronicle*:—

Language taught.	*No. of Schools.*	*No. of Boys.*
Arabic	116	1,108
Persian	337	2,188
Hindi	109	2,252
Gurmukhi	83	546
Sanscrit	76	1,311
Koran only	225	1,190
Different languages	359	2,905
	1,385	11,500

This gives about eight boys to each school. The emoluments of the masters vary from half a rupee per mensem to seven rupees eight annas, and even eight rupees eight annas. This is made up, partly by weekly payments, and partly by presents at particular festivals. In some cases payment is made in grain, in others, each child contribute a given number of meals for his master; and there are even instances, in which the agriculturists assess themselves periodically to secure instruction for their children. It has been estimated that full six per cent. of the popu-

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lation thus receive instruction, exclusive of private instruction, which more generally prevails among the higher classes. In the city of Lahore, there are no less than sixteen schools in which female children are instructed. A public seminary has lately been sanctioned by Government for the city of Umritsir by an annual endowment of Rs. 5,000. The sum of Rs. 3,000 has been allowed for a building. That city, from its wealth, trade, and population, as well as from being the head quarters of the Sikh religion, is one of the most important towns in the Punjab.

While the authorities of all ranks in the Punjab have thus been actively employed in fixing our rule on a firm basis, and introducing improvements calculated to ensure peace, security and comfort to its people, the Governor-General has visited nearly every part of the country, from Múltán and Mithancote to the defiles of Mari and Kalabagh and the valley of Peshawur, seeing every thing with his own eyes, manifesting the most lively interest in all that was going on, and furthering progress by a wise liberality.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. XXX.—JUNE, 1851.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Narrative of the Second Sikh War in* 1848-9. *By Edward Joseph Thackwell, Esq., late Aide-de-Camp to General Thackwell. London. Bentley.* 1851.

THE narrative of a war can seldom be correctly and faithfully laid before the public, immediately on the conclusion of military operations. The main facts of the struggle, its oscillations from partial success to partial failure, from victory to defeat, are indeed, in the present day, through the energy of the Press, very early before the public. With the assistance of such information, and the aid of an occasional bulletin from one or both of the belligerent parties, men draw their own conclusions (sometimes nearly right, oftener very wrong) during the progress of the contest, until at last the final issue puts a stop to many crude and a few reasonable lucubrations. At this stage, were truth generally safe and acceptable, many a man, whose sword had been drawn in the quarrel, would, on sheathing it, take up his pen, and give an account of the campaign in which he had been engaged. But wise men know the cost too well, and abstain; the field is left open to be occupied by men of a different calibre, who, neither aware of its difficulties or dangers, and protected by their very insignificance, plunge into their subject with the confidence of shallow minds. For one Eyre, who dares to come forward with a manly, sensible, truthful narrative at the close of a great event, there will always be on such occasions a score of Thackwells, aiming to accomplish that for which they are manifestly unequal.

We always take up the narrative of a campaign written by a British officer, with a two-fold purpose in its perusal, with a double interest in the work. The events of the war, as historical facts, are of course to be learnt therein—and that is one object: but it is one, which we should equally entertain, if reading any narrative of military operations written by a foreigner. War, however, is a great and a complicated science; and the attainments of our officers, in mastering its details and comprehending its higher principles, are matter of national importance. We are no advocates for war, and least of all for wars of mere aggrandizement: but, in spite of Cobden, Bright, and the Peace

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Society, in spite of the dreams of well-meaning honest enthusiasts, or the hazy aspirations of self-deifying sceptical demagogues, we cannot perceive that our Old World is inclined as yet to belie its character. It seems very consistent in its ways; has not even arrived at a transition-state with respect to its pugnacious propensities; and seems obstinately bent on proving that, neither for an Autocrat of all the Russias on the one hand, nor for a Cobden on the other (though each in his line doubtless a respectable practitioner), is it reserved to put sound hearts into the millions, principle and wisdom into rulers, or to make peace and good will paramount on earth. Take it as you please—like the fact, or dislike the fact—hate or honour the red coat—it does not much matter: for there stands the dread inevitable before you—war, frequent war; not to be denied, but (be it for weal or woe) necessarily to be encountered. It is therefore a matter of superlative interest to a State, and particularly to such a state as England, to guage the qualifications of her officers; to scrutinize the indications in their writings of a knowledge of their peculiar science; and, from their works, to estimate their comprehensiveness of view, and general ability. We read therefore a work written by a British officer with these important questions always present to the mind:—How rank our officers in the scale of professional depth of intelligence—of sound clear apprehension of the higher principles of the art? What is the promise of genius and ability for the vague future, when the Sword may be again in conflict with half-disciplined millions, or engaged in the more formidable contest between nations representing, on the one side free, and on the other autocratic, institutions? In that impending struggle, however much against our will, we may, before long, be forced to take a part.

With these questionings in view, what would be the impression, left upon the mind of a military reader by Mr. Thackwell's work? We do not hesitate to say that they would be most unfavourable. The reader, if wholly dependent for his knowledge of the war on the work before us, would rise from its perusal with the conviction that the author was ignorant of the very elements of his profession; that he so stated facts as to make it appear that the commanders in the army were, alike with himself, grossly and inexcusably deficient, not only in the higher, but also in the elementary, principles of the art of war; that the military mind of our leaders was so effete, so wanting in conscious ability and ordinary self-reliance, that, whether a simple shift of camp or an action were in contemplation, a council of war was equally indispensable; that, if there is a low range of qualifications and ability among the commanders, there is a low tone of military

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feeling prevalent among the subordinate officers of the army, to whom the comforts of cantonment life are more agreeable than the endurances of camp and conflict; in short, that not only is the average of ability and soldierly qualities extremely mediocre amonst the regiments, but still more lamentably deficient among the staff, the commanders.

These would be very unsatisfactory and very painful conclusions to arrive at, from the perusal of a work by a British officer, who evidently had no intention of leading his readers to form such conclusions. We acquit him of any such design; his range of intellect is limited; filial reverence and partiality are excusable; and, though Saidúlapúr, is brought up *ad nauseam*, we can pardon it on the score of a son's natural tendency to do all he can for his father's fame. Mr. Thackwell belongs also, or lately did belong, to Her Majesty's army; and no man, who has the honour of bearing one of Her Majesty's commissions, would willingly tarnish the general character for ability and efficiency (let alone the honour) of her service. Willingly, therefore, we acquit Mr. Thackwell of purposing to bring his reader to such conclusions as those, the mere outline of which has been sketched; but, that they inevitably follow from the premises he has put forth to the public, no reasonable man can deny.

We think we can modify the asperity of such painful conclusions, by dealing with the main features of the war somewhat differently from our author: and, as we rely on the accuracy of our information, we shall both praise and blame with the freedom of truth, confident that time will prove our main positions and statements correct, and that our views and opinions, consonant with those of men of the greatest military skill and experience, will be found faithful and just.

In the chapter, designated "Origin of the second Sikh War," the reader will in vain search for the real causes of that general rising of the Sikh nation in arms against us. They did so with one mind and one heart; and the murder of the two officers, sent to Múltán, was merely the premature exhibition of the feelings, which pervaded the masses of the ill-subdued followers of Govind. Múlráj knew it well; felt himself injured and insulted; and either could not, or would not controul the minds of his soldiery;—but the great error lay at our own doors. Abbott, who had early given intimation that the spirit of revolt was on the wing and machinations were a-foot, was treated as a timid alarmist. Vigilance was fast asleep, where it should have been widest awake; and no greater proof of this fact, and of the real state of feeling in the Punjab, could have been evinced than by sending Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán on such

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a mission as theirs, at such a time, and in such a manner. It was virtually courting an outbreak—but courting it at the wrong season, and when we were wholly unprepared for it, and not at all desiring it.

There seems in the undisturbed course of a civilian to high place and power, something which wholly unfits him for the exercise of the latter in positions of difficulty. His rise is too smooth and sedentary; so very regulation pace and fashion; he has so little knowledge or experience of the working passions of the masses; is so entirely ignorant of the fiery temper of armed, half-subdued, haughty enemies; is so easily bamboozled by a few interested smooth tongues and faces; brings himself with so much difficulty to conceive that the ordinary placid routine of *kacheri*, or board, or court, or secretariat, is something entirely different from sounding, mastering, controlling, and guiding turbulent levies, and masses infected with the ardour of military progress and conquest; he is so incapable of justly appreciating what military force can, or cannot do—when it should be employed, and how, and under whom—that nothing but the predominant influence of the class-interest in the Government of India would perpetuate an error, which never fails to produce bitter and costly fruit. Any one, but a civilian, would have foreseen that to send Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán at the time, and in the manner selected, was almost sure to produce an ebullition of feeling, and of violence. It was very like rolling a live shell, with a lit fusée into a well-stored magazine, the chances in both cases being very decidedly in favour of an explosion. We despair of seeing it otherwise, when the training of the class is considered, whenever civilians are, in times of difficulty, in the position in which Sir F. Currie was placed; and therefore we do not blame him, so much as those who should have known better, but who having purposes to serve by the presence in England, for a short time, of Sir H. Lawrence, took him away—willing to go because in weak health—exactly at the most critical period for the Punjáb.

When Sir Henry Hardinge, anxious to shew in how quiet and satisfactory a condition he quitted everything in India, largely reduced the army in order to cook a balance-sheet and found thereon a self-gratulatory farewell finance minute, it was clearly foretold by those, who had been long intimately conversant with the course of events on the N. W. Frontier, that he was preparing trouble for his successor, and that the parting economy of Lord Hardinge would entail, in the course of a short time, enormous outlay on the part of Lord Dalhousie. Those

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persons, who said this, would probably confess, however, that they did not anticipate such an immediate fulfilment of their prognostications: and we doubt whether Lord Hardinge's Punjáb policy, had he not taken Sir Henry Lawrence home with him, would so rapidly and thoroughly have gone to pieces. It must have failed, because it was unsound, hastily patched up to cover our own exhaustion, and thoroughly well fathomed by the Sikh leaders and people; but the evil day would, in all probability, have been staved off by Sir Henry Lawrence, and Lord Hardinge would have been saved the mortification of seeing his Punjáb policy crumble into the dust before he had drawn the first instalment of his pensions. Hardinge took out his linch-pin, where the coach had a steep descent before it: and the result was a hopeless break-down.

These were some of our errors, but there were others of internal administration of a different and deeper character, of which, for the present, we shall merely indicate the existence. Towards the close of 1848, many a village seemed to possess no other inhabitants than old decrepid men, women, and young children. Our two years' sway had not proved popular: and the able bodied flocked to the rebel standards of the chiefs, even from districts under our immediate supervision and controul, without the slightest check or hindrance.

We have said that Lord Hardinge, with the short-sighted vision of an ordinary mind bent on its own self-gratulation, sowed the soil with difficulties, which his successor was to reap. Tares proverbially shoot up a-pace; and, under the genial warmth of an Indian sun, rather faster perhaps than elsewhere; so, whilst Hardinge's partisans were giving out in England that matters had been left in India in such an admirable state of quiescent security, that there would not be another shot fired for the next ten years, Sir F. Currie, though wedded to the Hardinge Punjáb policy, was forced to feel uncomfortably doubtful of the fact, and Lord Dalhousie gradually opened his eyes to the real state of affairs in the "Land of the Five Rivers," and began to entertain the unwelcome suspicion and forecast of the work his predecessor had left for him to execute.

Events followed fast after the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Múltán: but, though we may admire the vigour and the activity of Edwardes, and the courage and skill with which he brought his undisciplined troops into operation, we cannot award, either to Sir F. Currie, his superior, or to himself, the meed of a clear apprehension of the state of affairs, or of sound military judgment as to the measures suited to the circumstances, under which we then were placed in the Punjáb.

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For Edwardes there is the excuse, that a clever man will dare much in order to acquire a reputation; but Sir F. Currie, instead of being stimulated by his energetic subordinate, should have controuled him. It was an unpardonable error, known as Múltán was, to endeavour to besiege it with the insufficient means, with which this operation was first undertaken. Sir F. Currie must, or ought to, have been well aware, both of the strength of ordnance which Sir Charles Napier, when in Scinde, had always kept in readiness for Múltán at Bukkur, and also of the strength of the force, which that General deemed essential for operations against the place. Sir C. Napier had never shown any disposition to be over-nice in counting heads on a battle-field; a few men went very far with him; and therefore it not only smacked of great presumption, but really was such, when, regardless of his opinions and example, Sir F. Currie undertook the siege with far inferior means. Prudence dictated a more cautious course.

We know that it was the fashion to make light of the place—this, too, not alone in India, but in England also; and at the India House, where they ought to have been well informed, the Chairman was known to have said "that the Court of Directors 'had a plan of it; that it was nothing of a place—only about '500 yards in length by 300 yards in breadth; and that it could 'be easily shelled into a surrender;" in fact they had been informed, on (what they considered) good authority, that it was a contemptible place; and the expectation was, that the next news would probably be that it had fallen. At the Board of Controul much the same impressions of course existed: and, when the President was frankly told that the place might not prove so contemptible, and that a check at Múltán might kindle the flame of revolt from the foot of the Himalayah to Scinde, or even to the sea, the idea was evidently as distasteful, as it was new.

We cannot but blame Lord Dalhousie for his dilatoriness in arriving at the conviction that war, and war on a great scale, was unavoidable. A Governor-General, not very long arrived in Calcutta, new to the country, and ignorant of the men of the services holding at the time the posts of highest importance, cannot, however, for a while, do otherwise, than see through the spectacles of those, who are at the foci of political interest. If, as in the present instance, the Governor-General be not only labouring under the disadvantage of being new to his office, but also under that of thorough inexperience and ignorance of war questions, there are still broader grounds for excusing a somewhat tardy apprehension of the real condition of affairs, and an otherwise culpable neglect of all those timely preparations, which

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war necessitates. We cannot judge harshly of a nobleman thus circumstanced—all whose previous training, whether as a lawyer or as a politician, had been foreign to military affairs of moment and magnitude. The hope of staving off war and its charges, and of maintaining peace and its economy, was a laudable sentiment: and, therefore, though, when taking a retrospective glance at our own conduct of affairs, we cannot but note, as a very grievous error, the utter want of due preparation for military operations in November 1848—we do so, respecting the motives, and appreciating the individual circumstances, under which that error was perpetrated. Once convinced, however tardily, that war was unavoidable, the Governor-General did all in his power to correct his own grave error. In selecting, for the head of that most important department—the Commissariat—Captain Ramsay, "an officer related by family ties to the Marquis of 'Dalhousie," as Mr. Thackwell takes care to inform us, he selected the most active and the most intelligent officer available for such a crisis, and the man that any other Governor-General would at that time in all probability have chosen. Captain Ramsay proved the propriety of the selection, by at once pointing out that the absence of all preparation could only be remedied by the most prompt and the most energetic exertions on the part of his department, unhampered by the usual routine of the Military Board; and that he must have authority to act as the emergency required, if the army was to be fed, and the campaign to succeed. In no other way, at the eleventh hour, could the Governor-General have rectified his own neglect; and perhaps few other men, except Captain James Ramsay, would have succeeded, even so empowered and supported, in enabling the army to move when it did. He had great opposition to contend with, particularly from Colonel Benson, who was wedded to the Military Board system and who could not perceive the utter inapplicability of that system to the urgent difficulties of the moment. Benson, a narrow-minded economist, would have perilled success rather than break a Board rule, and would have preferred having two distinct classes of commissariat agents and contractors to plunder the State, rather than one. Ramsay was of a different opinion. However much he might value Board rules, and theories of check and counter-check, he knew the futility of a system so complicated, that the accounts of a campaign are, under its operation, seldom wound up under from five to ten years. He preferred success to failure, though failure were accompanied with the intense satisfaction of having been in strict conformity to a Military Board rule; and he probably thought that one Jotí Persád, of ability and in-

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fluence equal to the occasion, was better than half-a-dozen Jotí Persads of less ability and influence, but to a certainty adepts at plundering the Government, both individually and collectively. He preferred too, a system under which accounts could be balanced and cleared in the course of a year, instead of requiring ten. Any one conversant with Indian campaigns will side with Captain James Ramsay's views; and any one cognizant of the condition in which the army took the field on this occasion, will not doubt that Benson would have ruined the campaign. Lord Dalhousie is more indebted to his cousin for the ultimate success of the war, than perhaps to any other single individual, political or military, be their rank or position what it may. Impartial in blame, and plain too as we are in censure, it is gratifying to have to note a mind of vigour, rising to the emergency of a critical juncture, and bringing to a successful issue the great problem of suddenly provisioning a large army, for the existence of which no sort of preparation had been made, and which had subsequently to be fed and maintained, man and beast, under circumstances of very peculiar difficulty. This officer, Captain James Ramsay, single-handed, retrieved one of the greatest and most fundamental errors, that could have been committed at the commencement of the war.

Not to fatigue the reader, we shall not revert in detail to the first unsuccessful operations against Múltán; and we will concede it to be doubtful, whether an officer of even greater ability than General Whish would not have refrained, circumstanced as Whish was, from pursuing and attacking Shere Sing. Whish had been thrust into a false position; and, perhaps, after the example of defection which he had experienced, his wisest course was to remain in observation at Múltán, until re-inforced, and until some general plan of operations, on a scale corresponding with the emergency, was arranged. Shere Sing had first out-witted him; then, baffling his vigilance, had out-manœuvred him and gained a start, which the long legs and light camp equipage of his Sikhs were not likely to lose, when followed by our more embarrassed columns. Shere Sing would have taken care not to fight, unless he pleased; and Whish would have gained nothing by moving, unless he completely crushed Shere Sing. This was a feat he was not equal to: and any check, or combat with indecisive results, was at that period very much to be deprecated. Shere Sing's object was clearly to place himself in communication with Chutter Sing, and to throw his army into a position, where he could assemble the Sikh levies, feed them, and have a strong country in which to operate.

When Lord Gough crossed the Sutlej in November 1848, he

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found his enemy, Shere Sing, well placed. The Sikh masses were on the right bank of the Chenáb, at Ramnuggur, drawing their supplies from the productive districts on the upper part of the Chenáb. In this position, Shere Sing could intercept Gúlab Sing's movements, if favourable to the British, or a junction was secured, if Gúlab Sing was amicably disposed to the cause of revolt. Communications with Chutter Sing were covered, and reinforcements of men and guns could be looked for from Peshawur (as soon as Attock should have fallen) for the final struggle. The Chenáb—the strong ground on the left bank of the Jhelum—the Jhelum itself—the remarkably difficult country between the Jhelum and the Indus—the Indus itself—all presented a succession of formidable positions, on some one of which Shere Sing might hope to fight a successful action. To the southward, Múltán held out. Múlráj, now hopeless of mercy, was sure to make a stout defence, and for a time occupy a large portion of our troops and guns. Shere Sing's object therefore ought to have been (and it apparently was so) to bring the British general to action, before Múltán should have fallen;—but, to bring him to action in a position unfavourable to the higher discipline and equipments of his force, and favourable to the larger numbers of the Sikh levies and their eagerness for conflict.

Lord Gough's course and position was marked out by the manifest objects of the enemy. To remain in observation on the left bank of the Chenáb; to regard himself as covering the siege of Múltán, and holding Shere Sing in check until that place fell; to give time for the completion of commissariat arrangements; to cover Lahore, and cut off all supplies from the districts on the left bank of the Chenáb reaching the enemy; jealously to watch the movements of the latter, whether to the northward or southward;—these should have been Lord Gough's objects. So long as Shere Sing was disposed to have remained on the right bank of the Chenáb, Gough should have left him undisturbed, and patiently have awaited the fall of Múltán.

To see, to keep clearly in view, and never to swerve from, the objects of primary importance, and to subordinate to these the minor ones, is the stamp of military ability: to confound, to transpose, to invert things of major and minor moment, and to substitute the one for the other, are sure signs of military mediocrity. Tried by this standard, the operations at the passage of the Chenáb must be pronounced a normal strategetical blunder. They were untimely, objectless, fruitless, and a departure without cause from the principles which should

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have guided the general. As usual in military matters, where error is loss, the blunder cost him in the end very dear.

For the fall of Cureton and Havelock in the opening brush at Ramnuggur, and for the loss of a gun, Lord Gough is not to blame. Shere Sing was *à cheval* on the Chenáb, a position which could not be conceded to him; and it was incumbent on Gough to make him withdraw to the right bank of the river: for, so long as he held the left bank, he could continue to draw supplies of men and provision from the districts, of the aid of which Gough was bound to deprive the Sikh general. The mode of executing this might, perhaps, have been more judicious; but even on this point it is difficult to pronounce; for the ardour of Havelock completely disarranged everything, and Cureton, riding forward to bridle the fiery courage of the leader of the 14th, fell, struck mortally. Down went on that occasion the best cavalry officer we have seen in India; almost the only one, who in command showed the nice judgment needed by the cavalry leader. Cautious, but quick and resolute, yet never carried away by his own, or any one else's impetuosity, he knew the arm thoroughly, and wielded it like a master; knew when to charge, and when to draw bridle, and never made a mistake, as to what horsemen could or could not do. He was a great loss to the army; for a good cavalry commander is rarely to be met.

We will not attempt to analyze the unfortunate proceedings at Ramnuggur, further than to say that they betrayed great preliminary ignorance on our part of the ground, and equal want of quickness in the faculty of *reading* ground (if such an expression be pardonable)—of taking in its features at a glance. The British horse-artillery were permitted to dip into the low sandy channels of a bight of the river swept from the opposite bank by the enemy's heavy artillery. This was not exactly the proper position for light field batteries—whoever sent them there; particularly, as the enemy was steadily withdrawing to the right bank, as fast as they could, when they saw our intention of denying them the left bank. Ouvry's unopposed advance, in order to cover the retirement of our embarrassed gun, proves this. Again, when once it was found that the gun could not be moved, further exposure of the cavalry was useless, and Havelock's request to be allowed to charge should have been met with a peremptory refusal. If the gun were to be saved in such a position, it must be so by infantry; and Campbell, moving up his men and placing them under cover, of which the ground afforded plenty, might have prevented the gun being taken up by the enemy, and at night

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might himself have saved and withdrawn the piece. Our light field batteries and cavalry might have been withdrawn, so as to be out of range and reach of the enemy's heavy guns, yet near enough to Campbell, to support him if the Sikhs tried to drive him from his cover; which, however, they would probably not have attempted, because, in so doing, they must have placed themselves where the re-advance of our light pieces would have caused frightful havoc amongst them, whilst their heavy guns on the right bank must have remained in great measure silent.

Passing over the throwing up of batteries at ludicrously safe distances from the enemy, and other minor vagaries which followed this unlucky affair, and taking no note of Mr. Thackwell's cogitations on his friends, White, Scott, and Campbell, who must feel, we should opine, almost as much obliged to him as Sir J. Thackwell for the mode in which they are obtruded on the reader; and, for the present, abstaining from remark on the crude lucubrations of our author upon the native cavalry, regular and irregular, we must observe upon one very curious and very characteristic circumstance.

For two years the Punjáb had been in our hands. The Sikhs had been but partially overcome; and, though conquerors, we could not be said to feel very secure in our new position; and, if the provisions of the treaty were anything more than verbiage, it was clearly to be anticipated that there would be more trouble at a future day. Now any other nation so circumstanced, but ourselves, would have made use of those two years in causing a military survey of the country to be made. Especial attention would have been had to the great military lines of operation: these are always pretty nearly constants, being marked out by the natural features of the country, its practicable roads, fords, &c., and by the position of the capital, chief towns, rich districts and the like. A few officers of engineers, with suitable establishments, labouring under one head and on a well-arranged system, would have completed such a work in the course of the first year—certainly before the campaign of 1848-49 broke out: yet, so simple a precaution, if thought of at all, was so very inadequately provided for, that, when war broke out, our ignorance of the ground, on which the army was to operate, was as profound, as if Lord Gough and his troops had been suddenly thrown ashore in Kamschatka. A thorough knowledge of the ground, on which he was to act, would have been worth five thousand men to Gough, and possibly to Whish; but, though we could pay our civil or military resident highly, and expend large sums in

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pensions, and other questionable ways, the obvious and the useful were neglected. A few hundred soldiers' lives, more or less, do not signify, nor the credit of our arms, nor the fame of our generals, nor the shake and perhaps peril of an empire; but the economy, which, whilst it stints the necessary and the useful, squanders on the day-hero and the questionable, is dubbed politic and wise, and lauded accordingly. Every main line of military operations—what may be termed the constants for Punjáb strategetical and tactical operations—should have been laid before Lord Gough, when the war again broke out: and it was very inexcusable, grossly culpable neglect, an unpardonable error, that such was not the case.

It has been observed, that, until the fall of Múltán, Lord Gough, unless the enemy committed some very glaring blunder, should have remained on the left bank of the Chenáb. He should have kept the Sikh general carefully under view, and watched his every movement: but he had nothing to gain by crossing the river to attack the Sikhs, for he could not hope to strike a decisive blow. The enemy was not likely to stand, and await imperturbably an attack on his left flank by a detachment; he would rather move up to meet an attack, taking care to have his line of retreat on the Jhelum clear; or to retire, when threatened. If, however, Gough had succeeded in driving him to the southward, he thrust him on the besieging force, which at that time had other irons in the fire, and did not at all desiderate the sudden appearance of Shere Sing in that quarter. Managed as the passage of the Chenáb was, the Sikhs were not likely to be ignorant of what was in contemplation. Quietly to withdraw his artillery of position, from in front of Lord Gough's distant batteries, was no difficult matter. To fall suddenly on Thackwell, and destroy the detachment before it could receive effectual support, was Shere Sing's proper course. If he succeeded, he could resume, if he pleased, his original position; if he did not succeed, his retreat on the Jhelum was safe, and his artillery of position already on its march, secure from capture; for Thackwell was evidently too weak to be able to maintain a hot pursuit in face of the Sikh masses.

Thackwell made a mistake in not occupying the line of the three villages of Tarwalur, Ruttai and Ramú-khail; and in not throwing out his advanced guards and pickets well in front of them. The villages were unoccupied, when he came up to his ground; and there was nothing to prevent his taking up the position, which presented many advantages. As it was, when attacked, he was forced to withdraw his line, and thus gave confidence to the enemy, who took immediate advantage of his neg-

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ligence, and themselves occupied the somewhat formidable position he had refused. The British artillery, opposed to about equal numbers, completely at last silenced their opponents; and the confusion, consequent upon this, was so apparent, that the line of infantry, Native and European, were alike anxious to be led against the enemy. It was the moment for an advance: and just at that critical time came Gough's order, leaving Thackwell free to act as his judgment might dictate. A portion of the enemy's guns were in his grasp, and victory sure:—but, instead of action, came a consultation, and the moment was gone for ever. Pennycuick was right in his soldierly advice; it was not a question of attacking Shere Sing's original position and entrenchments, as our author would suggest. Shere Sing had moved out far from his original position and entrenchments, had attacked, and had failed. The question was, whether to make his failure a defeat, accompanied by loss and dishonour, or to permit him to withdraw scatheless, and at leisure, without the loss of a gun. No one in his senses could have argued on the possibility of the original Sikh entrenchments being close in front of the villages: and that to push back the disheartened Sikhs, would be tantamount to knocking the heads of the British troops against such formidable field-works. Every one knew, that if they existed at all, they were miles off. The very doubt on such a head would betray a neglect of ordinary precaution, which is not Thackwell's character. That general deserves no such imputations, for he is wary, cautious, indefatigable in endeavouring to know his ground: and our author has himself told us that "patrols and scouts *were* sent 'towards the Sikh entrenchments, the exact distance of which 'from us was not known." He had evidently no suspicion whatever, that such questions, as the following, might be founded on his representations; Why did not the general explore his front and flanks by the irregular or regular cavalry? What sort of alertness is that, which subjects a force to a cannonade, before any thing is known of the approach of an enemy? How long has it been usual in the Indian army, that round shot lobbing into a line of troops shall be the first intelligencers that the foe is at hand? Yet such must be asked, if we are to be guided by our author's work. We take the liberty to correct him. Sir J. Thackwell is a cautious, active, vigilant officer. Age has tamed the fire of youth, but it has given him much experience, and a calmness free from all precipitation on the battle-field. He may have thought himself not strong enough to press on, and turn the failure of the enemy into a decisive defeat; but he did so on no misconception, either of his own whereabouts, or of

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that of the Sikh entrenchments. Good soldiers make mistakes occasionally: and in our opinion, Thackwell made two at Saidúlapúr. He, first, with his mind full of the expected junction with Godby, and his attention too exclusively rivetted on that, neglected to occupy the line of villages; and secondly, when the enemy failed and offered him victory, he stood fast, asked counsel, and let slip the moment. Notwithstanding this over-caution at a critical instant, Sir J. Thackwell is far from being the indifferent officer, which the author's work would, in spite of its stilted endeavours to exalt the object of its peculiar laud, force upon the reader's conviction. All in all, he is a prudent, active, safe commander; and enjoyed the confidence of officers serving under him, whose abilities and experience were of a far higher order than Mr. Thackwell's.

If Thackwell was over-cautious at Saidúlapúr, Gough was still more slow at Ramnuggur. After harassing the European troops with the elevation of batteries at all imaginable distances, the gratifying result was, that shot and shell were flung away into an enemy's empty camp: and the fact, that there were no Sikhs to pound, being at last accidentally discovered, the main army crossed in support of Thackwell, about the time that the heads of Shere Sing's columns were composedly taking up new positions on the left bank of the Jhelum. Our false move had gained us nothing, except the power of somewhat circumscribing the sphere from whence the enemy, in Gough's front, could draw his supplies—an advantage counter-balanced by the greater difficulties cast on our own over-tasked commissariat department, which was straining every nerve to remedy the normal error of the campaign. The movement indeed elicited a despatch, but one that it would have been far better to have been left unwritten. A few more of the same stamp would make the despatches of British officers as proverbial as bulletins.

The ill-advised passage of the Chenáb, the failure to strike a blow, and the withdrawal of the enemy, intact, to positions of his own choosing, were doubtless sufficiently irritating. The press sang all sorts of notes. After having once made the forward movement, and effected the passage of a formidable river in order to close with the enemy, there was an indignity to the character of our arms, in suddenly and respectfully drawing up, when the patrols and pickets of the two armies were touching each other. Had there been a strong reserve on the river, no siege of Múltán in course of procedure, and field magazines complete, the passage of the Chenáb should only have been the prelude to a rapid advance on the enemy. There was,

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however, no available reserve; insecurity was felt at Lahore; Wheler was busy in the Jullunder: the siege of Múltán was far from concluded; commissariat arrangements were anything but complete; and, instead of an unfaltering march on the foe, hesitation and a protracted halt ensued, as if the British army dreaded to measure its strength with the Sikh force. It was felt by every one to be a position derogatory to the *prestige* of the British arms, and calculated to produce an unfavourable impression. Gough would, if left to himself, have moved against the enemy, and have tried the fate of battle: but the Governor-General, on whom the responsibility of Empire pressed, felt and wrote in a different tone. The result was half measures; and, next to error, half measures are the worst in military matters. A protracted halt at and about Heylah, from the 5th December to the 12th January, during which time Attock fell, and Chutter Sing was set free to act in support of Shere Sing, served to excite the impatience of the public, and to produce uneasy feelings that something should be done in almost every one. Strong minds, that can withstand the surprise and abuse of the press, the fretting of the public, and the impatient importunities of an eager army, are rare, whether in Governors-General or Commanders-in-chief. After a month both gave way; and that which, if done at all, should have been done at first, when Attock had not fallen and when we had first crossed the river and closed with the enemy, was now done, on the ground that Attock had fallen, and that Shere Sing might therefore, unless beaten beforehand, receive reinforcements from the side of Peshawur. This, so far as it went, was true: but if the argument had weight against the reasons opposed to crossing the Chenáb, it would have been wiser to allow that weight to operate before Attock had fallen, and whilst Shere Sing, with troops somewhat disheartened by failure against Thackwell, was retiring before the British army. To delay a month, and then fight, was to allow time for the enemy to regain confidence, and to have the assurance that, as Attock had fallen, reinforcements and a strong reserve were either at hand, or available to fall back upon.

At Dingí the plan of battle was determined upon, and explained to the divisional commanders and brigadiers. A tolerably good general idea of the position occupied by the enemy had been obtained, and the dispositions for the attack framed accordingly. The left of the Sikhs rested on the heights of Russúl, whilst the line, passing by Futteh Shah da Chuck, was said to have its right resting on Múng. It was known that the belt of jungle was thick along the front of this position; but a frequented road from Dingí led straight upon Russúl, and the

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country was known to be more open and free from jungle along this line of road: and, as the enemy's line must be very extended and weak to cover the ground from Russúl, to Múng, and the great mass of the troops must necessarily be in the plain, it was clear that to march in the direction of Russúl, to force the enemy's left, and to double up his line, and thrust it back in the direction of Futteh Shah da Chuck and Múng, would be to cut him off from the fords of the Jhelum, his line of communications with Chutter Sing, and the strong country between the Jhelum and Attock; from Golab Sing's doubtful troops; from the aid in men and provision he still continued to draw from the Sikh districts at the upper parts of the Chenáb and Jhelum; and to push him south, hemmed in between rivers, he would not have the means of crossing, and upon a country, which could not afford him the means of supporting his force. This was well and soundly reasoned; and, to fulfil these objects, Gough's army marched on the memorable morning of the 13th January, the heavy guns on the main road, Gilbert on their right, Campbell on their left, and cavalry and light artillery on both flanks.

The attack, as planned, would have done credit to a Frederic, and was in his style. Virtually it would have been an *echelon* attack—Gilbert's division forcing the left of the Sikhs, whilst the heavy and field artillery, massed together, would almost have swept in enfilade along the curvilinear position of the centre and right of the Sikhs. As soon as Gilbert's division had shaken and broken in upon the left of the enemy, Campbell, who up to that moment would have been in reserve with the massed artillery, was, with Gilbert and the cavalry, to throw themselves fairly perpendicularly across the left centre of the opposing force, and to hurl it to the southward.

Advancing with these intentions, Gough halted his army at Chota Umrao, whilst he sent on the engineers to reconnoitre a-head. They advanced along the Russúl road, until, finding pickets of Sikh horse close in front and on their flank, they returned, and reported the road, as far as they had been able to proceed, clear and practicable for the guns, and the enemy marching down in columns of infantry from the heights of Russúl, apparently to take up their position in the plain. This was about ten o'clock in the morning, or a little after; and Gough, on hearing their report, continued his march along the road to Russúl. After proceeding some little distance beyond the village of Chota Umrao, some deserters from the Sikh camp came to Major Mackeson, informing him that the enemy was in some strength, on the left of Gough's advancing column, in the neighbourhood of the villages of Mozawala and Chillianwala.

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On hearing this, Gough inclined to his left, and quitted the Russúl road. He at the same time sent on the engineers to reconnoitre, directing them to explore in the direction of Chillianwala: meanwhile the army continued slowly inclining to the left of its original direction. The engineers returned, and reported small detachments of horse in advance of the mound of Chillianwala on the plain, and infantry on the mound. Upon this, Gough turned to his left, and marched his whole force straight on Chillianwala, leaving the Russúl road in rear of, and parallel to, his line when it was deployed. It would have been a very hazardous movement in front of an intelligent general, with troops quick and ready at manœuvre; for Gough offered his right to an enemy in position within four thousand yards of him, with a thickish belt of jungle, which would have covered their approach, until they debouched and formed across his exposed flank. However, the outpost of Sikhs retired precipitately from the mound, and fell back upon its main line by the Múng road.

From the top of the mound of Chillianwala the enemy's position was distinctly visible; and the army had to bring up its left in order again to front the Sikh line. Whilst this change of front was being effected, and the British force was assuming its new alignment, their commander was examining the position of the enemy from the tops of the houses of the village of Chillianwala. The Sikhs were drawn out in battle array. Their right centre, which was immediately in front of Chillianwala, was about two miles distant from the village, but less from the British line, which was deploying about five hundred yards in front. The Sikh left trended off to rest on the heights of Russúl. There was a great interval between the left of the right wing of the Sikhs under Utar Sing, and the right of their centre under Shere Sing. It was evident that the enemy occupied a position too extended for his numbers; and, jealous of his extreme right, it was refused, and inclined back towards Múng. The British line did little more than oppose a front to Shere Sing's centre, the right of which it a little overlapped, so that Campbell's left brigade was opposite to part of the gap we have noted in the enemy's order of array—a circumstance to be kept in mind, as it told in the course of the battle. Front for front therefore the British army faced only the Sikh centre: their right and left, extending far beyond the left and right of Gough's force, were free to take advantage of the disposition, if events favoured.

Being about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the troops having been under arms since day-break, Gough determined to

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defer the action, if possible, until the morrow, for he had but a remnant of the short day then before him. The quarter-master-general was accordingly busy making the usual arrangements, whilst the troops, drawn up in front of the village, were awaiting the issue, whether that were a quiet encampment for the night, or immediate battle. Shere Sing had no wish to give them a night's rest, or to afford time for dispositions, which should favour an attack otherwise than on his front: so, perceiving that Gough shewed no intention of attacking, he sought, knowing the impetuosity of the British general, to bring on the action, and with this view, he advanced a few guns, and opened fire at a distance, which rendered it very innocuous and in no wise compromised his pieces.

The enemy's fire determined Gough to attack: the heavy guns were ordered to respond, and having got into position, opened fire, at a distance of between 1,500 or 1,700 yards from the enemy. They had however to judge their distance by timing the seconds between the flash and the report of the enemy's guns, and could see nothing amid the thick jungle in which they were placed. They were not left long to play single at their blind, but, as it chanced, effective game; for Gough, feeling that daylight was precious, very soon ordered the British line to advance. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon, or a little after. Steadily, and as well as the jungle admitted of its doing, that line advanced at the bidding of its chief, whilst the enemy, relieved from the fire of the heavy guns, opened all his artillery on the approaching infantry. The Commander-in-chief, who had at first given out that his staff would always find him near the heavy guns, advanced considerably in front of them, and was in rear of the centre and right of Gilbert's division, being desirous of seeing more than he could have done from the position of the heavy guns.

For a while nothing but the roar of the enemy's artillery was to be heard; but after a time, the sharp rattle of the musquetry spoke that the conflict had begun in earnest, and that the infantry was closing on the enemy's position. Campbell's right brigade (that of Pennycuick) came full in front of Shere Sing's right centre, which was strengthened by many guns. Though the fire of these had been rapid, the brigade had suffered comparatively little, until, breaking out of the jungle, it came to a more open space in front of the guns. Now the storm of shot and grape thickened, and the gallant brigade charged: but the jungle had necessarily disordered the formations, and, having to charge over about three hundred yards, the men were winded before reaching the guns, and broke from the charging pace at the moment

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that it was most important to have continued it. The brigade fell unavoidably into some confusion; and a close well-delivered fire of musquetry from the Sikh infantry, followed by a rush of their horse, completed the disorder and the defeat of the British brigade, which, already broken, now fled, pursued with great havoc by the Sikh sabres, almost up to the original position of the British line at the commencement of the action.

Campbell happened to be with Hoggan's brigade. He had overlapped the right of Shere Sing's centre, and, marching on the gap, we have already noted, he did not meet at first with the opposition, which fell to the lot of Pennycuick's brigade. When the latter was attacking the batteries, Campbell, finding he had outflanked the enemy, brought up his left so as to place his brigade on the right flank of Shere Sing's formation; and, as the pursuit of Pennycuick's brigade somewhat weakened Shere Sing's right by withdrawing horse from it and throwing the infantry forward, Campbell soon found himself in sharp conflict with the infantry and guns of the enemy, whom he now took in flank and at disadvantage. They were, however, quick to front him, and shewed no purpose of being easily beat. Meanwhile, although the cavalry under Thackwell and the guns under Brind kept in check to some extent the troops with Utar Sing, that is to say, checked their advance to their own front, they could not prevent corps of his infantry marching to their own left, and falling on the rear and left flank of Campbell. The latter therefore soon found himself engaged in front, flank, and rear, and his brigade's safety was to fight desperately. All honour to H. M.'s 61st for a most indomitable courage, during that mortal struggle, and on that strange day of stern vicissitudes!

Whilst matters stood thus on the British left, the right under Gilbert had as hard a contest to maintain; for he too not only had to storm batteries supported by infantry in his front, but, owing to the break in the British line by the retreat of Pennycuick's brigade, and the repulse of the cavalry brigade with a loss of guns, both his left and right flanks were at the mercy of the enemy, whilst the repulse of the gallant 56th N. I., after severe loss, disconnected his two brigades, and made a gap in the centre of his division. He, too, like Campbell, found himself enveloped, forced to fight to front, rear, and flanks—a strange mixed combat, for even his two brigades were separated, and strove singly but bravely! Dawes's battery of guns did good service on that day: for, in spite of jungle and every difficulty, whenever in a moment of peril he was most needed, Dawes was sure to be at hand; his fire boxed the compass before even-

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ing, and Gilbert felt and handsomely acknowledged the merit and the valour of Dawes and his gunners.

The day wore a frowning gloom at one period for Gough. The grey-headed commander sat calmly watching the issue of events, when a staff officer rode up, and reported Pennycuick's brigade to have been beaten back to the village with heavy loss, and half the 24th down. Shortly after Gough himself had to witness the cavalry on his right retiring in confusion, and passing to the rear of where he stood: whilst the Sikh horsemen, only checked by Grant's being at last able, disembarrassed of the flying cavalry, to bring round a gun and fire a shot, were within a few hundred yards of the Commander-in-chief. This was followed by a cloud of dispersed infantry retiring in confusion and dismay from the front, and giving the impression that Gilbert's division too was shaken. It seemed as if left, front, and right were yielding, and the day promised to be a black one in our annals. At length, however, the well-known cheer of the British infantry sounded exultingly over the roar of the artillery and the rattle of the musquetry: and gratefully it must have struck upon the old leader's ear, for he knew that it was the shout of victory, and that that stout infantry, which has so often upheld its country's fame and honour in moments of appalling difficulty, had again proved true to itself, and would come forth with untarnished lustre out of the sanguinary struggle which was raging around.

Penny's reserve brigade had been brought up on the repulse of Pennycuick's: but brigades were by that time disconnected, fighting as each best could; and, by accident, he joined Gilbert's right brigade, and wisely stuck to it.

The enemy's artillery now fired more slackly and fitfully; the musquetry rang sharp and fast; and it seemed as if the brigades, unable to see or support each other, communicated by hearty cheers that each made good its ground.

Meanwhile, after Grant with a few rounds had driven back the small band of triumphant Sikh horse, the cavalry had reformed; and we feel convinced, that, had Lord Gough ridden up at this moment to H. M. 14th Dragoons, spoken a few words to the corps, and bid them retrieve the lost guns and strike for the bright fame of their Peninsular honour, they would have swept on like a whirlwind, and dashed upon the retiring confused masses of the enemy, as heedless of numbers as Unett's squadron of the 3rd had done on Utar Sing's compact unshaken troops. It would have saved many a bitter pang, many a reproach, and silenced for ever the mention of the unhappy

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and unaccountable retreat, which gave our guns and gunners to the enemy. It would too have prevented the withdrawal of the infantry from the ground so hardly won; and all the guns taken from the Sikhs, and all the wounded, of whom we had many, would have been saved. Guns and cavalry were left, where they had reformed, as if useless; whereas the horsemen, having come to their senses from the strange momentary panic into which they had been surprised, were themselves eager to wipe out the remembrance of the event, and were headed by officers, that would have led them chivalrously. Grant's brigade of guns, though overwhelmed and forced back by the sweep of the retreating cavalry, had never partaken of the panic. Stern, calm, and as ready for battle as before a shot had been fired, he would have rendered invaluable service at the close of the action, when Shere Sing's forces, driven from their ground, were retiring to the heights of Russúl—guns, horse, and foot, in a confused and crowded mass. Grant's brigade of artillery and the cavalry were however left to their own moody thoughts and inglorious inaction; whilst Gough rode forward to the infantry, which was close in front of him.

How much a mere handful of men could effect had been shown by Lane, who, on the extreme right, even after the retreat of the brigade of cavalry, had isolated his position, kept in check large masses of the enemy's horse, and by his firmness prevented the Sikhs from taking advantage of the repulse of the main body of our cavalry on the right. More important service was never done to an army than by Lane's four squadrons and guns. But for their conduct, there is no calculating what the issue of the day might have been, had the masses of horse and foot on the enemy's left borne down upon our right and rear, both vitally exposed when the cavalry brigade gave ground. A few steady horsemen and guns may be said to have remedied this otherwise fatal event: yet, such is the discrimination of despatches, that this admirable service, so firmly, so judiciously, so timely performed, met with no mention, and no thanks! For once we concur in Mr. Thackwell's remarks.

Sir J. Thackwell and his guns and cavalry on the left had also done important service. He held in check Utar Sing's force, and prevented its bearing down upon our left and rear, when Pennycuick's brigade was beaten. It was impossible for him to prevent Utar Sing from pouring some of his battalions upon Campbell's rear and flank; for this could be done without Thackwell being either aware of, or able from his position and the nature of his force to prevent, the movement; but he, like Lane, did very great service on that memorable day, by main-

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taining an imposing front, working Brind's guns to advantage, and shewing by the gallant Unett's daring charge, that Utar Sing's advance from his ground, without the support of his batteries of position, would meet with no respect from those ready swordsmen, and that, once in motion, the Sikh chief might look for rough handling from the 3rd Dragoons and their native comrades. Thackwell acted wisely, cautiously, and firmly.

It cannot be denied that the effect produced by the great loss sustained, the defeat of one brigade of infantry, the panic of the cavalry on the right, and the disgrace of losing guns, was to damp the confidence of the leader, and of some of his divisional commanders, and that it shook too, when the amount of loss was known, the confidence of the troops; nor was this feeling counterbalanced by our having driven the enemy from his position, taken or spiked many of his guns, and remained masters of the field. Yet in our opinion the latter consideration ought to have prevailed: and it was an error to withdraw the infantry from the ground they had very nobly won, leaving the wounded to their fate, and the guns taken to be recovered by the enemy. Night had come on; and the Sikhs, who had retired in confusion, were not likely to disturb the bivouac with more than a distant random shot. It was perfectly practicable to have bivouacked the infantry, supported by guns, on the ground until daylight, by which time the wounded, and the captured guns might have been secured, the weary troops refreshed, and, when day dawned, such dispositions made as circumstances warranted. Nothing was in fact gained by massing our force confusedly on Chillianwala; and much was lost. Whether or not, when day broke, Gough would have been able to advance and drive the Sikhs from their position, may fairly be open to question. We incline to the opinion that the infantry, confident in their own unaided success, and scarce aware of the conduct of the cavalry, of the loss of guns, and of the havoc in Pennycuick's brigade, would have moved readily to the storm of the position. Our heavy artillery was intact, perfectly prepared for action; our field artillery had suffered, and much ammunition had to be replaced; but before morning all would have been ready; and, by massing heavy and light guns, the infantry would have advanced under cover of such a storm of shot and shell, that the shaken Sikh masses, already broken in confidence, would have yielded the position, and in all probability would have fled, even before the infantry moved up to close and storm. If, in order to avoid the shot and shell, the masses had taken to the ravines and broken ground, the havoc would scarce have been less from the lobbing shot and bursting shell; and, when the infantry closed, the exe-

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cution would have been awful: for the field artillery could have moved up to the last in support of the infantry, and the heaped and confused masses of the enemy would have been devoted to a terrible carnage. The action would have been over, before the rain of the 14th began.

This, however, was not the feeling, or the opinion, of the influential commanders: and, it must be freely allowed, that they had strong arguments to advance in favour of the course that was pursued. We had suffered very severely. The enemy's position, upon which they had retired, was close, formidable to appearance, and unknown. Our troops were in want of food, rest, and ammunition. To bivouac on the ground might deprive the infantry of water, and food, and refreshment, as they might be harassed all night by the enemy's cannonade. There was a good deal of disorder; night was closing; the army should be concentrated, and, before more was attempted, the organization of the force restored. We will not pretend to say which was the correct view: but our own opinion is, that, having expected an easy victory, the sanguinary vicissitudes of the day had, although crowned with ultimate success, too much depressed some of the commanders, and that the Lion Counsel was on this occasion the best. Far be it from us however to pronounce authoritatively: for failure might have had most serious consequences. The issue could alone have proved the wisdom or the reverse of the more daring course. We know, however, that the Sikh infantry were desponding and dispirited at the close of the hard-fought day of the 13th January.

Lord Gough's original project of attack was admirable; and he committed a great error in departing from it. Had he advanced along the Rússul road without turning off to his left, he would have gained, at a distance of about two thousand yards from the foot of the hills, open ground, free from heavy jungle; and he would have found nothing in the form of natural obstacles to impede the execution of his contemplated mode of attack. He would, speaking with submission to the inscrutable will of an over-ruling Providence, have won a great and effectual victory, instead of a resultless action. Had he held on from Chota Umrao, he would have been in position about eleven o'clock, and before noon the battle would have begun.

When, however, he departed from his original intention, struck off to his left, and took up a position in front of Chillianwala, the gap between the enemy's right wing under Utar Sing, and Shere Sing's centre, merited attention, and a rapid attack, which should have placed the leading division, where Campbell broke in upon the enemy's line, would have given victory speedily, but

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not of so decisive a character as would have ensued from the original project; moreover, it would have required nice management and a departure from our every-day fashion of attack.

As it was, our attack, fair upon the centre of the enemy, gave the latter the full advantage of his very extended position; and, as his centre was covered by thickish bushy jungle, which dislocated all formations in line, and inevitably produced confusion in the brigades, besides offering difficulties to the movements of the guns and to bringing them into action, the troops were sure to come into contact with the Sikh infantry and guns in the most unfavourable condition, their organization disturbed, and nothing but their own courage and the example of their officers to compensate for every conceivable disadvantage. Verily, British infantry, British officers, and British bayonets are of such a character, so entirely to be relied upon, that it is no wonder that British Generals will dare and risk much. The dauntless valour of the infantry rectifies the errors of its commanders, and carries them through, what would otherwise be inevitable defeat and disgrace. But it redeems their errors with its blood: and seldom has there been more devotion, but, alas! more carnage, than on the hard-fought field of Chillianwala, a field fairly won, though bravely contested by the Sikhs of all arms. Indecisive in its strategetical and political effects, it was not the less valour's victory: and, notwithstanding the remarks alleged to have lately been made by the Governor-General on that battle field and the memorial to its slain, it is a victory, which, whether inscribed or not on the colours of the infantry, the latter may, and will be prouder of, than of most which decorate its standards: for it justly deems that struggle of two hours' deadly strife, to have ended, we repeat, in valour's victory.

We have dealt chiefly with the main features of the campaign, and have felt neither taste nor inclination for the exposure of the numerous errors and misrepresentations, which disfigure Mr. Thackwell's work. Our object has been rather to convey a clear general conception of events and their causes, a bird's eye view of affairs, than to descend into details. We cannot, however, altogether omit noticing his groundless animadversions; and perhaps the simplest and most effective method of doing so is to reprint the gentlemanly, thoroughly truthful, and soldierly letter of Lieutenant Colonel Bradford, and that signed by the officers of the 45th Bengal native infantry. This is the more necessary, as our English readers, not aware of the extreme inaccuracy, the blunders, and prejudices of Mr. Thackwell, might, if we omitted all notice of his ignorance, mis-statement of facts, and crude

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presumption, have a very inadequate idea of the thorough untrustworthiness of the work:—

THE BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH.

To the Editor of the United Service Magazine.

MR EDITOR,—My attention has been called to an article in your Magazine, headed "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

The statement there given, as far as it relates to the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry, not only implies a want of exertion on my part in restoring order, after the command of the Brigade devolved upon me, but the writer of it endeavours to fix upon me the odium of having given an order, which, it is said, occasioned the disaster, which afterwards occurred.

As I am not disposed to remain silent under such a charge, I have to observe in reply, that the circumstance of Brigadier Pope's having been wounded and disabled was only made known to me after the brigade had finally rallied; I was therefore not in a position to give any orders to the 14th Dragoons during the retreat.

I solemnly declare that I gave no order to retire, either to my own, or to any other regiment; nor did I hear such an order given; and the first intimation I had of the retreat of the brigade was, having it pointed out to me by one of my own officers, when we were in the midst of, and actually engaged with, the advanced party of the Ghorechurras; after which my whole energies and attention were necessarily directed to my own regiment, then giving way.

My trumpeter sounded the halt and rally repeatedly, which had the effect of halting the three troops of my own regiment engaged,* and other squadrons; but, our flank being by this time turned by the Ghorechurras, the retreat was continued, in spite of my exertions to stop it.

I may here mention, that although there was great confusion, yet the retreat of that part of the line, which I witnessed, was not such a "*sauve qui-peut*" affair, as the writer in your Magazine describes it: for example, my regiment did not ride through the ranks of the Artillery, or penetrate to the Field Hospital. On the contrary, we rallied in the right rear of the guns, and many officers exerted themselves to stop the retreat; and the following fact will in some measure prove my view of the case:—A standard of another regiment, which had fallen, its bearer having been killed in the advance, was brought in during the retreat by a havildar of my regiment, and restored to its own, after we rallied.

There are several mis-statements, which I desire to notice, apparently introduced for the purpose of throwing blame on the Native Cavalry and its officers.

1*st*. The writer of this article has revived the story of a young officer of Light Cavalry having given the order, "threes about," as emanating from authority.

The story was sifted at the time, and acknowledged by the officer, who brought it forward, to be without foundation; and this the writer could hardly have been ignorant of.

2*nd*. The account implies, that no squadron of direction was ordered, whereas Brigadier Pope named a squadron of the 14th Dragoons, and was seen in front of them, and he ordered the "trot" and "gallop."

3*rd*. It is well known that the Brigadier led the 14th Dragoons, and was wounded in front of them; therefore, the supposition, which the writer in-

* The other three troops were detached with Colonel Lane's guns.

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dulges in, that the 6th Light Cavalry were the first to turn, because their colonel was wounded, goes for nothing.

4th. The other regiment could not have forced the 14th on the guns, as stated in the article in question, as we inclined to the left during the retreat, until after the temporary rally, when the troops inclined to the right, on the flank being turned. But I do not think this could have affected the Dragoons, who by this time must have passed through the guns, having had a shorter distance to move.

If, as the writer states, "the turning of two troops" in a jungle is sufficient reason to convert an attack into a retreat (a fact which, though asserted by him, I apprehend most cavalry officers would be loth to admit), then why is it necessary for the honour of the 14th Dragoons, that a young officer of Light Cavalry should be conjured up to give the word "threes about?" Why is the camp whisper—satisfactorily disposed of at the time—to be re-echoed? and finally, why are faults to be imputed to me, of which I am wholly ignorant, and now hear of for the first time? Why are orders and actions insinuated and inferred, which never took place?

I can well imagine, Sir, that the fame and renown of a distinguished Cavalry regiment are dear to their country: but does that justify the sacrifice of the reputation of others?

I think that even the most ardent admirers and anxious apologists of the regiment alluded to, would, on knowing the fallacy of the arguments, shrink from the disingenuousness of their advocate.

I hope, Sir, it may prove that the writer of this article has done as little *harm* to those, whom he involves in his false accusations and insinuations, as (in the minds of all men at all acquainted with the unhappy circumstances) he has done good to the cause of the regiment, of which he is, I conceive, the self-appointed advocate.

Requesting you will give this letter an early insertion in your Magazine,

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. F. BRADFORD,
Lieut-Col. Commdg. 1st Lt. Cav.

Cawnpur, November 21st, 1850.

To the Editor of the United Service Magazine.

MR. EDITOR,—We beg to send you an article, which we request you will publish in a conspicuous part of the *United Service Magazine*. It is only fair that you should do so, after the article on the Battle of Chillianwallah, which appeared in your number for September, 1850.

We have ever been averse to moot this subject, being unwilling that the slightest slur should be cast on a regiment of Europeans, our own countrymen. We believe them to have been over-eager—that they knew not the description of enemy they were about to meet,—that, in short, they despised the Sikhs. We believe them to be brave and good soldiers, and that it was only the severe and galling fire of the enemy, coupled with that of the enemy's resolution and other causes mentioned in our article, which caused them to retreat. But, in thus stating our opinion, we would observe that it has become too much the custom to decry the native troops—that corps of Europeans should not be praised at the expence of their native comrades,—that credit should be given where credit is due—and that we feel as deeply a stigma, thrown on our Native regiments, as on any in H. M. service under the same circumstances.

Nearly two years have elapsed since the action of Chillianwallah; and during that time we have remained silent, trusting that the affair would

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have been dropped. Now, however, when it is again stirred up, we consider it but due to ourselves, and but justice to our sepoys, to contradict the report of H. M. 24th outrunning the 45th. If need were, we are certain that Lord Gough would defend us. He knows the regiment well, and ever spoke highly of it. We give you full permission to publish this letter, and would account for the few signatures, by stating that, of those who were present at Chillianwallah:—

Colonel Williams is absent with another Corps.
Captain Oakes is absent on political employ.
Captain Haldane is dead.
Lieutenant Oakes is dead.
Lieutenant Palmer is dead.
Ensign Evans is dead.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Your obedient Servants,

A. S. O. Donaldson, *Lieut and Adjt.*
J. Fraser, *Lieut. 45th N. I.*
G. C. Bloomfield, *Lieut. 45th N. I.*
Milford Tozer, *Lieut.*
A. E. Osborne, *Lieut.*
W. L. Trotter, *Lieut.*

I have perused the accompanying account of the action of Chillianwallah and believe it to be essentially correct.

C. O. Hamilton, *Capt. on Furlough, Med. Certificate.*

Feb. 11th, 1851.

In the September Number of this Magazine there appeared an article, headed, "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

We also have a few words to say on that murderous, but not doubtful field. We say, not doubtful, though many think otherwise; for many there are, who cannot distinguish between victory and the fruits of victory, between a conquered or only a beaten foe. The Sikhs at Chillianwallah were beaten, but not conquered. They were driven from the field of battle, only to take post in a more formidable position amidst the ravines of Múng Russúl.

Had two hours more daylight remained to Lord Gough on that eventful eve, he would have gained a far greater, though not so bloodless a, victory as Gúzerat: for the Sikhs, cooped up in a bend of the Jhelum, and minus the whole of their artillery, which must have been left on the field, or at the foot of the heights, would have been almost annihilated. They never could have made head again: the campaign would have ended there. Yet, though fortune thus interfered, she did not abandon her ancient favourite. Twelve Sikh guns were left upon the field of battle—a larger trophy than remained to Napoleon after the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen.

Our present object, however, is not to defend Lord Gough, who needs no defence, but to do justice to those who cannot defend themselves; and if, in the execution of our task, we should seem to speak questionably of the conduct of some, we beg to assure our readers we do so with the utmost regret. We do so from necessity, because we cannot, without dereliction of duty, allow those to be misrepresented, over whose welfare destiny has made us the guardians. We therefore now give a correct version of the advance and repulse of Pennycuick's Brigade at the battle of

Chillianwallah.

This brigade consisted of H. M. 24th, the 25th N. I., and the 45th N. I. The 24th numbered about 1,100 bayonets, whilst the 45th N. I. had 600. We have more especially to do with this native regiment, to prove that the

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reflection cast on it in the September number of this Magazine, is unjust; and to assure our readers that the 45th N. I. was never outrun by the Europeans, when approaching the enemy, but supported them throughout well and firmly.

We commenced our march in contiguous columns, the 25th N. I. on the right, the 45th N. I. on the left, and H. M. 24th in the centre. The halt was sounded about ten o'clock, and each man opened three bundles of cartridges. After about an hour's halt, the brigade deployed into line and loaded. The battery attached to the brigade went to the front, and about 12 o' clock came on the enemy's advanced post.

It was a mound intrenched, and distant about 200 yards from the village of Chillianwallah. (On this very spot sleep most of our comrades who fell in the action).

The force of the enemy at this post was said to amount to five hundred men and two guns.

The first shot was fired by the enemy; and our battery replied warmly, whilst the infantry continued advancing until close in rear of our guns. A loud cheer was then given; and the enemy fled, carrying off, however, their guns and losing but few men.

We proceeded a short distance beyond this post, and halted a little to the left of the village of Chillianwallah. The reason of the halt was not *known*, but it was supposed that it was Lord Gough's wish to ascertain the true position of the enemy. In about half an hour, the quarter-masters of corps, with camp colours, were sent for; and it was understood we should encamp for that day. Our fatigues were, however, not yet over. The booming of artillery was soon heard. Our politicals (heavy guns) answered in style, and we could soon perceive an extensive line of the enemy's batteries by the smoke from their guns. All was now excitement!

After this cannonading had lasted for some time, our brigade was ordered to advance in line. It was soon anything but a line—marching through thick jungle, having to clear our way through enclosures of thorns, how could it be otherwise than broken? We could see no distance to our front. Our light companies were ordered to skirmish, but not to fire. They might have knocked over many of the enemy, who were among the bushes and up in trees taking our distance, had it not been for this extraordinary order. We received this order from Brigadier Pennycuick, with the remark that everything was to be done with the bayonet.

When about 300 yards from the enemy's guns, either with or without orders, our whole brigade gave a cheer, and set off at the double. Many round shot had passed over us, and our battery had not opened its fire. At length it did so, but only fired about four shots when the line went a-head, the 45th N. I. not losing a foot of ground, but keeping up all the way with the Europeans. As we advanced, the fire became hotter and hotter. The enemy commenced in earnest, finding we did not return a shot. Suddenly, a battery, until then silent, opened unexpectedly on our left, and sent such a raking fire amongst us, that the ground was actually ploughed up. A battery, it is said, opened also on the right flank; almost every man killed and wounded in the 45th N. I. was hit from the left.

A short distance from the enemy's guns, the brigade was quite *blown*. It halted, the 45th N. I. shoulder to shoulder with H. M. 24th. Then was shown the absurdity of charging so soon! The order not to fire should have been countermanded. The enemy's guns to the front were *placed* on a mound, and opened upon us with grape and round shot. Their infantry, also, poured in a galling fire: and still we were silent. A good rattling file fire would have soon driven the gunners from their

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guns. It was very lucky for us that their infantry fired so badly, and that, from our proximity, we were within the range of their guns. It was soon perceived that the enemy wished to concentrate their fire on the Europeans, easily known and quite conspicuous in their Albert hats. From the very long line of H. M. 24th, it is impossible for us to say what took place on their right; but we can safely affirm that the Grenadier Company of the 45th N. I. was close to, and in line with, the left company of H. M. 24th—not a single pace in the rear. Three of the enemy's guns were quite distinct in front of the 45th. Even the gunners were clearly seen; and the 45th were as near to those guns, as the Europeans. The enemy never left those guns, whilst the brigade was near them. We repeat, that what H. M. 24th did on their right, we know nothing about; but this we know, that their left wing was never one foot in advance of the 45th N. I., when approaching the enemy.

We were under the impression that the Europeans were merely taking breath, and would immediately make the final spring; but the enemy's fire had been very severe, and, as it was concentrated on the Europeans, they could not stand it, but broke and made off for the village. The 45th N. I. followed their example. It was not to be expected that natives would stand, when Europeans would not. We rallied at the village of Chillianwallah.

After a time we were marched down to support Gilbert's division, which had got into the enemy's trenches. After getting near, we were ordered to concentrate on some batteries; here we remained until nearly dark. The dead of H. M. 29th, and of the 56th N. I., were lying thick, as were also numbers of Sikhs, most of them grey-headed men, and two of them Sirdars. Three shots then passed over us, when the order was given to retire, and, after great difficulty in finding our way, we reached again the village of Chillianwallah. A very slight drizzling rain fell during the night.

The tremendous fire of the enemy—the difficulty of advancing through thick jungle—the broken line—the absurdly long charge—the sudden fire of flanking batteries, and the order not to fire, were the true reasons of the repulse, and would have been quite sufficient, without laying it to the shuffling along of the natives in English leather shoes. The 45th N. I. did not wear English leather shoes. The forced marches, preceding the battle of Múdkí, will show how well the natives pushed along, and that they are not easily out-marched by Europeans.

It is well known that the 45th, in the retreat, kept very well together; hence the small number of casualties in that corps, and the fact of their three colours coming safely out of action. The retreat of the 45th was also covered by a body of their own men, amounting to 52 files, with four officers. Three times were parties of the enemy beaten off by this body, who expended sixty rounds of ammunition per man. That their fire was effective, may be inferred from the fact, that only three men of the 45th were cut up, whilst the great loss of H. M. 24th was sustained in the retreat. This small party afterwards joined Brigadier Hoggan, and charged with his brigade. From the thick jungle, the other sepoys saw not, or did not notice this small force, or all would have rallied at once.

Before closing this article, we would remark that, in a work on the last campaign by Dr. McGregor, the blame is thrown on the native regiments. We were silent on its appearance, because we considered it beneath our notice, being written by one who was not present, and whose work is certainly nothing extraordinary; but, when an aspersion is thrown on the native corps in such a wide-spread periodical as the *United Service Magazine*, we are bound to point out the inaccuracy.

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The European cavalry, engaged on the right, needed no such self-appointed indiscreet advocate as Mr. Thackwell; and its noble-minded officers will feel no gratitude for a defence, based upon an endeavour, by the resuscitation of a ridiculous rumour exploded at the time, and by the sacrifice of the reputation of gallant officers, to cast blame where none was merited, and thus to apologize for one of those events, with which the military history of cavalry actions is replete. We could quote many instances, had we the space or leisure; but it would be useless; for some future day will show that the old spirit, which hurled two weak unsupported squadrons under Hervey upon the French at the Douro, and brought them back again through the masses that had closed in upon their rear after their daring charge, is not extinct, but fresh and living in the hearts and arms of men and officers. There will be many chivalrous Herveys to lead; and their followers will wipe out all memory of the strange retreat at Chillianwala by noble bearing and gallant deeds. We mistake, if their next field day, should the opportunity be afforded, be not memorable in the annals of cavalry success.

We have stated plainly that, in our opinion, Lord Gough was in error in departing from his original project of attack. It will have been easily inferred, that, on the field of Chillianwala, though the aged commander merits all praise for his courage and firmness, there was little skill; and that, after his infantry had won him a victory, it is questionable, whether he was right in yielding his own more noble opinion to the sentiments of his subordinate commanders, and whether the throwing up half the symbols of his victory was well considered or wise. We shall now have the more pleasant task of showing that, subsequently to the battle, which had cost him so much in men and officers, and had added so little to his reputation, the course, which he pursued, was on the whole the proper one to be adopted, and, as is well known, that it was finally crowned by entire success on the well-planned and well fought field of Gúzerat.

The day after the action of Chillianwala, an error was committed in taking up too confined a position for the British camp. Instead of the compact parallelogram between Chillianwala and Mozawala, the left of the army should have rested on Chillianwala, the right on Kokri and its mound, and a strong outpost should have occupied the hill top opposite to Kokri. During the few first days, before the Sikhs had regained confidence, there was nothing to have prevented this position being assumed; and, had it been taken up, the enemy would have been so entirely under observation from the out-post, so closely cabined

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in his narrow inconvenient position, that in all probability he would have withdrawn at night, and retired upon the fords of the Jhelum. The British army, on the more extended, but strong position, which we have mentioned, would have covered the roads to Dingí, and to Ramnuggur by Heylah; would have commanded the main road by the Khúri pass between the Jhelum and Guzerat; would have threatened the Sikh line of retreat and operations between the Jhelum and Russúl; and would thus have rendered the Sikh position on the heights of Russúl untenable, without striking a blow or firing a shot to drive them from it. To coop up the British camp into a narrow parallelogram, answered no purpose except to facilitate the enemy's foraging parties, to restore his confidence, to enable him to harass and insult the contracted position of the British General, and to maintain the command of the lines of road at the moment so important to the Sikh General. Nor was this error obviated by the ultimate erection of a redoubt on the Kokri mound. This somewhat restrained the insolence of the Sikh patrols and foragers, and made them respect the right of Gough's position: but it secured none of the strategetical objects, which would have been attained, had the British General taken up at first the position, which was obviously on every account the most desirable, and which it would have been practicable to assume without a chance of active opposition. Much was thrown away of the fruits of victory by withdrawing from the ground, which the infantry had so nobly won at Chillianwala: but, when this had been done, much more was lost and thrown away, in our opinion, by failing to perceive the strategetical importance of the position, which, for several days after the battle, the enemy left optional to Lord Gough to take up or not as he pleased. Afterwards, when our own timidity had restored their confidence, the Sikhs saw the momentous importance of what we had neglected. They became exceeding jealous of the hill top looking down on Kokri; and any demonstration on the part of Gough to seize it would have been stoutly contested.

Múltán fell on the 22nd; and, on the 26th, a salute was fired from the heavy guns posted on the mound of Chillianwala. The Sikhs turned out from their entrenchments to gaze upon the British camp, and wonder what the salute portended.

The Sikh army had been busily employed ever since the 13th, in strengthening their Russúl position. When joined by Chutter Sing's reinforcements and the Affghans, their position became too confined for their numbers, and the difficulty of provisioning their forces was enhanced. It now became the

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object of the Sikh commander, if possible, to bring the British army to action, before the reinforcements, set free by the fall of Múltán, could join.

On the other hand Lord Gough was in a position, which, though inconveniently contracted, covered and gave him the command of the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur, and thus secured his communications with the expected reinforcements. He watched the hard-won field of battle and the open ground between Múng and the belt of jungle, so that the enemy could not well hazard a flank movement in face of the British force in that direction. He commanded the road from Russúl on Dingí, and observed that by Khúri on the same place. His proper course, therefore, was evidently not to gratify the Sikh general by an untimely, indecisive action, but to hold Shere Sing in check, until Whish's reinforcements came within the sphere of tactical operations. Matters stood thus, when the Sikhs, being in force at Púran as well as at Russúl, thrust their horse through the Khúri pass, and, on the 3rd February, thus threatened the road by Khúri on Dingí.

Mackeson, who had the credit of having wrung from the Governor-General a qualified assent to an attack on the Sikh position, and of having thus brought on the fight of Chillianwala, now advocated such a change of position, as would bring the army opposite the Khúri pass, and prevent the Sikhs from issuing forth upon the plain and marching on Gúzerat. In order to avoid an action, the change of position was to be effected by two or three pivotings on the flank of the camp.

The objections to this were obvious. Such a change of position, if effected as suggested, laid open the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur; threw up the battle field, and allowed the enemy to resume his original positions—an event which was sure to produce a bad moral effect—besides leaving it optional with the enemy to threaten or act upon our direct line of communication with Ramnuggur. Not only would the battle of Chillianwala have palpably been then fought for nothing, but Gough must have fallen back from his new position accross the Khúri road, and might have found himself awkwardly situated by one of the Sikh commander's bold and rapid movements.

Gough was very right in holding on where he stood. Provided he watched the movements of the enemy, there was nothing to be apprehended from his issuing forth upon the plain. On the contrary, the Sikh commander would thus in all probability afford the British General the opportunity of fighting a decisive action. All that it behoved Lord Gough to be careful of was, that, if the enemy issued in force by the Khúri pass and

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threw up the Russúl position, he should not be permitted to march on Gúzerat and across the Chenáb, before the British army could close and prevent the passage of the river. With ordinary vigilance and prudence, Gough's position rendered the unimpeded passage of the Chenáb by the Sikhs almost an impossibility. He was in every respect justified therefore in giving weight to the objections against Mackeson's proposal, and in standing fast.

The enemy finding that the show of their horse through the Khúri pass had produced no effect on the British General, encamped in force, on the 5th, at the mouth of the Khúri pass, and, on the 6th February, pushed on their horse to Dingí; but they held Russúl in undiminished strength. Again Mackeson argued for a pivotting change of camp to Dingí: but this was almost sure to bring on an action necessarily indecisive from the positions and strength of the enemy, whilst it was open to all the serious objections before stated. Lord Gough therefore stood fast.

The enemy, aware that the reinforcements from Múltan must be rapidly approaching, were now anxious to bring Gough to battle; and, on the 11th February, they sought to induce him to quit his camp, and to bring on a general action. Their cavalry in some force advanced to Burra Omra, whilst their infantry guns formed a line in front of Khúri—their right resting on the strong hill ground, which was a prolongation of the Russúl position, their left refused, and the Khúri pass and road in their rear. At Russúl, the Sikh force formed in front of its entrenchments—the infantry and guns half way down the slopes of the range, and a strong advance of horse, foot, and guns fairly in the plain, and within about a mile of our nearest pickets and videttes. The Sikh plan was evidently to draw Gough out of his camp, and to bring on an action in the direction of Khúri—the Russúl force taking the opportunity of falling upon his flank and rear, as soon as he was well compromised. The army was under arms, and a cavalry detachment properly supported was thrown out in the direction of Burra Omra to watch the Sikh horse. The skirmishers of the cavalry were for some time engaged, but nothing further ensued; as the Sikhs, when they found that, if they would bring the British General to action, they must attack him, withdrew to their original positions for the day. During the night, they threw up the Russúl line of entrenchments, retiring that part of their force on Púran, and thus brought both wings of their army upon the same line of road, and in close communication with each other. On the 13th,

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the enemy closed up their columns. At Khúri all was quiet during the day; but at mid-night the army marched: and, on the 14th February, it became known to the British General that the Sikhs had gained a march, and were on the road to Gúzerat.

This movement had been anticipated, and, with a view to the speedy termination of the war, was the most desirable course that Shere Sing could adopt. But, instead of the 14th being lost in indecision and a sort of extemporised council, it should have found Gough prepared to make a corresponding movement, with the view of securing his own objects, and hindering those of the enemy. The troops were ordered to strike camp about 11 A. M., but the march was counter-ordered at one o'clock. Gough, however, sent orders to Whish to push up a detachment of troops to Wuzírabad along the left bank of the Chenáb, so as to check any attempt at the passage of the river. On the 15th the army moved to Lusúrí, a position which secured a junction with Whish's force, and was near enough to the Sikh army to paralyze any attempt on its part to commence the passage of the Chenáb. Whish had judiciously anticipated the orders he received, and had pushed up to the neighbourhood of Wuzírabad a force of foot, horse, and guns under Colonel Byrne. This body prevented Shere Sing's placing himself *à cheval* on the Chenáb; whilst the proximity of the mass of the British army rendered a serious attempt to force a passage too dangerous and problematical an operation to be attempted.

The state of affairs was now delicate; for the 16th, a march had been ordered, and subsequently counter-ordered. Indecision for a time prevailed. Mackeson was for marching to Kúngah, a place within about five miles of the Sikh position: but a junction with Whish's reinforcements had not been actually effected; and it was so evidently the game of the enemy to bring Gough to action before he was reinforced, and the opportunity would have been so favourable after the troops had made a fifteen-mile march, that a battle was sure to follow. To have waited patiently a month and upwards for reinforcements, and then to have suffered himself to be brought to action without them, when a single day would suffice to bring up the advance of Whish's troops, would have been fatal to Gough's reputation as a General: and, if the action under such circumstances had proved indecisive, the wrath of England would justly have overwhelmed him with disgrace. An advance to Saidúlapur was free from the risk of collision with the enemy. At the same time that it must attract his attention, paralyze his movements,

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and force him to prepare for attack, it gave time for the reinforcements to come up, secured everything, and endangered nothing. Gough accordingly decided on the march to Saidúlapúr. On the 17th he made another short march towards the enemy, halting with his right on Golí and his left behind Isharah. He had the satisfaction of being joined by a part of his reinforcements: but Dundas was behind, preferring to march according to his own opinion of what was necessary, rather than attend to Whish's instructions; and therefore, he was written to peremptorily. His delay was injudicious and dreadfully inopportune. On the 18th the army made another short march, and halted its left on Kúngah. On the 19th, the army halted to allow Dundas to join, and Markham to cross the river at Gurré-ka-Putun; and, on the 20th, another short march to Shadíwala, in battle order, brought the two armies face to face, with but a small interval to be traversed, before closing for the contest that was to decide the fate of the Punjáb. The Sikhs had, since the 16th, been kept in continual alarm and in daily apprehension of an attack; and, having chosen their position, had repeatedly been drawn out in battle array, anticipating a more precipitate advance, and to be earlier assailed. But Gough, acting prudently, had determined to risk as little as possible: and knowing, how much depended on the battle about to be delivered being a decisive one, he resolved to fight with well-rested troops and a long day before him.

Considering how long the country had been in our hands; that Gúzerat is a place of great resort; that officers and detachments had repeatedly been there—the ignorance of the ground, under which the Commander-in-Chief laboured, was truly remarkable. It proved how few men traverse a country with a military eye. Upon the little that was ascertained of the Sikh position, Gough formed his plan of attack.

When expecting an attack on the previous day, the Sikhs had drawn out their army, with its right, and right centre covered by the Dwara, a dry, sandy-bedded nullah of some breadth, which, after passing to the west of Gúzerat, took a bend to eastward before striking off south to Haríwala and Shadíwala. The Sikh centre occupied the villages of Kabra; and their left rested on the Katelah. They were supposed to refuse their right, which was thrown back nearly at right angles to their front, following the course of the Dwara, so that their left and centre, covered by the villages, was offered to the British. It was known that the Dwara, which bisected the British line, was no where at the time any real obstacle either to men or guns; though of course it might be very useful to the Sikhs

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in affording their infantry cover. Gough, therefore, determined to attack their left and centre, and to thrust them back upon their right. With this purpose in view, the British army was to advance with the heavy artillery in the centre, Gilbert and Whish's divisions forming the right wing, which, as that expected to bear the brunt of the action, was supported by the greater portion of the field artillery. The left wing, composed of Campbell's division, Dundas's brigade, and a smaller proportion of field artillery, was expected to come into play later than the right wing, and was intended to complete the destruction and dispersion of the enemy's masses, when the Sikh left and centre should have been doubled upon its right. The Dwara, up to the enemy's position, was to be the regulator of the advance of the British line—the right and left wings being ordered, with their respective left and right flanks, to skirt the banks of the nullah, whilst the general alignment and the pace of advance was to be governed by the progress of Shakespear's elephant-drawn eighteen-pounders, a fine mark on that open-plain, and therefore a good "squadron of direction" to the British line of battle.

The morning of the 21st of February was clear and bright; and, as the enemy's masses had very early taken up their positions, there was no dust of moving columns to cloud the purity of the air and sky. The snowy ranges of the Himalayah, forming a truly magnificent back-ground to Gúzerat, and the village-dotted plain, seemed on that beautiful morning to have drawn nearer, as if like a calm spectator, to gaze on the military spectacle. A looker-on might have thought the army drawn out on some gala occasion; for, the baggage being packed in safety at Shadíwala, the force moved free of incumbrance, and the whole had the appearance of a grand review.

In the order we have mentioned, his flanks supported by cavalry and horse artillery, and reserve brigades to each wing of his army, Gough marched at seven in the morning, and advanced until his centre reached Haríwala, a village on the Dwara. His right wing had now in its front, at a distance of upwards of two thousand yards, the Sikh left and centre, and the villages of Kabra, which they held in force. The Sikh artillery opened an innocuous fire; and our heavy artillery, taking up ground, began to respond, whilst the right wing deployed into line. The distance was however too great; and the cannonade, beyond making a noise and burning powder, was ineffective on either side; so that our heavy guns had again to move, and assumed a more advanced, but still too distant, position. The field artillery threw themselves daringly to the front, and

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made their fire tell well upon the enemy's line: but the most forward of our batteries went through a sharp ordeal, the enemy's guns being neither few nor slow to answer our gallant gunners. Meanwhile, the left wing, advancing gradually, so as to keep pace and alignment with the right wing, as the latter moved forward under cover of the artillery, remained in columns at deploying distance, and paid no respect to the ineffective fire of the Sikh artillery in its front. When, however, the columns had passed the villages of Jumna and Júnpúr, which the Sikhs had neglected to occupy, the enemy's shot, from pieces about twelve hundred yards distant, ranged up fair and free; and, threatening mischief, Campbell deployed, and, moving up his line to within about a thousand yards of the Sikh artillery, made his infantry lie down; whilst Mouat's guns, trotting rapidly forward before the Sikh gunners got the range, unlimbered, and, at a distance of about eight hundred yards, opened a very effective fire on the battery opposed to him, and on the Sikh infantry supporting it.

Along the whole British line, except on the extreme left, the British artillery was now pouring shot and shell with rapidity and precision upon the Sikh batteries and masses; and the latter, unable to face the pitiless storm, began to yield ground. The centre and left of the Sikhs withdrew behind the line of the Kabra villages, still however holding these in force, for they afforded good cover; their right, having lined the bend of the Dwara in front of their guns with infantry, covered by the right bank from Mouat's shot, retired a few hundred yards, but in perfect order, and again fronted. In proportion as Mouat's fire told, Campbell pushed forward his guns, and advanced his division, making the line lie down when it halted. At length, the Sikh fire in front being greatly subdued, two of the British guns were enabled to take up a position, such that they could sweep the bend of the Dwara, which they strewed with killed and wounded. This cleared the nullah rapidly of the Sikh infantry: and Campbell, with very trifling loss, by good management of the guns under his command, occupied the position, from which he had forced his opponents to retire, without firing a musket-shot.

Meanwhile, the right wing had had sharp fighting in carrying the villages of Kabra. They were stormed with great gallantry, but with heavy loss to the 2nd European, and to the 31st Native Infantry, and with considerable loss to H. M. 10th, and to the 8th and 52nd Native Infantry. Had Shakespear been permitted to expend a few minutes' attention

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and a few rounds upon Burra Kabra and its supporting batteries, the loss would have been less, or altogether avoided.

When the right wing had carried the Kabra line of villages, and the left wing had forced the Sikhs from the Dwara, the enemy, though he had fallen back, seemed at one time disposed again to advance. However dastardly the conduct of the chief sirdars, the subordinate commanders had stout hearts; and they could be seen actively reforming their infantry lines and encouraging their men. As the organization of their corps was not shaken by what they had suffered, and they were in good order, there was a prospect of sharp fighting in forcing the sullen mass from the strong environs of Gúzerat, even if their commanders failed to induce them to advance. Campbell and Dundas, however, taking up the line of the Dwara, had thrown themselves across the right flank of the Sikhs; whilst Thackwell, who in the early part of the action had punished an insolent demonstration of the Affghan cavalry by the gallant charge of the Scinde horse, and had pushed back the Sikh cavalry by the show of his own, now passing well a-head and to flank of Dundas's extreme left, threatened very dangerously the right and rear of the enemy, and was in a position to interpose his squadrons, and preclude the possibility of retreat by the direct road on the Jhelum,—that by which the Affghan horse had fled precipitately. The right wing, leaving the heavy guns in their last position, had, in the course of its advance, almost necessarily thrown up its touch with the Dwara; and for some time there was a very awkward gap in the centre of Gough's line. The Sikh commanders, opposed to Campbell, were quick to perceive this; and, finding themselves pressed and turned on their right, apparently thought that the gap might afford the chance of recovering the fortune of the day. They accordingly formed a body of infantry and cavalry opposite to and pointing at the gap, and even advanced, as if resolved boldly to break in upon the weakened centre of the British line of battle and disconnect its wings. Two troops of horse artillery were now brought up, and partly occupied the endangered centre; but their shot and shell had been expended, and they had to await the arrival of communication from the rear. The Sikhs, judging from the silence of these batteries that something was wrong, and seeing that the opening was very partially occupied, were evidently serious in their intentions of an advance of horse and foot upon the empty interval and silent batteries, when Campbell, becoming aware of the threatened movement, turned part of his artillery upon the mass. The latter, finding that its

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advance must be performed under a flank fire from these pieces, and that Campbell would be able to throw himself upon them as they advanced, desisted, and, covered by cavalry, commenced an orderly retreat. Indeed it was high time that they should; for our right wing was advancing rapidly, and the Sikh left and centre were retiring fast, in heavy columns covered by cavalry, over the open country, passing to the east of Gúzerat; their right, completely turned by Campbell and Dundas, and driven in upon the camp and centre, was forced to withdraw from the field by the same side of Gúzerat as the other masses; and the whole, being headed off the direct road on the Jhelum by Thackwell's advance with his cavalry, were driven to the northward. By one o'clock in the afternoon, Gough had overthrown the Sikh army, and had crowded it in heavy masses upon a line of retreat, which offered no hope of support, provision, or escape for the disheartened soldiery, if properly followed up. By two o'clock, Gough's infantry was in position to the north of Gúzerat, and the cavalry and horse artillery left to pursue the retreating foe.

Gough, very superior to the Sikhs, not only in weight of metal and in number of guns, but also in the skill of his artillery-men, made great use of this effective and terror-striking arm, and won his crowning victory mainly through its instrumentality. The battle was in fact a combat of artillery. Gough also had the merit on this occasion of not only forming a good plan of attack, but, an unusual circumstance with him, of adhering to it. We have already shown that all his movements prior to the battle were cautious and judicious—and that too, in spite of advice, which at one time nearly prevailed with him, and would, had he followed it, most probably have been the ruin of his reputation as a commander.

On the field, errors of detail were committed, the most important of which was that our artillery, when it first opened its fire, did so at too great a distance, and therefore it was remarkably ineffective as to numbers slain, though completely effective in daunting the courage of the enemy.

Our author is wrong in stating that the chief objects of the enemy at Gúzerat were to turn our right flank and penetrate to the guns. The Sikh cavalry out-numbered and out-flanked our horse at both extremities of the British line; and at both they made a show of turning our flanks and attacking. On the left, Thackwell dealt with this demonstration, as it deserved; he charged with the nearest squadrons (the Scinde horse, supported by the squadrons, and the 9th Lancers), and made the enemy more respectful.

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Lord Gough made a mistake, when he recalled the cavalry, and prevented Thackwell from carrying out his intention of bivouacking on the ground and continuing the pursuit in the morning. The horse artillery, after a night's rest, would have been perfectly able to move in support of the cavalry; and the infantry ought, part by the direct route on the Jhelum, and part in support of the cavalry, to have been under arms and in full march before day-break of the 22nd. Gough was too slow in his proceedings after the victory: but to insinuate that this arose from such motives, as are implied by Mr. Thackwell's work, and that Gough sacrificed the interests of his Government to a personal bias in favour of Gilbert, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of becoming a K. C. B., is equally ridiculous and despicable. Gough had no wish to prolong the war, if he could avoid it: and the escape of the enemy's masses to the right bank of the Jhelum might have prolonged the war for another year. If open to be actuated by petty personal motives, the publicly-discussed and then anticipated appointment of his successor, Sir Charles Napier, under circumstances not complimentary to Gough's renown, was more likely to influence him than mere partiality for Gilbert, and to lead him to strain every nerve, that the campaign might be satisfactorily concluded, before Sir C. Napier could be sent to assume command. Willingly and of purpose, with the puerile object of making Gilbert a K. C. B., to prolong the contest, was to afford Sir C. Napier an opportunity of stepping in, finishing the war, and depriving Gough of much credit. The thought of such a contingency was not likely to be palatable to one so peculiarly jealous of all affecting his military fame, as Gough always showed himself.

Our author says that "Major Mackeson, the Governor-General's agent, controlled the movements of the chief; and it was he, who urged the advance of the British troops into the jungle at Chillian, as may be gleaned from Lord Gough's despatch." We have heard it affirmed on good authority that Mackeson was Lord Gough's own choice, as a political agent. As the agent of the Governor-General, as the person entrusted with the duty of obtaining intelligence without restriction as to expense, and as the person charged with political negociations, Major Mackeson's advice was sure to have weight. But we have shown that, as a military adviser, Mackeson was neither a safe nor a judicious one; and that, if he wrung an unwilling assent from the Governor-General, and induced the Commander-in-chief to fight at Chillianwala, Lord Gough subsequently did not allow himself to be thus controlled, but rejected Mackeson's

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pressing and reiterated suggestions, and followed better counsel. Mackeson, although a most gallant officer, was not qualified for an adviser on military operations, where the difficulties were many, the dangers great, and the position of the General delicate. He was well in place, in a pursuit like Gilbert's. There no nice discrimination between things of major and of minor importance was essential; energy and a firm adherence to instructions were the requisites. Associated with the resolute and active Gilbert, there was no chance of a slack pursuit; and the manner in which it was conducted was highly creditable to both. Gilbert's operations perfected the victory of Gúzerat: but, for that victory Gough was indebted to his neglect of Mackeson's advice—the latter failing to evince comprehensive views of Gough's position. The political shackles, in which our author states the Commander-in-chief to have been entangled, were entirely of Gough's own forging, if they existed: for Mackeson could have no other weight on military questions, except such as Lord Gough chose to concede to his arguments. That these were long-winded and pertinaciously obtruded was well known throughout the camp: but Mr. Thackwell is in error, if he thinks that Lord Gough was otherwise authoritatively controlled than by the Governor-General's views and policy.

When a country like England entrusts its armies, and, with those armies, the military renown of the nation, to a General, the people will never ask whether a Chillianwala was fought by the advice of a Mackeson: but, with great propriety, they hold the leader responsible for the use made of the armed thousands at his disposal. His fame and reputation are bound up with the fate of the troops he commands: his judgment, and his alone, must decide, under God, what that fate shall be: and it is ridiculous to suppose that the sound, practical common sense of the English nation will trouble itself to enquire whether a Mackeson, or even a Dalhousie, wrote this thing, or advised the other. It will always ask, What wrote the General? what measures did he take? and how he did act with reference to the circumstances in which he was placed? A Mackeson may give bad, and a Dalhousie may give ambiguous, advice; but all the world knows that the match cannot be lit, or the sword drawn, without the commander's word; and the British people are not of a character to endure that paltry excuses be palmed off upon them, with the view of shifting responsibility to other shoulders than those, which are bound to bear both the load and the honour. Our commanders should

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know and feel this truth: for most assuredly they will experience, that no excuse is taken for great military errors; and that the allegation of advice, given by high civil or political functionaries, will be met with the smile of contempt. When once the sword is drawn, it is impossible to foresee the bearing of a political question on the condition and circumstances of the army in the field; and no British General should contract his views upon the subject of his own responsibility. He should, whether invested with political powers or not, make himself thoroughly conversant with all that either directly or indirectly can affect the operations entrusted to him; keeping the fact clearly in view, that England ignores any advice, as relieving its naval or military chiefs from their great, but honourable, responsibility.

We think it highly injudicious, except under peculiar circumstances, to separate, when operations on a great scale are undertaken, the political from the military power. When these powers are in distinct hands, their representatives will, inevitably, to the great detriment of the public service, clash. We therefore concur generally in the expediency of investing military commanders in the East, when properly qualified, with political power. We would however stipulate that they be not only able, but conscientious, leaders, morally and mentally fitted for their high trust—men not likely to be swayed by the Siren charms of ribbons, rank, honours, and prize-money. These things are well enough in their proper places; some of them are necessary, and others advisable to prevent greater evils; but, whilst protesting against a system, which may cramp and obstruct our military commanders, and has at times produced evil results and left deep scars upon our renown, we would still more strongly protest against either military or political power being entrusted to leaders of low moral tone and principle—men disqualified, not alone by mediocrity or absence of diplomatic and military talent, but also by a want of those higher qualities, which confer real dignity on the profession of arms. Wherever that terrible necessity, War, calls forth a British army, be it in the East or in the West, let us have men in command, imbued with a keen sense of the not yet exploded truth, that a nation's honour and character are based on the justice and consideration evinced in its bearing to friends and foes; and that conquest and victory, where international laws and rights are trampled upon, disgrace the transgressor, and frequently bring down on the offending nation the just, but terrible, retribution of Providence.

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We had intended not to have dismissed the author of the work before us without a more detailed notice of his many errors, of his ignorance of native troops, and of the crudeness of assertions and opinions, which, apparently taken up at second-hand without a capacity in the recipient for investigation or inquiry, are misapplied strangely; but, in endeavouring to give a general sketch of the broader features of the eventful campaign, we have already out-run our limits. We leave therefore the personal prejudices, and the petty spirit of discontent at the distribution of honours and promotion, without further remark, than that the work derogates, by its tone of captious murmur, from the dignity of the profession, and is calculated to give the impression, that Mr. Thackwell's brethren in arms are inclined, in the service of their country, to think more of purely personal questions and individual distinctions, than of the performance, on high principle, of their duty—to convey the impression of a pervading low tone of thought and feeling amongst the officers of the British army. Mr. Thackwell may not have meant thus to impress his readers: but, notwithstanding much verbiage of the pseudo-Napierian style, stilted talk of glory, gallant Sabreurs, and the like, with very queer enlistment of would-be classical allusions, the effect of the work is incontrovertibly what we have represented: and, as such an impression is erroneous, it should be counteracted. We must therefore observe that, after sedulously decrying Lord Gough to the uttermost, both in his capacity as a commander in the field, and as the appreciator and rewarder of military merit; after taxing him with partiality, and implying questionable, if not dishonourable, motives to the aged chief; after seeking in every way to damage his reputation, and to give currency to opinions most unfavourable to Lord Gough, the endeavour to shelter himself, under cover of such a passage as the following, betrays on the part of the author a spirit, which we regret to find characterising the work of a British officer. We do not give the writer credit for any originality of thought, or for any depth or breadth of view, but we should pronounce him utterly deficient in common sense, were we to assume, that he could for a moment imagine that an author, after disseminating opinions and commenting favourably upon them, can screen himself by so transparent a subterfuge as the disavowal of being himself the originator of the opinions he takes up and puts forth to the world. The futile attempt is an insult to the good sense of his readers; an insult to that ingenuous truthfulness, which should be the aim of all writers

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on historical events; and, for an officer and a gentleman, an unworthy attempt to mask a hostile attack by the endeavour to charge the sentiments and feelings of the author upon an honourable body of men, few of whom, if we mistake them not, would be thus guilty of shrinking from the candid avowal of their opinions, and none of whom would be guilty of charging them on others. The passage, we allude to, is the following:—

"It will be seen that no opinion has been pronounced in 'these pages on the policy pursued by His Excellency in these 'operations; it has been my object merely to place on record 'the plain facts connected with the action, and the different 'opinions current in the camp respecting it. The letters, which 'appeared in the Indian newspapers during the progress of 'the campaign, containing animadversions on Lord Gough, 'were often based on false statements, and dictated by the 'most paltry malice. Men, who had been unsuccessful in their 'applications for staff appointments, vented their spite in ela-'borate articles, casting the most unwarrantable aspersions on 'the character of that illustrious soldier. Thus they were able 'to gratify their vindictive feelings without any fear of detec-'tion; for the papers, to whom their dastardly libels were sent, 'did not previously insist on their authentication.

"The injury, which Lord Gough sustained in this way, has 'been somewhat counter-balanced, however, by the glorious re-'ception, with which he has been honoured in his native land. 'Such a reception was justly due; for England has not sent 'forth a more successful General since the days of Wellington 'and Waterloo."—*P.* 9.

If the writer of this passage was himself (as he was generally reputed to be) a frequent correspondent of the Indian press, upon which he reflects, and also was not distinguished for over-accuracy in his communications, our readers may perhaps feel amused at his effrontery, and will feel inclined to think well of the temper, both of the press, and of those whom he accuses. That ignorant and sometimes desponding letters were written, no one will deny; but that disappointed hopes or vindictive feelings gave rise to these communications is a gross misrepresentation of the men in H. M. and in the E. I. C. army. We could wish that officers, whilst operations are proceeding, would be more guarded in what they write from camp, even when addressing friends and near relatives; for the impressions of the moment, which would often be corrected a few hours after, getting abroad, often do much harm. We how-

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ever acquit this species of indiscretion of any such malevolent motive, as the author would clothe it with. The army considered Lord Gough no great genius of a commander; and certainly none of his campaigns in India warranted a different conclusion. That he was a successful commander was always allowed; but it had been experienced that his success, like that of other British Generals, was rather owing to the dauntless valour of the British infantry, than to any remarkable skill exhibited by Gough on the field. When, therefore, indecisive actions, accompanied by heavy loss, were fought, the opinions of the army naturally broke forth, and found vent through public and private channels. As soon, however, as that army found that its chief could act warily and wisely, and could fight a well-planned battle, it gave him credit for the display, on his last field and crowning victory, of more proficiency and skill, than he had hitherto ever shown: and it hailed with pleasure the triumph of the veteran, and the brilliant close of his military career in India. Personally, Lord Gough, from the urbanity of his manners and his kindness of heart and disposition, was always a favourite with the army: and, when he quitted India, there was but one feeling pervading the men and officers, who had fought for and won the Punjáb—and that feeling was, that, if the Koh-i-Núr were honestly ours, the fittest man to lay it at the feet of Her Majesty was the one, who, after the sanguinary actions of Múdkí, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon, and Chillianwala, finally overthrew the Sikh power on the plain of Gúzerat. The army felt that the jewel, if fairly ours (which many doubted) was only so, as the emblem of sternly-fought and dearly-purchased victories; that the jewel, if any ornament to the British crown, could only be so, as symbolical of the valour of the troops, which added to the empire of India the country of the five rivers.

We must close with a protest, in the name of the known humanity of the men and officers of the British army, against a sentence, which implies the prevalence of conduct, wholly foreign to the feelings and the practice of a beneficent profession, the members of which ever proved themselves alike brave in danger, and merciful and attentive to *all*, who needed their aid. After praising Surgeon Wirgman, of H. M. 14th Dragoons, for having wounded Sikhs conveyed to his hospital and their wants supplied, the author proceeds to remark:—"This conduct should be placed on record, because mercy was 'a rare quality in those times."

We, on the contrary, assert, without fear of contradiction, that no such record was ever needed as an example; that to say

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that such a record was advisable, is an unfounded charge against the medical officers, who were zealous in alleviating the sufferings of war, whether friend or foe came under their hands, and with whom mercy, instead of a rare quality, was the exceptionless rule. The labours of a talented and devoted body of gentlemen ill deserve to be requited by such unmerited reflections; and the praise of Surgeon Wirgman, at the expense of his professional brethren, must be as little gratifying to him, as the author's injudicious advocacy and praise of others of his friends and acquaintances will indubitably prove to them.

War is a terrible, a hateful, necessity. The horror of its atrocities is only qualified by the rays of Christian mercy, which should break forth from Christian warriors. We are happy to know that British officers, at the hazard of their own lives, and in the very heat of conflict, sought to give and to obtain quarter for their infuriated enemies. Two officers were severely wounded by the men, they had saved, or sought to save. More honour-conferring wounds could not have been received. They were wounds taken in behalf of humanity and mercy, and proved that the chivalry of the British officer is of the right stamp. Mercy was no rare quality even amongst the combatants, where Sikhs would receive quarter: but in general they fought desperately and unyieldingly, and, as they had never given, seemed never to expect, quarter on a battle-field.

Not ourselves having the honour to belong to the faculty, we may be permitted, without a suspicion of favour or prejudice, flatly to disavow and contradict the allegation, that there was a want of mercy or attention to the wounded of the enemy. The medical officers were indefatigable; and their exertions were an honour to themselves and to their nation. Their conduct was throughout a noble tribute of respect to that Christian faith, which teaches and enforces sympathy, with an attention to the miseries of fellow-men—and, that whether the sufferer be friend or foe.

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ART. II.—*General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 1st May, 1848, to 1st October, 1849. Calcutta.* 1850.

THIS is a thick octavo volume, containing no fewer than 769 pages, of which thirty are occupied with the "Report of the Council of Education," 342 with "Special Reports of the Presidency Institutions," and of the "Mofussil Colleges and Schools;" and 397 with "Appendixes" of various sorts. We might have liked the Report all the better had its bulk borne a somewhat less ratio to the amount of information that it contains, and had that information been arranged in a somewhat more methodical manner, so as to present us with a comprehensive view of the actual advancement, during the period to which the Report relates, of the work entrusted to the guardianship of the Council of Education. But, however less bland critics might condemn the Report on these grounds, we do not insist upon any right to find fault with it. We are glad that it contains *so much*, and that it is *so well* arranged. To the man who is about to engage in sartorial work, it is something, and no small thing either, to know that an instrument suited to his purpose lurks somewhere within the compass of a stack of hay; and it is far wiser policy for him to gird himself for the search, than to sigh over imaginations of the sharp and glittering ranks arranged with more than military precision in some tidy "housewife" which is not within his reach. And we doubt not that that "coming man," the future historian of India, when he wishes, as wish he doubtless will, to enquire into the state of education at the middle of the nineteenth century, will be thankful to the Council of Education for such information as they supply him withal; however his gratitude may be leavened with regret, that they have not had more information to give (which, indeed, is no fault of theirs) and that they have diffused the little information that they do give over so large a surface of paper—the which, if he be at all like-minded with us, he will be disposed to impute to them as a fault.

After all, the education of the people of India is a subject so vast and so momentous, that even little things, which bear upon it, acquire an increase of importance from their relation to it; and no one, who rightly appreciates the magnitude of the subject, will begrudge the labour necessary in order to the ascertainment, from the series of documents to which that before us belongs, of the gradual progress of that portion of the great work

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which is under the patronage of the Government, and which is by the Government superintended through the agency of its Council of Education.

We are persuaded that this work has made as much progress as could have been reasonably expected. To say nothing at present of the schools and institutions independent of Government support, we gather from the Reports of the different institutions under the direction of the Council, that they are giving education to about 4,500 scholars. This is but a small number as compared with the population of Bengal, which, estimated at 30,000,000, ought to give a school-going population of about 5,000,000, or 2,500,000 of either sex; but still it is a beginning, and, viewed in this light, is fraught with no little gratification to the well-wisher of this people.

It is scarcely within the object of our present article to make any remarks upon the constitution of the Council of Education. The system of "Boards" and "Councils," especially if they consist, in whole or in main part, of unpaid, and consequently to a certain extent irresponsible, amateurs, is not specially popular at the present day; and we suspect its unpopularity is not without good grounds. Whether a "minister of public instruction" and a "secretary of state for the educational department" would not do the work more efficaciously than a body of men whose hands are full of other work, may be a question: but it is not the question that we are going to discuss at present. Thus much we will most willingly say, that the Government has been very fortunate in having had at its disposal, ever since the formation of the Council, the willing services of a succession of enthusiastic men, admirably qualified by tastes and talents to serve upon it. There have, we believe, been three Presidents of the Council from its formation; and better men for the purpose could not have been had, even, if we may use the expression, had they been "made to order." First there was Sir Edward Ryan, an elegant scholar, and a man of singular clearness of judgment, as we have heard, and thoroughly in earnest in this work, to which he devoted much of his time while he was here, and over which he still watches with much interest now that he is far away. He was succeeded by Mr. C. H. Cameron, whose preface to Bacon's *Novum Organum* is sufficient to indicate the intelligent interest he took in the welfare and progress of the students. And now the Council is presided over by Mr. J. E. D. Bethune, whose writings, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, evince a mind of strong and sound philosophical tendencies; while his poetical translations from the Northern languages

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shew that he is not a stranger to the amenities of literature. To speak in terms of commendation of the munificence displayed, and the exertions made, by this gentleman, in the cause of education, were to "gild refined gold." We trust it is not necessary for us at this time of day to say that we are not given to flattery; and, before we have done with the present article, the most virulent of Mr. Bethune's decriers shall acknowledge that we are not disposed to flatter *him*: but simple truth impels us to state, that very few men of his class have ever laid the people of India under such a weighty load of obligation. Others may have had the will, but they have lacked the power. Of the few that have had the power, it may be doubted if any have had the will, to the same extent that he has, to "spend and be spent" in the cause of native education.

In looking at the list of the present Council, our eye lights upon two names, which ought to be specially mentioned in this connexion; and we are sure that the colleagues of Mr. John Grant and Dr. F. Mouat will be the last to think or feel that any injustice is done to themselves, when these two gentlemen are selected for such a distinction as our notice of them may be able to confer. With a Council presided over by men like Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Bethune—with such men amongst its members, as Mr. John Grant—and above all with a secretary like Dr. Mouat,—it were strange if a powerful impulse were not given to the work committed to its guardianship. And a powerful impulse has been given to it; as to the magnitude of whose resultant we bear willing testimony, while we shall ere long take occasion to speak of its direction.

After detailing one or two changes, of no considerable importance, in the constitution of the Council, the Report proceeds to state that it has been resolved henceforth to employ professional and paid examiners in conducting the examinations for scholarships, and for employment in the public service. The examiners are to be selected "preferably from among the principals, professors and head-masters of the colleges and schools of greatest reputation in and near Calcutta (or those who have filled such situations), including both those, which are under the superintendence of the Council of Education, and those which are denominated private schools." There can be little doubt that this is a great improvement; as it is scarcely possible for any but a practically experienced teacher to examine well,—scarcely possible for any but those, who are engaged in teaching the students who are to be examined, to know their progress sufficiently well to examine them effectually; and scarcely possible to get the requisite number of men

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to devote to the examination the needful amount of time and labour without compensation.

But while we perceive that this is a step in the right direction, we cannot but think that there is something wanting in respect of a provision for the fair apportionment of the value of success in the several departments. Each examiner is to assign the value to be attached to an answer to each of his questions; while a limit is put by the Council to the amount of value acquirable in the department. In other words, the Council place a certain number of marks at the disposal of each examiner, and leave him to apportion those marks as he pleases. Now it is evident that a man in one department, with his standard of expected qualification somewhat low, acting in conjunction with a man in another department, with his standard somewhat high, may produce much real, though altogether unintended, injustice. Let us illustrate this by an example. Take some questions from two separate departments. Selecting from the examination on "Literature Proper" for 1849, a few questions, which seem to be fair specimens of those put, we transcribe the following:—

5. *Benedick.*—But I hope you have no intention to turn husband.
Claudio.—I would scarce trust myself, though I had sworn to the contrary, if Hero would be my wife.
Benedick.—Is it come to this? Hath not the world one man, but *he will wear this cap with suspicion?* Go to i' faith; if thou wilt thrust thy head in a yoke, wear the print of it, and *sigh away Sundays.*

[It is to be observed, that in this and other cases, "where no distinct question is proposed, the passages, or words, marked in Italics, are to be fully explained."]

10. *Hero.*—No, truly, Ursula, she is too disdainful.
I know her spirits are as coy and wild
As haggards of the rock.

What are *haggards of the rock?*
Point out the aptness of the comparison.

12. *Verges.*—"Nay, that's certain; we have the exhibition to examine."
Correct the blunder of the constable.

31. *Decius.*—Pardon me, Cæsar; for my dear, dear love
To your proceeding bids me tell you thus;
And reason to my love is liable.

44. Custom and laws compared.
"As Tacitus and Montesquieu happen to differ upon a subject of so much importance.....it will not be amiss to examine it a little more minutely."
State the respective views of Tacitus and Montesquieu. Which does the author support? Adduce any instance of your own in which the superiority of Custom might readily be conceded, and others in which Custom should be superseded by Law.

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These will suffice as specimens of the questions in Literature. Let us now take a few specimens from the Mathematical and Physical departments.

5. Assuming the solution of $x^3 + qx + r =$ of $\left(\frac{r^2}{4}$ being greater than $\frac{q^3}{27}\right)$, explain fully which of these values are to be selected as the roots.

14. Assuming that the Conic Section, $y^2 = \frac{2a.\ \text{Sin}\ a\ \text{Sin}\ \theta.}{\text{Cos}\ a.}\ x - \frac{\text{Sin}\ \theta\ \text{Sin}\ (2a + \theta)}{\text{Cos}^2\ a}\ x^2$ ($2a$ being the vertical angle of the Cone), is an hyperbola: find its axis and the position of the asymptotes.

5. A ball is projected with a velocity of 50 feet, in a direction making an angle of 45° with the horizon, and strikes against a vertical wall, where its motion is wholly horizontal: determine the equation to the path afterwards described, and the position of the focus, the elasticity of the ball being $\frac{1}{2}$.

These specimens we have selected almost at random. Now we think it can scarcely be doubted that there are some of the latter class so difficult, and some of the former class so easy, that it must be all but impossible to assign proportionate values to the solutions of them. If, for example, the last question were fully solved, taking into account the resistance of the atmosphere, (and, we suppose that nothing is said about this in the question itself, in order that such of the candidates as can solve it with this element taken into account, may have the option of doing so), and if a moderate value were assigned to such a solution, we should imagine that it would scarcely be possible to find a value small enough to be attached to the best possible answer to several of the questions in the other department. It does seem to us, therefore, that the value of the questions should be assigned either by the votes of the body of examiners, or else by some one individual, apart from that body altogether, appointed for this purpose. A man of less varied attainments than the admirable Crichton might discharge this duty well enough: and it does not seem to us that this duty can be dispensed with, and justice done to the students examined.

We now come to notice a correspondence between the Honorable Court of Directors and the Council, on the subject of Lord Hardinge's celebrated Education Minute; and also a correspondence between the council and certain proprietors or superintendents of various educational establishments not connected with Government. The Court object partly, as it appears to us, to the principle of the minute itself, and partly to the way in which it is applied by the Council, to whom its

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working out is committed. The superintendents of the private schools object only to the working, without expressing any opinion as to the principle of the minute. We shall follow the example of the Council by giving the despatch of the Honorable Court entire, "a knowledge of its contents being essential (as they tell us) to the right understanding of the report of the Council upon the matters referred to in it"—and consequently essential to the right understanding of the remarks, that we are about to make on that report.

1. Your public Letter of the 21st of May, No. 17 of 1845, informs us that you have intimated to the Council of Education your assent to their proposal, that all persons, whose names are inserted in the list of those qualified for the service of Government, shall have passed, satisfactorily, an examination similar to that which entitles a student to a senior scholarship at the Calcutta and Hooghly English Colleges. This rule requires a critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton and Shakespear, a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the higher branches of mathematical science, some insight into the elements of natural history, and the principles of moral philosophy and political economy, together with considerable facility of composition, and the power of writing in fluent and idiomatic language an impromptu essay on any given subject of history, moral or political economy.

2. It appears to us that the standard can only be attained by the students in the Government Colleges; and that therefore it virtually gives to them a monopoly of public patronage.

3. We are also of opinion that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage the general acquisition of the English language. Those who cannot hope to pass this test, will not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon learning the English language, at least with a view to employment in the public service.

4. Nor are we disposed to regard a high degree of scholastic knowledge [as] constituting an essential qualification for the public service. To require only a moderate and practical knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the vernacular language, and testimonials of regularity, steadiness, diligence and good conduct, will be, in our opinion, the best way to obtain the largest number of candidates, competent to become useful Officers in the different ranks of the Revenue and Judicial Departments: though we do not deny that there may be some few appointments, which it may be desirable to bestow as the rewards of greater proficiency in the higher branches of literature.

5. But we would not insist throughout all India on even a moderate acquaintance with the English language. Where, from local circumstances, the persons, whom it would be most desirable to employ, are found deficient in that knowledge, we would not, on that account, peremptorily exclude them from employment, though, other qualifications being equal, or nearly so, we would allow a knowledge of the English language to give a claim to preference.

6. We are further inclined to doubt the expediency of subjecting all candidates to public examinations held at the Presidency. It is not probable that young men from Behar or Cuttack will come to Calcutta, merely that they may be recorded as fit for official employment, without any assurance that they will ever be so employed. The same objection applies to the registration fee required from all candidates for examination. It will be felt

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as an unjust exaction by those who derive no eventual benefit from showing themselves equal to the prescribed test; and the examination being for the benefit of the public, the cost of it, if incurred at all, should be defrayed at the public expense.

To this remonstrance on the part of the Court of Directors, the Council of Education reply in substance as follows: *First.* That the great object the Council have had in view "is not immediately the improvement of the native civil servants.....but rather the general improvement of the great body of the people, by the increased value which the universal desire of such employment must give, in their estimation, to the training, by which they hope to see their children placed in a favourable position for gaining it." *Second.* That the orientalists have no right to complain; that sufficient facilities are afforded to all who seek a learned Oriental education: but that it would be a virtual departing from all the good that has been achieved for many years, were the principle departed from, "that English should be offered to the youth of India, as their classical language; and that proficiency in it should be deemed the indispensable characteristic of a liberal education."* *Third.* That for those offices, in which a knowledge of Sanscrit or Arabic is requisite, it is surely right to select, from amongst those candidates possessed of the proper Oriental qualification, the one who possesses the additional qualification ascertained by the Council's test. *Fourth.* That the Council are not unaware of the importance of giving an increased importance to *Vernacular* studies in combination with English.

Upon these answers we shall offer a few observations.

First.—In order to judge of the value of this answer, we must view it in connexion with the minute of Lord Hardinge, which is the originator of the whole matter, the very charter under

* This answer has reference to the following paragraph in a different despatch from that which we have quoted:—

"But there is one objection to the proposed standard, to which you have not adverted—its being almost exclusively English, and consequently debarring the students of the Native Colleges, Hindús and Mohamedans, from all chance of a place among the candidates for the patronage of the Government Offices. Even where these students may add a knowledge of English to their acquirements in the languages, literature and laws of their country, it cannot be expected that they should attain the same proficiency, as those young men who have devoted the whole of their time to the study of English, and consequently they cannot pass such an examination as will alone entitle them to have their names inserted in the list of competent individuals, although in many respects, they may be much fitter for the duties of the public service than the mere English scholar, however high his attainments. We are therefore of opinion, that, in order to meet this difficulty, an equivalent standard should be decided on to test the acquirements of this class of students, and that distinction, founded on the extent and amount of their attainments in such branches of study as shall be included under such standard, combined with but a moderate practical knowledge of English, shall entitle them to a place in the lists of qualified candidates for public employment."

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which the Council of Education act in their capacity of selectors of fit candidates for Government employment. The first paragraph of that minute is as follows:—

> The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of Education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service; and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government, as by private individuals and Societies, has resolved, that in every possible case, a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the Institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

Now, to our thinking, the great object held out here is to "enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government, as by private individuals and Societies;" while the encouragement of education among the mass of the people, and the reward of individual merit, are regarded mainly as subsidiary objects conducive to this end. But we do not care much about ascertaining the comparative prominence to be assigned to these objects. They must go hand in hand. It is of very little consequence whether it be stated that Lord Hardinge's object was to benefit the State by putting the best scholars into good appointments, or to produce good scholars by offering good appointments to such as are produced. Take it as we will, we cannot see how the Council's averment can be regarded as a satisfactory answer to the Court's objection. The Council have proposed a test, which the Court deems too stringent—so much so that they are "of opinion, that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage, the general acquisition of the English language." This opinion the Council either leave untouched, or they suppose that they touch it, in the answer of which we have given the substance. In point of fact the result of the proceedings of the Council, *if they had had any result at all*, would have been precisely what the Court point out. But they have had no result, as we shall shew ere long, unless the nullifying and making a dead letter of that document under which the proceedings have been adopted—a document which was regarded by many, and ourselves among the number, at the time of its promulgation, as a very valuable one, and which might have proved so under a different system of application—may be properly called a result.

Second.—As to the preference given by the Council to Eng-

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lish over Oriental acquirements, we have no special quarrel with them, as we cordially agree in the opinion that vastly greater good will be achieved by countenancing and encouraging the former than the latter. But yet, taking Lord Hardinge's minute for our guide, and considering that the remit made to the Council was virtually to expiscate "all the talents," we think they might have devised means to give a fair value to Orientalism. In fact the Council seem to have forgotten that their functions in this matter are purely executive. His Lordship finished the legislative part of the work, when he issued his minute. All that they had to do was to obey the orders addressed to them; without any reference whatever to their individual opinion respecting the superiority of one branch of study to another.

Third.—We cannot but regard this as a piece of special pleading. We quite believe that for situations requiring Orientalism, it would be well, *if* the best qualified by Oriental acquirements were also qualified by English ones, to appoint him. But it is absolutely certain that no one can get upon the Council's list, who has any Oriental acquirements at all; for it is a moral impossibility for any one to get upon that list, who has not bestowed his whole time upon the studies prescribed for examination; and, unless Orientalism has come to him by inspiration, it is impossible that he can have even an infinitesimally small amount of it.

Fourth.—We are very glad to hear that the Council are henceforth to countenance the study of the Vernacular languages of India. It will require all the *prestige*, that their countenance can afford, to counteract that indifference to the study of these languages, that has been unfortunately manifested by the great majority of students in all the Institutions, in which English has been made the staple language. Now, while we are perfectly willing to battle against all comers in the cause of English-and-Vernaculars, against Orientalism-and-Vernaculars, we have not a word to say in the cause of English as against Vernaculars.

While we cannot but express our opinion that the objections of the Court of Directors are left virtually unanswered, we confess to a kind of admiration (considering the relative position of the parties) of the cool *insouciance*, with which the Council express their determination to proceed in their own way. No matter, that the Council owe their existence to the Court of Directors; no matter that they are appointed to do a certain work which the Court desires to have done;—it pleases them to do another work altogether; and the lan-

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guage of their president (for we may safely assume that it is the president that is the organ of the Council on this occasion), is set to the tune of "*Sic volo, sic jubeo; stet pro ratione voluntas.*"

Such being the state of the case, as between the Council of Education and the Court of Directors, we come now to a consideration of the case, as between the Council and the educationists, who are unconnected with the Government, or, to speak more strictly, between the Council and the students of the extra-government educational Institutions. Lord Hardinge's minute most distinctly prescribed, that the students of all institutions whatsoever should be placed on an equal footing. And this was both wise and just. It was wise, as tending to secure for the Government the benefit of a large amount of talent to be employed in its service. It was just, because any other plan would only amount to a decree that those, who had sought and received no aid from the Government in acquiring their education, should be debarred from holding offices of trust and emolument, in order that these might be kept open for the benefit of those, who, to a greater or less extent, had already received a boon at the hand of the Government. Nothing could be clearer than the minute of His Lordship;—and this the Council of Education at first admitted; for, when they first published their mode of carrying the minute into effect, they accompanied it with an apology for not having been able, on account of the shortness of time allowed them, to mature a plan by which full justice might be done to the students of private schools—(so we shall call them, for brevity's sake, although of course they are just as public as the others, in every respect, except their independence of Government support and Government control.) They therefore recommended that the students of those institutions should not present themselves for examination that year, but should hold back until such arrangement could be made as would put them on equal terms with their competitors from the Government Institutions. The students, and their friends and teachers, were fain to accept this apology, in the confident hope, that all that was wrong should next year be rectified. But when next year came, it was ascertained that hope had told a falsely flattering tale. There was no perceptible change in the arrangements, excepting that the apology and implied promise of improvement were cancelled. This state of things went on for a few years. Murmurs were uttered, "not loud but deep;" and these murmurs, having by some means reached the ears of the members of Government—on the 24th of March, 1847, Sir T. H. Maddock,

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then Deputy Governor of Bengal, spoke as follows in the Town Hall of Calcutta :—

"I have been given to understand, that some dissatisfaction is manifested by the managers of schools not under the control of the Council of Education, at the manner in which the resolution of the Governor-General, of October 1844, is carried into effect, with respect to the test to which candidates are subjected, before they can be ranked in the Council's list of meritorious students. I am not aware how the Council can dispense with one common test of qualification, or be expected to adopt, without further examination, the credentials furnished to students of private schools by their superintendents. Such is not the practice in Europe, when students of various schools are candidates for University honours, but all are subjected to one and the same ordeal. I will, however, communicate on this subject with the Council of Education ; and I shall be happy, if it is found possible to modify the existing rules, so as to obviate these objections, without compromising a principle on which depends our security, that the best qualified students are alone admitted on the list of qualified candidates for public employ. The object of the Government is to secure for its use the services of the most distinguished talents. It is not its object to patronize one institution in preference to another. The ablest man, wherever educated, is he who should stand first on the list of candidates for public employment."

We may notice in passing, that this speech, which we extract from the report under review, seems to us to bear out the view that we have taken, as to the main object of the plan of examination, in opposition to the view taken of it by the President of the Council in his answer to the remonstrance of the Court of Directors. But this, as we have already stated in substance, is not a point that appears to us to be of any considerable moment ; inasmuch as the object of diffusing a taste for education, by rewarding with Government employment those who are best educated, and the object of obtaining for Government employment the best educated individuals, must be secured in concert. They must stand or fall together. Only it is not unimportant to notice, that the view we have taken of the matter, is not only that of the Court of Directors, but that also of Sir Herbert Maddock, who had the best possible opportunity of being acquainted with the intentions of Lord Hardinge and of the members of his Council.

"In accordance with the suggestions of the Honorable the Deputy Governor of Bengal, the Council placed themselves in communication with the proprietors of private schools, acquainting them with His Honor's sentiments, and requesting them to

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specify the exact nature and extent of their objections to the existing system of examination, as well as to favor the Council with the modification they would propose, to render them acceptable to all persons unconnected with the Government institutions."

It appears that answers to the Council's circular were received from the proprietor of one native pay school, one private boarding school, the secretary of one public endowed school (the Martiniére), and also from the chairman of a meeting, composed of representatives of all the Missionary institutions in Calcutta and of the Parental Academy.

The resolutions of this meeting are given at length in the report before us; and we agree with the Council in thinking that the objections to the system can scarcely be put in a clearer light, than that in which they put them. We therefore transfer them to our pages, giving the Council the benefit of admitting that there is an apparent oversight in the resolutions, in representing the Government scheme of education as comprising only English secular literature and science, and in omitting all mention of the Vernacular languages. The explanation of this apparent oversight is easy. The resolutions have reference to the points of difference between the Government scheme of education and that adopted in the institutions represented, in so far as those points of difference bear upon the question at issue. Now there is probably no material difference between the Vernacular education in the two classes of institutions; and so much as there is, does not bear at all upon the matter in dispute. The Vernacular test appointed by the Council is merely the composition of a Bengali Essay; and this has not, we believe, been objected to by any party. With this explanation we subjoin the resolutions:—

I. Resolved unanimously that, without entering into any debate as to what constitutes the best, or even an essentially good, course of education, this meeting find, in point of fact, that there are now three distinct courses of improved education in operation among us, viz.:—

First. The exclusively secular course, pursued alike in Government and many purely native Institutions, which includes merely English secular literature and science, though in the widest and most extended sense.

Second. The ordinary European course, formed after the home European model, and pursued in several Christian Institutions, such as the Parental Academy and St. Paul's School, which, besides English secular literature and science, includes largely the study of ancient classical literature, in conjunction with a considerable range of Christian literature.

Third. The mixed course, pursued in all the existing Christian Institutions for native youth, in which a range of English literature and science, more or less comprehensive, is inseparably conjoined with a more or less extensive course of Christian literature.

II. That, from the preceding statement, the nature of the leading objection to the standard of scholarship, at present adopted in conducting the

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examination of Native candidates for Government employ, must at once be apparent, viz., that it is framed exclusively upon the model of the first of the above-mentioned courses, and fitted exclusively to test the proficiency of young men who have been instructed according to its provisions and details;—ancient classical literature having no adequate or proportional value attached to it in the test, and Christian literature, properly so called, being well-nigh excluded altogether.

That in this way young men, educated under either of the two latter more extended courses, are wholly prevented from competing on equal terms with young men, whose whole time, strength, and energy are devoted to the more limited range of mere English secular literature and science, on a knowledge of which alone the candidates are examined.

III. That no mere modification of a test, which restricts itself mainly, if not exclusively, to English secular literature and science, can possibly obviate or remove the foregoing objection: and that in order to adapt itself to other Institutions, in which ancient classical literature, or English Christian literature, may be largely taught, it must needs undergo an organic alteration or enlargement.

IV. That the meeting agree to forward to the Secretary of the Council of Education a copy of this minute of proceedings, and leave it to the consideration of Government to make any further proposals, or ask for any further information on the subject, as it may deem proper; and finally that the Chairman be requested to forward the minute, accompanying the same with any remarks on his own individual responsibility, which, by way of explanation, he may consider desirable.

These resolutions were forwarded to the Council by Dr. Duff, the chairman of the meeting at which they were passed, accompanied by a statement by Dr. Duff himself, explaining in detail the objections contained in the resolutions. Of this statement, the Council, or let us say at once the President of the Council, has given us an abstract; and, before entering upon the consideration of the resolutions and the statement, we must record our decided protest against this mode of proceeding. Without assuming that the abstract is unfairly made, we must insist that injustice must necessarily be done to Dr. Duff, by presenting his reasoning in detached sentences and parts of sentences, selected from the document by one, whose object is professedly to answer that reasoning. It will not do to say that the communication was too long for insertion in the report. Suppose it had occupied 20 or 30 pages (and we do not believe it would have occupied a half of the smaller of these numbers), it was just as easy to publish a report of 789 or 799 pages, as one of 769; or, if the Council were restricted in regard to the number of pages, it would not have been any great loss to the public, if they had made room for Dr. Duff's letter by the retrenchment of a considerable amount of matter that is inserted. Had Mr. Bethune chosen to give Dr. Duff's letter at length, we should have been perfectly willing, and so, we are sure, would Dr. Duff himself, that he should have commented upon it as strenuously as he possibly could; but, that letter being

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withheld, we cannot but regard many of the remarks that he makes upon it as downright slander. It is one thing to review a book, which is before the world, and another thing altogether to review a document, which is accessible to none but the reviewer. Had the report been given to the world, before Dr. Duff left India, the case might not have been quite so bad; as it is, we cannot conceive how a word of vindication can be uttered on behalf of the Council. This however we can tell Mr. Bethune, that he has altogether outwitted himself. Dr. Duff is too well known in India for people to take in the charge of stupidity which Mr. Bethune again and again virtually brings against him; while he withholds the grounds on which he bases so preposterous a charge.

In what we have to say further on this subject, it may tend somewhat to distinctness if we confine our observations to a notice of the way in which the pupils of the Missionary institutions are affected by the procedure of the Council. All that we have to say on this point, will be applicable, with a few unimportant modifications, to such establishments as the Martiniére, the Parental Academy, and St. Paul's School; while the important class of private pay schools for native boys being conducted, as nearly as possible, on the principles of the Government institutions, it is probable that no particular injustice is done to their students.

First of all then, we think that intelligent and well-informed public opinion will bear us out in the assertion, that it may be confidently expected that the students of the Missionary institutions are quite as well educated as those of the Government institutions. We have no wish to institute comparisons between individual men; but we believe that all, who know any thing about the matter, will admit that the superintendents of the Missionary institutions are not inferior, as a body, in all the qualifications of scholarship and teachership, to the professors in the Government Colleges. But they have precisely the same materials to work upon that these professors have; and therefore it may be taken for granted that their students are not worse educated. Now then, the duty of the Council of Education being to select from the students of all institutions those qualified by talents and acquirements for the service of Government, and it being notorious that they have not in point of fact selected any one student from any of the Missionary institutions, it will follow, either that they have not done their duty, or that their efforts have been frustrated by the counteracting efforts of the superintendents of the Missionary institutions. Which of these conclusions is the right one? The Council say that it is the latter. "There can be no doubt that

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it is extremely desirable that, if possible, the conductors of private schools should be induced to allow their pupils to compete at the public examinations;—the Council use this expression advisedly, being of opinion, that the reluctance against their appearance there is more strongly felt by the masters than the scholars of these institutions." Now, while we do not suppose that the superintendents of the Missionary institutions assume any right of *allowing* or *disallowing* the appearance of their pupils at the Council's examination, we are willing enough to admit, as they themselves make no secret of it, that they do not think that their students ought to subject themselves to that examination, as at present conducted, believing that justice would not be done, either to the students or to the character of the institutions in which they have studied. We believe that such an opinion is well founded; and that the Council's utter failure, in their attempts to do what they were appointed to do, is not to any extent due to a factious or vexatious opposition on the part of the Missionaries, but is entirely chargeable to the fault of the Council. We are quite prepared to shew this by simple reference to the report before us. And for this purpose we must ask the special attention of our readers to the following questions, forming a part of the examination on "Literature Proper" for 1849:—

"LITERATURE PROPER. *Morning Examination.* [Note.—Where no distinct question is proposed, the passages and words marked in italics are to be fully explained."]

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

1. Give a brief analysis of the plot of the Play, and mention the supposed source from which it is taken.

ACT I. SCENE I.

2. *Beatrice.*—"*He set up his bills* here in Messina, and *challenged Cupid at the flight*; and my uncle's fool, reading the challenge, subscribed for Cupid, and *challenged him at the bird-bolt.*"
3. *Beatrice.*—"*He wears his faith, but as the fashion of his hat; it ever changes with the next block.*"
   Messenger.—"I see, Lady, the gentleman *is not in your books.*
4. *Benedick* (to Pedro).—"He is in love—with Hero."
   Claudio.—"If this were so, *so were it uttered.*"
   Benedick.—"*Like the old tale*, my Lord; "*it is not so, nor it was not so; but indeed, God forbid, it should be so.*"
5. *Benedick.*—"But I hope you have no intention to turn husband."
   Claudio.—"I would scarce trust myself, though I had sworn to the contrary, if Hero would be my wife."
   Benedick.—"Is it come to this? Hath not the world one man, but *he will wear this cap with suspicion?*——————. Go to, i'faith; if thou wilt thrust thy head in a yoke, wear the print of it and *sigh away Sundays.*"
6. *Benedick* (to Pedro).—"Nay, mock not; *the body of your discourse is* sometimes *guarded with fragments*, and the guards are but slightly basted on neither; ere you *flout old ends* any further, examine your conscience."

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ACT II. SCENE I.

7. *Claudio* —
" Friendship is constant in all other things,
" Save in the office and affairs of love;
" Therefore all hearts in love, use their own tongues;
" Let every eye negociate for itself,
" And trust no agent; for beauty is a witch
" Against whose charms faith melteth into blood.
" That is an accident of hourly proof,
" Which I mistrusted not."

Paraphrase the whole of this passage.

8. *Benedick.*—" She told me, not thinking I had been myself, that I had been the prince's jester, heaping jest upon jest, *with such impossible conveyance, &c.*"

ACT II. SCENE III.

9. *Pedro.*—" See you where Benedick hath hid himself."
Claudio.—" O, very well, my Lord; this music ended, *we'll fit the kid fox with a pennyworth.*"

ACT III. SCENE I.

10. *Hero.*—" No truly, Ursula, she is too disdainful.
" I know her spirits are as coy and wild
" As haggards of the rock."

What are *haggards of the rock?*
Point out the aptness of the comparison.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

11. *Leonato.*—....." Being that I flow in grief,
The subtlest twine may lead me."

This is one of Shakspeare's shrewd observations upon human life. Show its application.

12. *Verges.*—" Nay, that's certain; we have the exhibition to examine."
Correct the blunder of the constable.

13. *Hero.*—" I never yet saw man.
" How wise, how noble, young, how rarely featured,
" *But she would spell him backward;* if fair,
" She'd swear the gentleman should be her sister;
" If black, why nature, drawing of *an antick,*
" Made a foul blot; if tall, a lance ill-headed;
" If low, *an agate* very vilely cut.

She would spell him backward.—What received notion is here alluded to?
Give the meanings of *an antick—an agate.*
Some copies have *aglet.* What is the difference?
Do you recollect a similar comparison elsewhere in Shakspeare?

ACT IV. SCENE II.

14. *Claudio.*—" Nay but his jesting spirit, which is now *crept into a lute string,* and now *governed by stops.*"
Pedro.—" Indeed that tells a heavy tale;
" Conclude he is in love."

ACT V. SCENE I.

15. *Leonato.*—" Bring me a father, that so loved his child,
" Whose joy of her is overwhelmed like mine.
* * * * * * * * *
" If such a one will smile and stroke his bread,

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" *Cry, sorrow wag ! and hem, when he should groan ;*
" *Patch grief with proverbs ; make misfortune drunk*
" *With candle wasters ;* bring him yet to me ;
" And I of him will gather patience."

16. *Claudio.*—" If he be angry, he knows how to turn his girdle." From what practice was this form of expression derived ?

Now we ask our readers to look over these questions carefully, and then to say, whether there be not a considerable number of them, which could not be answered by any candidate whatsoever, unless he had been specially told the answer. Many of the questions are very easy—we have already quoted some of them for the very purpose of shewing that they are too easy. But, both of the easier and of the more difficult ones, there are several that we are certain could only be answered from memory. The conclusion then is irresistible. The particular plays of Shakespeare, on which the examination is to be held at the end of the year, are carefully taught in the Government institutions during the year; explanations of every difficulty are given by the teachers; and the students are thoroughly " crammed" for the examination. The professors and teachers of the Government institutions regard it as their duty, thus to cram their students; and so it is, in so far as duty consists in the fulfilment of a contract. But the Missionary teachers have another duty to perform : and they cannot leave that duty unfulfilled, in order to cram their students for such an examination.

Who then is to blame? The Missionaries, or the Council of Education? Ought the Missionaries to adapt their course of instruction to the requirements of the Council? Or ought the Council to adapt their requirements in some degree to the several courses of instruction pursued in the different classes of schools, whose students they are required to examine? If Lord Hardinge's minute, which is the *fons et origo* of the whole matter, is to be our guide, the question is already answered. If the Council's own interpretation of that minute is entitled to any consideration, that interpretation is decidedly against themselves. When they put forth, in 1845, that apology, to which we have already alluded, they fully admitted that, for that year only, they were not doing what the minute required of them : but they excused themselves on the ground that it did not lie within their power, on account of the want of time elapsing between the publication of the minute and the holding of the examination. But they have gone on ever since, doing precisely the same thing every year that they did then ; and now seem to desire people to believe that they are doing the very thing that they were appointed to do. Which is right ?

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The Council of 1845, or the Council of 1849? Out of their own mouths they are condemned.

As to the fault of the Council, then, in failing to discharge the duty assigned to them by Lord Hardinge's minute, we hold that there cannot be a doubt. That minute required them to report to the Government the names of those students, who were qualified for the public service. It is a notorious fact that there are multitudes of students in the Missionary institutions, who are well qualified for this service; and yet not one of their names has ever appeared on the Council's list. We hold it proved, that the absence of these names is solely due to the Council's having adopted a test, which must, of necessity, fail to bring out the qualifications of those students, while it gives far more than a due value to the qualifications of other students. With the examination, viewed as a test for the scholarships in the Government Colleges, as indicating the amount of attention that has been paid by the students to the lessons of the year, and the way in which they have remembered the explanations of particular passages given them by their teachers, we have no fault to find. But viewed as a test, either of talents or acquirements generally, it is utterly worthless.

Now if justice is to be done to the students of all institutions, the examination must either be of such a kind, that the mere recollection of what has been told by the teacher to one class of the students, and not told by the teacher to the other class, shall not go for any thing (whereas now it goes for nearly all); or else it must be of such a kind, that the recollection of what has been told by the one class of teachers, shall go for as much as the recollection of what has been told by the other class. We shall not be deterred by the sneer that Mr. Bethune directs against Dr. Duff (when he says, that it seems to be recommended that Shakespeare and Pope should be discarded for Pollock and Montgomery) from expressing our conviction, that the generality of students in the Missionary institutions have quite as much knowledge of English literature as the generality of students in the Government institutions; and that they would stand a *fair* test with as much credit to themselves and their teachers. But until the Council choose to adopt such a test, we think the conductors of the Missionary institutions act wisely and kindly, when they recommend their students to keep aloof from the examination altogether. Whenever the two classes of students have come into fair competition, the result has been any thing rather than discreditable to the Missionary-taught students. Let the records of the Medical College be searched, and we venture to say that they will prove that the Missionary

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students have actually distinguished themselves more than the Government students; that, in point of fact, the proportion in which the highest honours have been gained by the former, as compared with the latter, is considerably greater than the ratio of the number of students. Why is this? Simply because the test at the Medical College is a fair test, whereas the test for Government employment is egregiously unfair. It is scarcely necessary then to point out the fallacy in the following reasoning employed by Mr. Bethune:—"The Council are far 'from wishing to detract any thing from the merit of the Mis-'sionary schools. They believe, on the contrary, that the mo-'ral and religious training, which the students of these schools 'receive, is of the highest value to them in every respect; that 'it not only exercises a wholesome influence on their life and 'conduct, but that the indirect effect of the lessons, which they 'so receive, is to render them zealous for their own improve-'ment, and more capable of intellectual development, than 'others who have not the same advantages. They think that 'Dr. Duff and the gentlemen whose opinions he is said to re-'present, have abandoned the high ground which they might 'have taken, if they had professed their conviction that their 'pupils might contend at no disadvantage with those of Go-'vernment schools, notwithstanding the time bestowed on these 'extraneous studies. The Council are of opinion that they 'might have expected, even with respect to the results of a 'merely secular examination, that this time would be found to 'have been not unprofitably employed." Mr. Bethune is quite right as to what might be expected to be the bearing of the scheme of education adopted in the Missionary institutions on "the results of *a* merely secular examination," but quite wrong as to its bearing on the results of *the* examination instituted by the Council.

Nearly a similar objection applies to the mathematical and physical department of the examination. This consists of two parts, called "book-work" and "problems." But if any one will take the trouble to examine carefully the specimen of answers contained in the report, he will perceive at once that the fate of the battle depends upon the former part. Of the "problems" proposed, a large proportion are not attempted to be solved; some are solved partially, or imperfectly; some are wrong altoge-ther; and all that are done are clumsily done. It is, then, upon the "book-work" that the matter mainly depends. Hence that a student may have a fair chance, he must have studied from the very books from which the questions are taken. There may be no special reason why the Missionary text-books should not be the same in this department with those of the Government. But

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it is enough that they may not be the same, and in some cases we believe that they are not the same; and it is no part of the duty assigned to the Council to dictate or prescribe to the Missionary teachers what text-books they are to employ.

Altogether, although not so markedly in the mathematical as in the literary department, it is to us perfectly evident that the most successful student will not be the best scholar, but the best-crammed on a certain range of subjects, or rather, what is far worse, on a certain number of books. Now for this there might have been some excuse offered on behalf of the Council, had they been set to carry out a narrow-minded and illiberal resolution, that required a certain amount of *professional* knowledge, as indicating fitness for a particular employment. But when they have cramped Lord Hardinge's liberal and intelligent requirement for well-educated men into a requirement for well-crammed men, we can speak of their conduct in no other terms than those of unmitigated censure. However mere utilitarians may regard it, the enlightened statesman, who originated the measure, did both a wise and a useful thing, when he appointed an intellectual qualification as essential to employment in responsible stations; but the Council of Education does an exceedingly foolish thing, and a thing that would be much better than it is, were it merely useless, when they convert the intellectual into a merely mnemonic qualification. Whether we regard the main object of the Governor-General's resolution as being to give to the State the services of the best-educated men, or to give a stimulus to really good and sound education, the tendency of the method adopted by the Council is decidedly to counteract that object. If the Council would select those students who evince a healthy and vigorous understanding, who can think vigorously, and express their thoughts manfully (whether fluently or not, it matters little) and recommend them to the Government;—if they would let it be felt that mere cramming, whether of Shakespeare and Pope, or of Pollock and Montgomery, bears no price in their market;—then good would be done: the Hon'ble Company would get better servants; the people would be better educated; and the time would arrive sooner than it is likely to do, when India shall take her rightful place amongst the civilized and intelligent nations. Surely there needs be no great difficulty in selecting those men, whom it is the duty, and ought to be the delight, of the Council to honour. If the Council would but set about it under the guidance of frank, ingenuous, common sense, and would discard the counsels of scholastic pedantry, they would neither in one case out of a hundred admit into the list an individual who ought to be excluded, nor exclude two or three who ought to be included.

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At present they admit many who were better kept out, and keep out a whole class, which doubtless comprehends many who ought to be admitted.

We have hitherto looked at the matter in a theoretical point of view; but we shall come to precisely the same conclusion, if we look at its practical working hitherto. The report informs us, that in the five years, 1845 to 1849 inclusive, the Council have passed thirty-five students, viz. :—six in the first class, and twenty-nine in the second. Of these it appears that four are now dead; eight are still pursuing their studies; eight are employed by the Council itself in educational service; two are employed in mercantile offices; seven are public officers; and six are still enjoying *otium cum dignitate*. If we suppose that two, out of the four that are dead, were appointed to public offices, we find that the utmost that the Council has done, has been to provide nine public servants, including a Conservancy Commissioner, whose appointment is not strictly a Government one, and who did not obtain his appointment through the circumstance of his name being on the Council's list. Hence it follows that scarcely any young men from the Missionary Institutions have been kept out of employment by the Council's test; and this, we take it, is the reason why the test has been hitherto allowed to continue in use. We remember a certain distinguished man's being asked by a Parliamentary Committee, whether he had said of a certain institution that "it was a nuisance"; and he answered, that although he could not recollect what expressions might have escaped him in unguarded moments, he thought it very unlikely that he should have applied that epithet to it, as he always regarded it "not as a nuisance, but rather as a nullity." Now it is because the Council's examination has been heretofore far more of a nullity than of a nuisance, that it has been patiently borne. We should imagine that the Government will ere long require of the Council to convert it from a nullity into an ullity. But the moment it becomes an ullity, it will be apparent to all that it is a nuisance, and the Missionaries will raise their voice for its removal. Nor will that voice be disregarded by the Government, inasmuch as it will have both right and expediency on its side. If the Council, with all its cumbrous and expensive machinery, can only furnish seven students each year on an average, who, in the estimation of their own teachers, are qualified for the public service, the Government clearly cannot afford to slight the efforts of those, who, without asking for any Government aid at all, are raising up a body of young men, many of whom have been tried and found abundantly qualified for that service.

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ART. III.—*The Times Newspaper. London.* 1851.

REFLECTING upon the melancholy truth of the statement lately made by Mr. Hume in the House of Commons, that "he thought that, looking at the population and situation of 'India, its connexion with England, and the resources of both 'countries, there was too great an inclination to treat India as if 'it were some minor colony, scarcely worthy of a moment's con-'sideration," we almost feel disheartened from attempting any consideration of the measure, upon which so much of evil or of good is dependant. What avails it to number the many millions of subjects, to allude to the resources, to sketch the power, and to hint at the inherent weakness of our vast Empire, when all that is said, or that may be written, finds no ear: when a gigantic glass-shop in the Park, a shake of Dr. Wiseman's cardinal-capped head, or a motion on that delectable department, the Woods and Forests, produces far higher interest, and creates much greater commotion, than any question, however weighty, involving the interests of India. Yet we cannot patiently submit to see India treated as if it were a farm belonging to the twenty-four Directors in *esse* or in *posse*—a paternal estate belonging to that "body of very able and very experienced men," as Lord John Russell styles them; and, however hopeless the task may seem, we have resolved to make the endeavour to awaken attention to the magnitude and the importance of timely inquiry, prior to any legislative enactment connected with the now rapidly approaching close of the East India Company's Charter.

This is the more imperatively a duty, inasmuch as Mr. C. Anstey's motion has had a result, which, whether or not anticipated, entitles him to the gratitude of India. He has pretty plainly developed what the Court of Directors deem 'a satisfactory' inquiry, as well as the course they are prepared to recommend, and to pursue in order to enable the public to pronounce upon the existing state of India. Nothing can well be imagined more convenient for the Court of Directors, or more likely to suit their purposes, than the suggestions which Sir J. W. Hogg somewhat prematurely hazarded. That Mr. Melville and Sir J. W. Hogg be entrusted with the preparation and selection of information from the India House, and that statesmen, like Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie, be the evidence adduced before a committee, is the foreshadowing of as snug an arrangement as the Leadenhall-street Cabinet could well have devised. But it may be doubted whether the public will be equally contented with

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this ingenious and ingenuous programme of the two Directors, Sir J. W. Hogg and Mr. Mangles: and we in India must certainly raise our voices, however little they may be listened to, against this mode of re-granting the Charter of one of the noblest empires ever entrusted to a conquering nation.

For seven years, we have, with uniform moderation both of praise and of censure as respects the Government, and with hearty earnestness as regards the welfare of the millions under British rule, sought to present to the public, whether in India or in England, correct views. We have endeavoured honestly and faithfully to advance the cause of truth; and, having now grown somewhat old in the habit of speaking plainly, we feel it a duty to protest against any such farcical investigation as Sir J. W. Hogg and Mr. Mangles evidently contemplate, and to call attention to suggestions, which savour of anything rather than the searching inquiry, which both of these gentlemen ostensibly court, but really seek to elude. India, like Miss Talbot, is a very interesting ward, with a rather large fortune to be disposed of; and this parallel must have been running in Mr. C. Anstey's head, when he said that "one might suppose that the East India Company was an angelic hierarchy, and that the Board of Controul was a community of archangels;" but, as in the one case, the public would rather hear some one else's story as well as the Bishop of Clifton's, so, in the other, both India and England would rather hear some other evidence besides that of the dignitaries of the India Board and Leadenhall-street, or of their Cardinals *a latere*, Hardinge and Dalhousie—both able men doubtless, but having some small interest in, or hopes from, the temporalities of the conclave of Mr. Anstey's Leadenhall-street archangels. An inquiry, to be satisfactory, must not be limited to a well got up flourish of trumpets. We have felt the pulse of India sufficiently well to know that the men of mind among her millions (there are a few, though this scheme ignores their existence) will deem such an investigation mere mockery: and the British legislature, instead of being regarded with respect and confidence, will be held as much on a par in point of principle and independence with one of the native Durbars—differing rather in the magnitude of the field offered for the successful play of interested ingenuity, than in the character of the assembly. Let it be remembered, that in India the enlightenment of the millions may, in our estimation, judged by European standards, be small: but no one, who has mixed with and really knows the people of India, will ever be found to compare their capacity and keenness for suspicion and distrust with their

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enlightenment. They will draw shrewd conclusions, if a Committee place themselves in the hands of the India House, and adopt the convenient course so considerately chalked out for them by Sir J. W. Hogg. Natives are proverbially expert in arraying evidence suited to any object, which they may have in view. The art is an old one in India; and it has here so many adepts, that if it be worth a thought to maintain the character of the Houses of Parliament for probity, for high and strict integrity, free from all suspicion of trick and jobbery, we venture to recommend the adoption of a wider circle, from whence to elicit information; and that any committee, grappling with the vast and important subject of the present and future administration of India, should be careful not to permit themselves to be restricted to the sphere indicated by the Court of Directors.

Stars may do indifferently well to steer by occasionally; but when the good ship's timbers and soundness are to be examined, and her sea-worthiness tested for another voyage, we would prefer hearing what Tom, the carpenter, had to say on the matter, to questioning the pole star, or any other fixed or erratic luminary. In fact Governors-General are far too meteoric, pass far too rapidly, and at too high an elevation, ever to have a practical insight into the working of the machinery of Government amongst the numerous and various population of India: and almost necessarily they both come and depart entirely ignorant of the real wants, feelings and character of the millions subjected to their rule. Consider for a moment the two exemplars of Sir J. W. Hogg. Lord Hardinge, who always candidly avowed his complete ignorance of everything connected with the civil administration, and therefore left all in the hands of his civil secretaries, was, the greater part of his short stay in India, either wholly absorbed by making preparations for war, or by sharing in its fatigues and vicissitudes. What is a committee of the House of Commons likely to elicit on the great subjects of the trade, the finances, the laws, and the general civil administration of the Indian Government from such an evidence, but a hazy reflection of the opinions, which he took at second hand from the civil secretaries, in whom he reposed confidence? These opinions he never had the leisure, and never pretended to submit to any investigation of his own. Something of the vicissitudes of his Sutlej campaigns, if so inclined, he might be able to disclose; somewhat too of the diplomatic transactions in which he was engaged, and of his ephemeral Punjáb policy; but who in his senses would look for more—would expect from him comprehensive sound deep

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views on the infinite variety of questions which should form the object of inquiry before the Committee? Certainly no one in India, who had opportunities of seeing and knowing Lord Hardinge.

Again, take the other exemplar, Lord Dalhousie. Even Sir J. W. Hogg, when quoting his Lordship's energy, humanity, and extraordinary talents for administration, could only instance the Punjáb, as the scene of the exercise of these qualities. Now granting, which we doubt, that Lord Dalhousie had mastered everything connected with the Punjáb; that it were the garden, which the Director represented it to be; and that money has been liberally spent there, which no body doubts—still the country of the five rivers is a small part of the wide-spread empire under his sway. The Punjáb is not India: and though the Committee would naturally be interested in what Lord Dalhousie might have to say of the tract in question and its administration, it would scarcely look for much more than that, and such general acquaintance with the main features of the financial state of the empire, as presses itself more immediately upon a Governor-General's attention. The Committee could not expect a practical insight into much more than what we have sketched from the two Directorial exemplars. We insist, therefore, upon the absolute necessity for a far wider range of inquiry, than that of the English statesmen who have governed India, whether limited to these two, or including others, who are to the full as able, though (it may be presumed) not likely to be such partial witnesses, as those thus selected by the court. Statesmen, whether partial or impartial, sent to govern, are too transitory a class to sound the exigencies of the Indian community. Take their evidence by all means, whether favouring or hostile: but give it no more than its due weight; and, instead of regarding it as exclusively *the* testimony of value, and despising that derived from other sources, drop your shafts below the upper surface, and sink deep through all the strata; you will be none the worse for learning what kind of soil your borer has to traverse, and you can never know when it may strike upon a generous spring, that shall come welling up to refresh your labour. The Artesian fountains of experience and information sometimes lie low; and are not confined to the class, that is the shortest time in India, sees usually the least of that wide country, and, whilst there, is surrounded by an atmosphere, which too often prevents its beholding clearly, what otherwise it might have a chance of seeing aright, were the haze and cloud of official prejudice neither so thick nor so constantl y enveloping.

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Parliamentary tactics admit of the exhibition of great diversity of manœuvres: but none of these requires less ability, and is of a grosser or more palpable kind than that, which, to cover a plentiful lack of argument, has recourse to giving a general question a personal bearing. Mr. Anstey's motion had evidently as little connection with any mere personal question of the ability, or the reverse, of the present Governor-General, as it had with California or the Dresden conferences. There was no wish to impale any one of the triumvirate, Lord Dalhousie, Sir H. Pottinger, or Lord Falkland. Great general questions were the object of the motion. This the Premier acknowledged, but adroitly took advantange of the acknowledgment, to give a personal turn to the debate, and to oppose the sending out Commissioners to India to inquire into matters upon the spot, on the ground that Mr. Anstey had stated nothing to shew, either that Lord Dalhousie was incompetent to conduct the Government, or that any measures recently taken required investigation; and that the presence of Commissioners would produce great excitement throughout India, and would for a time destroy all authority in that country. Of course Hogg and Mangles followed the lead: and Lord Dalhousie must really feel under great obligations to Lord J. Russell for mooting the question of his incompetence, and to Hogg and Mangles for their defence of his administrative ability, which had never been attacked. But, though it must be very gratifying to the Governor-General to have such an apologist as Sir J. W. Hogg, and to be the object of his sentimental expression of sympathy for physical sufferings, we should doubt whether his Lordship would altogether feel flattered at the considerate skill of his friends, who, when deeming themselves attacked and in danger, thus parade him—make him a sort of cushion, which first has to bear the blows of their adversaries, and then is employed to try and smother them. The defence was so entirely gratuitous, so unnecessary, and so uncalled for, that the motive, which led to its being made, is perfectly transparent. To deaden the battering ram of Anstey and Bright, a cotton bale was to be swung over the wall. *N'importe,* of course, what happens to the convenient bale, so long as the citadel is unshaken.

To plain men like ourselves, who are living in the midst of the millions of India, and who have had opportunities of knowing the temper and feelings of the people intimately for years, and have been in contact and communication with all classes, high and low, rich and poor, chiefs and ryots, and that too in many different quarters of India, the apprehensions

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of the worthy Premier, as to the destruction of authority from the presence of Commissioners, are as arrant a bug-bear as the Russo-phobia of 1838, when the Affghan war was undertaken. If proof were required of the advantage, that would be derived from local investigation into the chief questions which affect the welfare of India, we should need none more satisfactory than the debates on Mr. Anstey's motion; for, from the reported speeches of those who addressed the house on that occasion, it is quite clear, that neither those, who made and supported the motion, nor those who opposed it, not even excepting among the latter Sir J. W. Hogg, knew well what they were talking about. The one party was as vague in its comprehension of the existing state of affairs, as the other was vague in its fears, and shuffling in its elusions: both parties, and that third great party, the British people, indubitably need enlightenment. We are convinced that it would have been equally safe and politic on the part of the Court of Directors, instead of opposing, to have favoured Mr. Anstey's motion in its entireness, and to have not only assented to, but also urged, the despatch of Commissioners for local inquiry in India. The opposition of the Court of Directors to this measure cannot fail of exciting violent suspicions both in England and in India; for, if the administration of the latter country be what Sir J. W. Hogg represents it, why evince such apprehension of a few parliamentary Commissioners? why elude local investigation? why cut off the natives of India from a single opportunity of giving expression to their views and opinions? All this will not look well; and is the more impolitic, as, although the administration of India has its faults and its short-comings, we are confident that the ultimate result of the most searching investigation, which Commissioners could institute, would not, on the whole, prove unfavourable, and might be productive of much future benefit, by bringing home to the minds of unprejudiced men, in whom the British people had confidence, the inherent difficulties besetting some of the great questions, which have attracted most the attention of the public in England.

It is evident that Mr. Anstey himself had a very limited idea of the amount of labour, ability, and energy, which, in order to work out his views, would have been essential; and, had we made any objection to his proposal, it would have been on the ground that it would be found difficult in practice to secure the instruments requisite for the due fulfilment of so onerous and important a duty. Two or three Commissioners would have been useless. A Commission for each Presidency, of suffi-

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cient strength to be able to sub-divide into minor sections, so as to effect a distribution of labour, would have been indispensable. The difficulty of obtaining a commission of such strength, in whose members the nation should have confidence, would have proved by no means trifling; and we can understand its forming an objection of some validity, though one which might, and ought to have been surmounted; for, as we profess to rule India, not alone with respect to the interests of the British people, but also with reference to those of our native subjects, the legislature should have felt imperatively called upon to surmount the difficulty. In no other way, but by sufficient, unbiassed, competent, local investigation, could the mind and wishes of the native community, their content or discontent, their oppression or the reverse, be ascertained. To those actually exercising authority, under a system to which they have been trained, and of which they form the working machinery, no native will unbosom himself. Independence of thought and speech forms no part of the native character; and the dread of authority, and of offending those who actually do, or shortly may, wield it, checks all independent expression of opinion. It is rare indeed that a native makes a confidant of any European servant of the Company, civil or military. He will always praise our institutions, our courts, our fiscal arrangements, our conduct—yet usually with the addition of a "but," followed by remarks, which, though solicitously guarded, indicate the existence of a something in courts, conduct, institutions, and fiscal arrangements, not in harmony with the habits and feelings of the people. The praise is merely to pioneer and smooth the way for a guarded retractation of all real approval. A Commission would have sounded these dispositions and views the more effectually, inasmuch as it would be felt and known that, invested by the Imperial Parliament with ample powers and authority to examine, the members were independent of the machinery of the local Government, and not wedded to its views or system: at the same time the consciousness, that the Commission was merely inquisitorial and transitory, would check the expression of mere frivolous accusations and discontent, as calculated to work, when the Commission was withdrawn, to the disadvantage of those, who gave vent to such ebullitions. So great is the dread in an Eastern mind of the executive authority and its machinery, that the Commissioners, in lieu of shaking the spirit of subordination, would have experienced that one of their greatest difficulties arose from the overwhelming awe, which chokes all expression of thought in a native, until he imagines he has discovered what it is wished that he should say. The

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Commission would not assuredly have found itself embarrassed by the independence of tone of its native informants.

From the utter silence of the Premier and Sir J. W. Hogg on the subject of native testimony, we suppose that it is deemed unnecessary to consult the views and opinions of our native subjects: for it is plain that there are not more than half-a-dozen men, who would go to England for the purpose of answering the queries of a parliamentary Committee, and that, out of that half-a-dozen, the proportion is small that are of any calibre of intellect. Among Hindus, Dwarkanath Tagores are scarce, and few or none of that great class of our population would cross the ocean on such a mission: yet the Hindu mind is calm, temperate, clear and subtile in all appertaining to its temporal concerns. It is searching in the observation of individual character; watches with all the attention of deep self-interest the course of our administration, and the working of our measures; and, although one could not perhaps be induced to proceed to England for the purpose of appearing before a parliamentary Committee, many could be produced before a Commission sitting on the spot—able and intelligent men too—who, on the various questions of paramount importance to India, could, if they pleased, give valuable information, and, what is of still greater consequence, unfold the latent opinions and real feelings of the Hindu population. The Mussulman is less averse to crossing the sea; and a fair number might be selected, who have had some experience of, and acquaintance with, the working of our system; but being trained in that system, and for the most part having had little or no experience elsewhere, their views are limited. Still from among this class too, some useful information might be derived, if they had an opportunity of speaking out: but no great proportion of them would willingly proceed to England for that purpose.

The whole tendency of our administration has of late years been to annihilate or reduce to insignificance, not only the princes hostile to our supremacy, with whom we came into conflict, but also the minor class of princes and chiefs, with whom we had no such quarrel. The gentry of the land has, throughout our own provinces, almost wholly disappeared; and the poverty-stricken and depressed remnants of this once considerable and influential class hide their want and their wounded pride in jealous seclusion. Neither chiefs nor broken-down gentry can be expected to visit England with the view of laying their opinions before Parliament. How then are the thoughts and feelings of these still important, though subdued, classes to be ascertained, or their griefs learnt, but by local inquiry?

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Surely, if India is to be governed, not altogether irrespectively of the real sentiments of the different classes of its vast and heterogeneous population, wisdom and humanity, as well as sound policy and the associated interests of Great Britain, all combine to render a call for native evidence advisable. Can we honestly or consistently exclude it, and shrink from thus testing the vaunts repeated *ad nauseam* of our integrity, liberality, and consideration? Most men will answer at once that we cannot, except at the expense of our character and pretensions. If this be granted, will it be alleged that to send to England two or three picked natives, duly selected by the Indian Government and its subordinates, will answer the purpose, and furnish a Blue Book with a specious sprinkling of Mussulman or Hindu opinion and testimony, in order to wipe away the charge of ignoring the feelings of the millions of India? Few beyond the precincts of the India House or Canon Row will hazard the assertion, that such a caricature of native testimony would be satisfactory either to England or India. How then remove the blot except by local investigation of Commissioners? Herein would have lain the chief advantage of a Commission sent out to India; for, in other respects, however great the abilities and the energies of the gentlemen selected for this weighty office, the time at their disposal would scarcely have sufficed for more than a somewhat superficial investigation, if all the complicated questions mooted by the Manchester school were to be explored and scrutinized. The great and chief utility of the Commission would have been to guage the feelings and opinions of the native community, to ascertain their exact position with reference to their immediate superiors, and to bear back to the Parliament an unprejudiced report of what they had heard and seen. Enjoying the confidence of the British public, the representatives of the British people would have made their statement free from suspicion, and would have satisfied their constituents and the nation far more effectually than will be the result of any other course. It is not, that *we* doubt that there are servants of the Company, who are both capable and willing to give truthful independent testimony and sound honest opinions: but necessarily their evidence would be regarded by the bulk of the English nation as that of interested partial witnesses, and would not carry the weight, which would be granted undoubtingly to the report of Commissioners.

These remarks are written in no spirit of hostility to the services in India. We are confident that the Government of India is well and ably served, and our pages have often shewn that we have pleasure in doing these services ample justice.

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Indeed, but for the fact that Sir J. W. Hogg takes occasion to defend the civil service, as a body free from corruption or depravity, twisting Mr. Anstey's motion into a special onslaught upon that body, and then very gallantly undertaking their defence with the same good taste as he exhibited with respect to Lord Dalhousie, we should never have deemed it necessary to allude to the favourable opinion of the services which we entertain. But, with such an instance before our eyes of the perversion of a man's motion and meaning, it is necessary to state that we see no connexion between the general objections to a system as advanced by Mr. C. Anstey, and a specific attack upon one class of the Company's servants. Mr. Anstey's views may be those of a person but superficially acquainted with most of the subjects on which he dilates, and his animadversions on the general system of administration may be rather crude; but what on earth has this to do with the corruption or depravity of the civil service? About as much as the sending out Commissioners to India would have had with the incompetence of Lord Dalhousie. When men in the position of Directors approach the truly great subject of legislating for India in such a spirit, they do more to warrant the sweeping condemnation, and the desire for thorough root-and-branch changes evinced by their opponents, than all the arguments of the latter can effect. Recourse to such subterfuge is suicide; they cut their own throats.

Now, although our administration in India is far, very far from being perfect, and the constitution of the Home branches of the Indian Government is very faulty, and capable of great improvement, we are by no means anxious to witness India transferred to the Colonial Department. That would indeed be a fatal consummation, and the turning point in all human probability of the destiny of this magnificent empire. Whether justly, or not, it has been boldly won. We wish to see it henceforth wisely ruled, and firmly kept; and as we do not think that this object would be secured by transferring its administration to the Colonial Department, and are of opinion that the line adopted by Sir J. W. Hogg, in endeavouring to smother and circumscribe evidence and information, is pregnant with evil, and calculated to foster and provoke ill-grounded suspicions, and to favour the entertainment of propositions for total changes, which, instead of amending the constitutions of the Home branch of the Government of India, would be more likely to substitute one of unstable character and irregular action, and might be productive of much evil both to England and India,—we purpose, in a series of short articles, to review the various

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subjects, which bear upon the question of the future Government of India, in the hope that a plain impartial examination of these subjects may be alike favourable to improvement in the Home and in the Indian branches of the administration.

The subjects are too extensive, too various to allow of condensation into a single article, and our readers must permit our remarks to be presented piece-meal, bearing in mind the multifarious matters, that have an important influence on the general question at issue, which may be propounded as being, What is the best administration for India in relation to its own welfare and prosperity, and to its connection with Great Britain? We hold that the interests of the two countries are intimately blended, and that, circumstanced as both are, any policy, which places these interests in antagonism, is neither sound nor wise. Providence has thrown upon the British nation the heavy responsibility of an empire numbering many millions of souls; and according as our rule proves beneficent, or the reverse, will England herself derive advantage or loss, honour or disgrace, the admiration or the contempt of that world, which has always regarded India as one of the most enviable of possessions. In the scheme of Divine providence, the judgments upon nations appear more sure and unfailing than upon individuals. Retribution follows misgovernment with an iron step, and crushes with inevitable ruin the children and children's children of an oppressing nation. Strange as it may seem to some of our readers, this idea is prevalent amongst the millions of India: and we have heard the speech of an intelligent and wealthy Hindu, when he witnessed a long course of unscrupulous conduct and successful corruption in a high British functionary—"Well, if the English send us such 'men as these, their days are numbered: they will not long 'be allowed to keep this country." So spoke one, who could enlighten, on several important subjects, any Commission sent to India. The speech was spoken in bitterness at what was passing before his eyes, and therefore was not of general application; but it proves that, no matter what a man's religion may be, when he sees the great principles of integrity and justice departed from, there arises at once the internal assurance of an avenging arm; and the conviction paves the way for the coming retribution. We err greatly, when upon differences of creed, or the existence of gross superstition, we found arguments hostile to clearness of vision with respect to temporal matters. The Hindu, the Mussulman, the Buddhist, the Parsí, sees his way shrewdly enough in worldly affairs: and, in arrogating for the servants of the East India Company clearer powers of percep-

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tion as to the real feelings, wishes and interests of the multiform classes under their dominion, there is more of the presumption arising from a superficial acquaintance with the people, than of deep views and knowledge of their characters.

In support of the institutions, which the British supremacy has imposed upon India, there is far too great a tendency on the part of our functionaries to disregard, and indeed to despise, the judgment of the very people for whom these institutions are framed, and who can best judge in many respects, though possibly not in all, of their adaptation to the wants of the community, and their favourable or unfavourable operation. We have always observed that the more intimately a European officer became conversant with the real views and opinions of the various classes with whom duty brought him into contact, in direct proportion to his ability and soundness of judgment were the moderation and modesty with which he pronounced upon the result of the measures of our administration, as viewed from the platform of the native mind, habits and associations. Few men can place themselves on that platform; and few have the skill or the patience to sound the views of the people under them. It is far easier to assert the excellence of our rule, to arrogate all wisdom and integrity for the instruments of that rule, to blacken the native qualities, and to pronounce them disabled from forming tolerable opinions, even in their temporal concerns, by falsehood, superstition, and their concomitants, exaggeration and dark ignorance; but this is as great a blunder as to dream that the Hindus are pure, simple, innocent souls, qualified for a terrestrial paradise.

That Commissioners are not to be sent out to India must now doubtless be regarded as decided. We regret the fact; the Manchester school would have been better pleased, and so would the people of England, though disappointed in some of their expectations, to have had their views corrected by men, whom they must have viewed as unprejudiced, or, if having any bias, one hostile to the existing state of our relations with, and our government of, India. Their report would have smoothed away many surmises and suspicions: and we even now wish, if not too late, that, upon any particular subject which most interested the party with whom the suggestion of Commissioners arose, that the Home Government would accede to these wishes, and permit the despatch of parliamentary inquisitors. Instead of having to repent of such concession, ministers would find that their apprehensions, if really entertained, were vain, and that the advantages obtained, if merely in the correction of erroneous views on the authority of unsuspected Commissioners, would far out-balance any minor inconveniences.

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Were the native community represented by an enlightened press; had the chiefs and people the means, the inclination, and the opportunity of expressing their grievances, their opinions, their wishes through the instrumentality of the broad sheets of an Indian *Times*; had they an omnipresent organ for thus instantaneously acting on public opinion; for quickly exposing oppression to detestation, corruption to infamy, and inefficiency to contempt, there would have been less reason for advocating the deputation of Parliamentary Commissioners. There is however no *Times* for the millions of India; and the millions of England, when they read of the freedom of the Press in India, must rid their minds, if they can, of the analogies which these cabalistic words convey. The English newspapers published in India are chiefly supported by the services, civil and military, of the East India Company, and by the European residents of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The press of course studies the tastes and requirements of its supporters; and, in so far as it is the exponent of anything, it indicates the matters which interest the European community—that small body having to rule many millions, and being on the whole both an intelligent and a highly honourable body, deeply interested in the administration of the empire which it is called upon to govern. The Anglo-Indian press, though of purely class circulation, frequently therefore addresses itself, with more or less ability, to subjects of general importance, in connection with the advancement and improvement of the provinces under our rule; but of course in a different spirit and from a different point of view from that which a press, the exponent of the native classes, would assume. Add to this that there is no means or method, by which the editors can feel the pulse of the Indian millions, and that they are dependent for information upon channels, which cannot be supposed to be unprejudiced—and it will be obvious that, however well intentioned and independent, it is impossible for an editor to know the sentiments of the native community. The few vernacular papers are of extremely limited circulation, the state of education and the general poverty of the masses militating against the success of native editors, whilst the qualifications of the latter are not of an order to overcome these difficulties, and to establish for themselves a general reputation. The trashy lucubrations of a few Calcutta Babús are no more any indication of the mind and feelings of the people of India, than a fishing punt on a stagnant pool is the model of a first-class frigate bounding over the waves of stormy ocean. The native papers at Agra, Delhi, Madras, and Bombay, are somewhat superior to those of Calcutta, but still most indifferent pro-

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ductions and enjoy a very limited circulation—one not to be compared to that of a fourth rate provincial town newspaper in England, and infinitely below such a paper in matter and manner.

Public opinion in India, by which we mean the exposition of the general sentiments of chiefs and people, is therefore wholly and entirely unrepresented: and the European press, even where unbiassed by class connections and influences, which is far from being always the case, is often very grossly misled, and falls into lamentable errors, in spite of the best intentions. We have seen the European Press praise men, as the models of public servants, whom we knew to be unprincipled, corrupt, and despised by the native community, as not even coming up to their own standard of integrity, debased as they acknowledge that to be; whilst, on the other hand, we have known the European press to be hounded on to the abuse and misrepresentation of public servants, whom the native community honoured and respected, as just, able, and of stainless probity. Sometimes this was to be ascribed to a hostile faction, knowing how to "work the press" as it is technically termed; but more frequently to the complete isolation of the European Press, and its want of connection with, and of feelers among, the native community; its want of authentic accurate information upon those most important points, the grievances, wishes, and opinions of the people. Hence, as the European press is, we repeat, no representative of public opinion in India, either as to men or measures—the chiefs, not actually at the three Presidencies, scarce heeding its existence, and never aware of its functions and character, whilst the millions are wholly ignorant of any such machinery, which neither directly nor indirectly can make itself practically felt among them—we advocate strongly that the Committee of the House of Commons have power to depute Commissioners for local investigation upon any matters, which seem to require inquisitorial scrutiny on the spot. In the course of the remarks, which we contemplate submitting to our readers in subsequent numbers, a few subjects, on which local inquiry would be advantageous, may be pointed out: though, after the general expression of opinion here made, that investigations on the spot would be alike politic and free from danger or inconvenience, there will be no necessity for again recurring to the subject, further than incidentally to illustrate the position, we have advanced, by occasionally instancing an example, where local scrutiny before Commissioners would be useful, not less to India, than to England.

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ART. IV.—*Festivals, Games, and Amusements; Ancient and Modern. By Horatio Smith. Family Library, No. 25.*

THE games and amusements of a country take their colour and complexion from the prevailing character of its inhabitants. The sports of the warlike, active, and enterprizing Romans were totally different from those of the voluptuous, sensual, and sedentary Persians; the festivals and merry-makings of the vivacious and pleasure-loving Greeks had nothing in common with those of the thoughtful but gloomy and priest-ridden Egyptians; while the war-dances of the North American Indians are in marked contrast with the elegant and somewhat effeminate amusements of the modern Italians. In this way perhaps, the festivals, games, sports, and amusements of a people afford a criterion for ascertaining their prevailing national character. They also serve to indicate the progress of refinement and civilization. In the infancy of society, when habits are rude and manners unpolished, games and sports partake of the general rusticity. With the march of civilization and the progress of refinement, the very amusements of a people become polished. The sports of the heroes, described by Homer towards the end of his immortal Epic, consisting in struggles of physical strength, were vastly different from the gay festivals and lively games of the Ionian Greeks of a later date; and the bull-baitings of the days of Queen Elizabeth would scarcely be tolerated in merry England in the nineteenth century.

The Bengalis are second to no nation in the number and variety of their festivals and amusements. Europeans in this country are accustomed to see the natives in the hours of business, and infer, from the air of artificiality which they assume on those occasions, that they are a cold-hearted, dull, and frigid people. Nothing can be a more erroneous conclusion. Were we to observe them in their seasons of recreation and leisure, when, divested of reserve, they shew themselves in their genuine colours; were we to mingle in their diversions, their festivals, and sports; were we to join in their evening talk, or their nocturnal merry-makings, we would find them a lively, vivacious, and merry people.

It is not our object in the following pages to describe the almost innumerable festivals and holidays of the Bengalis. These may be handled in a separate paper in a future number: in this we confine our attention to their games and amusements.

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The most superficial observer of Bengali manners must know that their games and sports are, for the most part, sedentary. The amusements of a numerous people, that do not supply the British army with a single sepoy, cannot be expected to bear a military character. The Bengali is certainly the least pugnacious animal in the world. The gods did not make him warlike. Possessed of lax nerves, of a feeble body, and of a timid soul, nature has not meant him to handle a gun, or wield a sword. Unlike the horse mentioned in the book of Job, "who paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; who goeth to meet the armed men, mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the mighty," the Bengali quietly folds up his arms, smokes his *húka*, and carefully barricades his door at the approach of a red-coat. Placed as the Bengali is under the fervours of a tropical sun, and indisposed to frequent locomotion, we cannot expect him to be proficient in field sports. His maxim being, that "walking is better than running, standing than walking, sitting than standing, and lying-down best of all," it would be preposterous to expect him to excel in any sports requiring manly activity. Gentle in his manners, idle in his habits, timid in his dispositions, unenterprizing in his thoughts, and slow in his motions, all his amusements and games must be for the most part sedentary. To a hasty description of some of these games, we now address ourselves.

The royal game of *Chess* merits the foremost notice. The history of this singular and intellectual game has been variously stated. The invention has been ascribed to the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Persians, Chinese, and Hindus. Sir W. Jones, in his ingenious dissertation, "On the Indian game of chess," ascribes it to the last-mentioned people. The Sanskrit name of this game, or of one similar to it, is *Chaturanga*, or the four divisions of an army, of which word the term *Shatranj*—the name by which the game is designated in Persia and India—is supposed to be a corruption.

"Thus," says Sir William, "has a very significant word in 'the sacred language of the Brahmins been transformed by 'successive changes into *axedres*, *scacchi*, *echecs*, *chess*, and by a 'whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the 'English word *check*, and even a name to the *exchequer* of 'Great Britain."

It must be confessed, however, that the game of Chaturanga, as described in the Hindu books—in the *Bhavishya-Purána* for instance, extracts from which have been given by Sir W. Jones, and in Raghu-Nandan's "Institutes of the Hindu Religion"—is

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materially different from the Persian chess. Instead of two, the Hindu Chaturanga consisted of four armies, which were ranged in battle array in four parts of the board; and, what is more, the moves of the pieces were not regulated by the skill of the players, but by the throws of the dice. Sir William supposes this to have been a later invention, or rather modification of the original chess.

Whatever may be the way in which the *quæstio vexata* of the invention of chess is solved (and we leave the matter to professed antiquarians), it is interesting for us to know that the *Shatranj* is universally prevalent in Bengal. The Bengali chess-board is the same as the European, with this difference, that the shrewd Bengali, averse to extravagant expenditure, usually draws his figure of sixty-four squares on a common sheet of paper. The pieces used in Bengal are of the same number as those of Europe, some of them however having different names. The Rájá, or king, is of course the commander-in-chief in this mock battle: next to him is the *mantri*, or minister—the *pherz* of the Persians, the *vierge* of the French, and the *queen* of the English; next in order are the *elephants*—the Persian *phils*, the French *fols*, and the English *bishops*; and the *horses*—the Persian *aspensuar*, and the English *knights*. The English "*castle*," the European "*rook*," and the Persian "*rokah*," has been ingeniously derived from the Sanskrita *Rath*, or chariot. But in Bengal the castle, or rook, has been most unaccountably changed into a *boat*. Sir W. Jones justly remarks that the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants and infantry on a plain, is an absurdity not to be defended. The *banes* of the Bengali are the *beydals* of the Persian, the *pietons* of the French, and the *pawns* of the English.

The moves of the pieces are similar to those of the European nations. All the pieces on one side of the board, agreeably to their Bengali names, are as follows: the king, the minister, two elephants, two horses, two boats, and eight foot-soldiers: agreeably to the English way of naming them in the words of the poet,—

> "A monarch strongly guarded here we view
> By his own consort and his clergy too;
> Next those, two knights their royal sire attend,
> And two steep rocks are planted at each end;
> To clear the way before this courtly throng,
> Eight pawns as private soldiers march along;
> *Enfans Perdus!!* like heroes stout and brave
> Risk their own lives the sovereign to save:
> All in their progress forming a complete
> And perfect emblem of the game of state."

The deep fascination, with which this bewitching game capti-

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vates the mind, is known to every one practised in the art. It is related of a caliph of Bagdad, that when engaged at chess with his freed-man, Kuthar, a soldier informed him that the city, which was then besieged by the enemy, was on the point of surrendering, he is said to have cried out—"Let me alone, for I am about to check-mate Kuthar." The unfortunate Charles I., when playing at chess, was informed of the resolution of the Scots to deliver him to the Parliament; but his mind was so much occupied with the game, that he finished it with wonderful calmness.

The game of chess is held in high repute in Bengal. That the Bengalis are well skilled in the mysteries of this princely pastime, is not surprizing. Their intelligence and sagacity, in which perhaps they are second to no nation, peculiarly fit them for eminence in this game. The deep cunning, moreover, which forms no small ingredient of the national character, enables them with facility to dive into the depths of state policy and to extricate the entanglements of political schemes, of which this "game of state" is represented by some to be an apt emblem.

The *Páshá* is considered to rank next to chess, which is regarded as the prince of all games. Its well-known board consists of two long rectangles, intersecting each other at right angles in the middle, and making four small rectangles besides the middle square. Each of these four rectangles consists of twenty-four squares; so that altogether there are ninety-six squares, excluding the space or large square contained in the middle. The pieces, made use of in the game, are sixteen in number, four on each side of the board. Unlike chess, where every thing is left to ingenuity and skill, the moves of the pieces in the Páshá are regulated by the throws of three dice, of the usual form, generally made of ivory. This, like the preceding, is also represented to be a military game. That this game is of long standing in Bengal, is evident from the fact that *Yudhisthir* is said in the Hindu Shastras to have played it with *Dúryadhan*. There are two ways of playing at "Páshá"—the *Rang* and *Chaupári*; in the former, only two, and in the latter, four persons being engaged. The Bengalis, naturally a talkative race, preserve wonderful taciturnity while engaged in chess. Around the chess-board every thing is quiet as the grave. The spectators look on the combat with mute attention; while the players themselves are too thoughtful to give vent to words. The ordinary *Kisti* (check) uttered in a slow voice is answered by the *Basti* (removal of the king) pronounced in a tone still feebler: the final check-mate being announced with

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due *eclat*. The Páshá-board is, on the contrary, a scene of noisy vociferation. The combatants breathe hatred and vengeance against each other; the throws of the dice are accompanied with tremendous noise; and the sounds of "*Kache-Baro*" and "*Baro-Panch*" are heard from a considerable distance. It is altogether a lively scene, in strong contrast with the apathy generally attributed to the Bengalis. Around the Páshá-board is thrown away much "excellent indignation," which, if properly husbanded and directed in one strong current against the oppressing zemindars of their country, might lighten the burdens of the people, and augment their social happiness.

In point of gentility, in the estimation of the Bengali, *Playing cards* occupy the third place. Every one is acquainted with the fact, that the mysteries of managing fifty-two quadrangular pieces of painted paste-board are not Hindu in their origin. Whether cards were invented in France towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century for alleviating the ill-humour of a King, or in Spain by an Abbé; or whether they were introduced into Europe by the Moorish invaders, who imported it from the East, or by the crusaders of the eleventh century; whether the pack originally consisted of thirty-six or fifty-two; whether the "combat on the velvet plain" was an allegorical representation of the feudal system—the king representing the feudal monarch, the knaves the powerful barons, (the queens being a later invention of French gallantry), and the numerical cards the degraded serfs; whether the suits symbolized the four classes of society, *spades* the nobility, *hearts* the clergy, *clubs* the husbandmen, and *diamonds* the vassals or the soldiers; and whether the technicalities of the Aristotelian Logic may not be conveniently taught by the apt-emblems of the quadrangular pieces, as a hot-brained friar of the sixteenth century is said to have imagined and actually practised—all these we leave to be determined by those who delight in such researches. We suppose the Bengalis learnt the art of dealing and shuffling from their enlightened conquerors—the Europeans. The king and the queen they style *Saheb* and *Bibi*; and the Bengali *Pramárá* is, doubtless, a corruption of the European Primero. It is scarcely necessary to add that the cards used by the Bengalis are precisely those used by the Europeans.

Besides Primero, the most usual play is what is termed *Grábu*: it is played by four persons with a pack of thirty-two cards—the twos, threes, fours, fives, and sixes, being excluded. That gambling of some sort existed in the country from a remote age is unquestionable; but the Bengalis are by no means deep gamblers, and we are greatly mistaken if their gambling

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propensities have not been increased by the introduction of European cards. *Cowries* (shells) were, and are, still used by the peasantry for gambling purposes; but these, it ought to be remembered, are games of small hazard.

The chess, the páshá, and cards constitute the whole circle of the games of the largest proportion of the intelligent and sober part of the Hindu community. They are played in the halls of the rich, the *chandi-mandalas* of the middling classes, and under the shades of trees. The Bengalis are a very sociable and pleasure-loving people. Gregariousness is one of the prominent features of their national character. In every village the people assemble together in separate parties, subsequent to their afternoon nap, for purposes of recreation and interesting talk. We do not here speak of the lower orders of the people, but of the gentry of Bengal. In the cool of the evening, parties of respectable natives may be not unfrequently seen sitting under the umbrageous *Bakul*, and amusing themselves with chess, páshá, or cards. Laying aside for a season the pride of wealth and even the rigorous distinctions of caste, Brahmins and Sudras may be seen mingling together for recreation. The noisy vociferations and the loud laugh betoken a scene of merriment and joy. The *húkah*, a necessary furniture of a Bengali meeting place, is ever and anon by its fragrant vollies ministering to the refreshment of the assembly; while the plaudits of the successful player rise higher than the curling smoke issuing from the cocoanut vessel. The games over, they separate for a short time; and, when the shades of evening thicken around them, re-assemble within-doors, and amuse themselves again with music and cards.

We have often thought that the degradation of the females of India has been generally drawn in exaggerated colours. That women in India do not attain to that state in society, which they do in Europe, is unquestionable; but that they are viewed here in the light of slaves, cattle, and household property, is not true. We speak not of the place which the Hindu Shastras assign to women in the scale of society, but speak of things as they exist before us. People at home, ignorant of Hindu manners and customs, and drawing their inferences from their theoretic knowledge of Hinduism, which is not deep, have a notion that Hindu females, like negro slaves, are doomed to unrelenting servitude, and subjected to all the ills of life without its enjoyment and pleasures. That much of their time is devoted to all sorts of in-door work is true; but is not that the case even in England? Were they allowed the privilege of improving their minds by the salutary exercises of reading and writing, they would stand

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on a par with the women of any part of the world. In this prohibition is to be found the real cause of their degradation.

With a view to show that the females of Bengal are not such galley-slaves as some represent them to be; that they are not always ruled over with an iron sceptre; that they have their leisure and their recreations; and that, to dissipate the tedium and languor of their illiterate life, they, in common with the males, have recourse to amusements, we shall mention some of their games and sports. We do not wish to present the reader with the details of the juvenile plays of the girls of Bengal; of their *Dolls*, not certainly the most graceful of their race; of *Bow-Bow*, in which the mysteries of marriage are emblematically represented; of *Hide-and-seek*, known to children in all parts of the world; of the *Blind men*, or squeezing of the eyes; of *Fùl-kùti*, in which the dexterity of the fingers is exhibited; and of that large class of plays in which the recitation of doggrel verses forms a principal part, such as *Agádum-Bágadum*, &c.: these and such like plays shall be passed over.

When females attain to the age of puberty, and are transferred from the paternal roof to that of their husbands, they commence a busy life. Early in the morning, in the houses of the middling class, for we speak not of the wealthy minority, females may be seen busy with domestic affairs. One may be seen with a vessel in her hand, containing a mixture of water and cow's dung, industriously engaged in sprinkling the fragrant contents on the mud-floor and yard, with a view to ceremonial purification; another, with a palmyra, or cocoanut broomstick, sweeping every part of the house; a third, hastening to a neighbouring tank to cleanse and wash all the brazen pots of the family; while a fourth—the cook of the family—is preparing for morning ablutions. The morning work over, while the cuisinier plies her task in the heated kitchen, the other females bathe in an adjacent pool, and bring each a vessel of water for the supply of the family. The males—the lords of creation—are feasted first, on whom their wives and mothers attend. It ought to be remarked in passing, that attendance at the table is not regarded by the Bengalis as a servile occupation, that office being usually performed by elderly matrons and Brahmins. After the males and the children have eaten, the self-denying and modest women help themselves to their morning meal, which takes place in the middle of the day. Their meal over, they repair to their dormitories, and betake themselves to

Tired nature's sweet restorer—balmy sleep:

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and, before engaging in their evening work, which is slight compared with their morning portion, amuse themselves with one or other of the following games.

Ashtá-Kashte. This game is played on a board of twenty-five squares, with sixteen pieces of small *cowries*, which are placed on four sides of the figure. For regulating the moves of the pieces, four large *cowries*, instead of dice, are used. The pieces have all the same uniform motion. The throws are only five in number—the *un*, *deux*, *trois*, *quatre*, and *huit*; the first is technically called *Kashte* and the last *Ashtá*—whence the name of the game. It is played by four individuals, and is said to be finished, when all the pieces, traversing through the length and breadth of the board, enter into the central square—the heaven of rest and undisturbed repose; and those persons, whose pieces first attain to this position, are considered to be the winners of the game.

Mangal Patán. It is not a little remarkable that the females of the most unwarlike nation upon earth should delight themselves with the image of war. The fair ladies of England must, in this instance, at least yield to their dark sisters on the banks of the Bhágirathi the palm of superiority. Which of the ladies, we ask, who are so thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of the polka and crochet, ever conducted with consummate generalship a Mongol or a Patán army? Britain may boast of a Boadicea, France of a Joan of Arc, and Russia of a Catherine: but the females of Bengal are all Amazons, who display their martial abilities on the well-foughten field within the precincts of their gloomy zenanas. The game of *Mangal Patán* is a real military pastime; it is the representation of a battle between the Mongols and the Patáns. The battle-field is accurately drawn, consisting of sixteen squares: within this figure is inscribed a large square. On one side is ranged the Mongol army in a triangular form, and on the opposite side the Patán army. Each army consists of sixteen pieces, the moves of which are regulated, not by chance, but by the skill of the players. It is less ingenious than chess, inasmuch as the moves of the pieces are uniform. The fascination, nevertheless, which this less complicated game produces on the softer sex, is fully equal to that exerted on more robust minds by the pastime called *par excellence* royal.

Das-Panchish is another favourite game of native women. Its board is similar to that of the *Páshá:* the moves of the pieces, which are sixteen in number, are however regulated, not

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by three dice, but by seven cowries, thrown either on the floor, or against an inclined plane. The throws are two, three, four, six, ten, twelve, and twenty-five, the game deriving its name from two of them, ten *(Das)* and twenty-five *(Panchish)*. This play is as animated as the *Páshá;* the long-veiled women of Bengal rivalling the noisy eloquence of the fish-wives of Billingsgate. The long duration of the play, the fascination which it produces, the warmth of feeling which animates the opposing combatants, and its similarity to the genteel *Páshá*, render it one of the most favourite games of the females of Bengal.

Bhág Bandhi, or the tiger enclosed, is another favourite pastime. Although the worthy males of Bengal have not either the courage and bodily activity, or the inclination to attack in their lairs the wild beasts of the forest, yet their wives, behind the *Purdah*, amuse themselves with the image of a tiger-hunt.

The figure, commonly employed for playing the game, is composed of two triangles, united together in the middle by a big square. The tiger of the game occupies one of the triangles, and the goats, whose number is variable, the other triangle and a part of the square. The tiger springs upon and devours a good number of the goats, but is eventually pushed to a corner, whence it is impossible to escape. Sometimes this game is played with two tigers, and proportionately large number of goats; but the tigers are in the issue ensnared. Sometimes, also, the *Bhág Bandhi* is played in the figure of the Mangal Patán; but in all cases the female hunters capture their game.

Passing over some games of minor importance, we conclude the Hindu female games with remarking, that the women of Bengal are by no means unacquainted with playing-cards. To avoid misrepresentation, it is also necessary to remark that the games, which we have ascribed to females, are not peculiar to them: they are also played by Hindu males.

The games of the peasantry of Bengal will now engage our attention. If any Bengali sports require muscular activity and frequent locomotion, almost all of them are confined to the peasantry. Addicted to works dependent on physical energy, and accustomed to exposure in the fields, their sports and games partake of their general activity. The peasantry of every country, owing to the simplicity and naturalness of their habits, must always be an interesting class. Plain in their manners, unsophisticated in their judgments, and uncorrupted with the vices of meretricious refinement, they form, as it were, a transition-link between the old and the new worlds of fashion, and

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serve to mark the progress of society. The *ryots* of Bengal are as interesting a class of people as any peasantry in the world. Amongst them is to be found a vast deal of the simplicity of olden times; and some of the social virtues, which they exercise, entitle them to our respect and admiration. But they have been greatly abused: systematic oppression from time immemorial has paralyzed their energies, deprived them of their native manliness, and reduced them to the ignoble condition of slaves. Their own countrymen have proved to be their cruelest oppressors and most inveterate foes. The zemindar's *kacheri* is the scene of the ryots' degradation, where he is derided, spat upon, and treated as if he were the veriest vermin of creation. Let us turn, however, at present, from these unpleasant and melancholy reflections to a brief consideration of their games and sports, of which, although divested of every thing else that makes life comfortable, the rapacity of iron-hearted landlords has not been able to deprive them.

The Sling. No person can have gone one day's journey from the metropolis of British India without observing almost every shepherd or cowherd boy provided with a sling and stones, not unlike the great shepherd-king of Judah in his youthful days. The herdsmen of Bengal may be seen in the fields, vieing with one another in throwing stones to the greatest distance by means of their rudely made slings.

We pass over *Kite-flying*, the almost universal amusement of old and young, male and female, Mussulman and Hindu; as, except in the construction of the kite, it differs in nothing from the English game.

In the cool of the afternoon a company of youthful herdsmen may often be observed under the grateful shade of a large banian tree, pacing across the ground with great activity. They are playing at *Hádu-Gudu*. This simple pastime of the children of the sun does not require many words to describe it. On the bare ground a line is drawn by a pots-herd, on two sides of which the opposing combatants are ranged. The sport begins with an individual of one party transgressing the line of separation, and encroaching on the territories of the other. The transgressor with his body bent, his hands performing a variety of evolutions, attempts in one breath to strike his enemies: the continuity of the breath being ascertained by a sound which he makes. His enemies are on the alert to avoid his touch, which is said to be attended with complete disablement, or, in the phraseology of the play, perfect death. Should he succeed in striking an opponent, and in crossing the line to his own side

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in one breath, the opponent is said to die, and, separating from the rest of his companions, retires from the field; but should the striking invader lose his breath before crossing the line, the struck opponent is not disabled. Should the transgressor be seized by his opponents, and he lose his breath on their side of the line, he is disabled and is said to die; but should he succeed, when caught, in shoving himself during the same breath to the dividing line, he is not disabled. The sport concludes when the last combatant of either party is disabled. The number of the players is not fixed; sometimes four, and sometimes fifty, persons may be seen engaged in this sport. The eagerness of the hostile parties, the swift evolutions of the hands, the agility of foot, the recitation of doggrel verses during the performance, the strategy of the combatants, and the loud bursts of laughter which attend the disablement of the opponents, render this sport one of peculiar glee and animation.

Dándá-guli is the bat-and-ball of the Bengalis. The *Dándá* is a stout stick two feet long, and the *Guli* stouter still of the size of half a span. The sport resembles bat-and-ball in so many respects, that it is unnecessary to describe it. There are five ways of playing at *Dándá-guli*, the names of which we put down for the gratification of the curious—*Háral*, *Nama-sudra*, *Eri-dari*, *Eku-duku*, and *Kai-hátá*. At the festival of the first fruits in the month of November, and at the *púja*h of the goddess of wisdom in the month of January, boys, young men, as well as old men, go in together in merry groups, and partake of the pleasures of this exciting sport.

Wrestling is by no means uncommon among the peasantry of Bengal. In all seasons, but especially in the winter, they wrestle together on the out-skirts of a village. The *stadium* of the Bengali wrestlers is usually a small space of ground under a tree, whither the candidates repair in the mornings or the evenings. Unlike the athletes in the Olympic stadium, who wrestled in the eye of assembled Greece, and had their names heralded forth throughout the length and breadth of that glorious land, the wrestlers of Bengal are unobserved and unapplauded except by their rustic comrades. The wrestling over, the simple peasants throw themselves into an adjacent tank or brook, wash their soiled bodies, and not unfrequently crown the amusements of the day with a swimming match. Gambling, to a small extent, obtains among the peasantry, but is so infrequent, that it hardly observes notice.

Ram-fights in the villages of Bengal have nothing of the

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atrocity of Spanish bull-baitings or English bear-beatings of former days. We have heard of the natives amusing themselves with the fights of elephants and buffaloes; but these are few and far between. Rams fed with great care and attention in various parts of the country are made to knock at each other for the diversion of the people. Two persons, each provided with a ram, stand several hundred yards from each other; they both let go the rams at the same time, who meet each other in the middle of the area with a tremendous shock of their horns.

Búl-búl fights must not escape our attention. These little birds are collected in multitudes and trained to wag their heads and fight with each other. Some of the wealthy Millionaires of Calcutta are passionately fond of this amusement. Their gardens for whole weeks together are crowded with spectators from Calcutta and its immediate vicinity to witness these Lilliputian fights.

From the list of the amusements of the Bengalis, *Jugglery* should not be excluded. The worthy personages, who play hocus-pocus tricks, are not natives of Bengal; most of them come from Southern India, and a few only from the Western Provinces. The juggling tricks of those, who deceive the credulous Bengalis of the nineteenth century, are far inferior in ingenuity to those exhibited by the *Tragetours* of the fourteenth century witnessed by Chaucer, who, it is said, could produce water in a large hall with boats rowed up and down upon it, make flowers to spring up as in a meadow, and cause a vine to flourish and bear red and white grapes, and dissipate the conjured scene by their mystic wand. The Bengali *Bájikars* (so the jugglers are called) are men of inferior pretensions. They content themselves with exhibiting sleights of hand. They convert a pice into a mango, a plum into a cowrie. They create an egg in an empty bag, and cause a dead goat to drink water. They can dance upon a rope, vomit fire, and sometimes thrust a knife through a man's neck without injuring it—which may be reckoned their *chef-d'œuvre*. There are juggling women, who, unacquainted with the higher mysteries of the occult science, are only proficient in showing in their own gums a variety of *teeth*—teeth of monstrous size. The *Bájikars* pretend to work out the transformations of bodies by the magical influence of a piece of bone, which they carry about with them.

In connection with this subject, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to make a remark on those yellow-dressed strollers, who pretend to draw out snakes from their holes by

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charming them with a peculiar music. Sir W. Jones, in his dissertations before the Asiatic Society, remarks that a learned native of this country had told him that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes upon hearing tunes on a flute, which gave them peculiar delight. Whether serpents have been ever charmed by music at any time, we shall not take upon ourselves to determine: but this we may be allowed to say, on the ground of our own individual experience and observation, that the pretended charmers, who walk about the streets of Calcutta, with bones of snakes and musical instruments in their hands, are great rogues and cheats. Snakes do certainly make their appearance, when the flutes are played upon: but they belong to the charmers themselves, who carry them in a bag carefully concealed beneath the waist, and which they adroitly cast on the ground, pretending that they came out of their holes. These juggling rogues also play at what is called *Tubri*. They pretend to be able, by their incantations, to endow a particle of dust, or a mustard-seed with the miraculous power of stupifying a person at whom it is struck. With these charmed particles, they strike at each other, and fall into fits of torpor to the infinite amazement of the unthinking mob.

From hocus-pocus tricks, we pass on to what may not be improperly termed the elegant amusements of the Bengalis.—

Music. Says the prince of poets:—

> "The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus:
> Let no such man be trusted."

The Bengali may then be trusted, for there is certainly music in him of whatever sort. The husbandman in the fields, the pedlar with his pack, the grinder at the mill, the waggoner on his cart —all whistle and sing. Of instrumental music, there is not any lack. While we write, our ears are regaled with the choral symphonies of the *tom-toms* of a marriage procession; and the sounds of musical instruments may be heard at any time in any part of Bengal. But what is the character of their music—both vocal and instrumental? We do not speak here of ancient Hindu music, which, according to Sir W. Jones, was by no means contemptible. It would appear from his learned essay on the musical modes of the Hindus, that music was diligently cultivated in ancient times in India, and that there were four musical systems prevalent, viz., those of *Iswara*,

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Bharat, Hanumát, and *Kálináth.* But whatever may have been the musical attainments of the ancient Hindus and of the modern amateur performers of Delhi, who are said to be exquisite musicians, the music of the Hindus of Lower Bengal at the present day is wretched to the last degree. We do not profess to be connoisseurs; but if harmony be an essential ingredient of music, or rather constitute music itself, nine-tenths of the performances of the Bengalis do not deserve that sacred name. To extract one particle of harmony from a vast deal of their music, is as hopeless as to extract sun-beams out of cucumbers. What music there may be in the Babel discord of *tom-toms, dhols,* &c., it is impossible for us to determine; and these, it should be remembered, constitute that general music, in which the majority of the people delight. That there is some really good music in the country, it would be unjust to deny; but all of it is learnt from Upper India, whither it was imported, we suppose, from Persia. The *Viná* is a good musical instrument; but how many Bengalis can successfully play upon it? We never could relish that pumpkin of a musical instrument, dignified with the appellation, *par excellence,* of *Tánpurá,* as if it was an harmonicon of the sweetest notes in existence. Young Bengal has, of late, ventured to say that Bengali music is better than European music, and that the latter is remarkably devoid of harmony. To be sure; for who in his sober senses would ever prefer the shrill piano-forte to the sweet-toned tom-tom?

Dancing. "Music and dancing," says an eloquent French dancing master, "are kindred arts; the tender and harmonious 'accents of the one excite and produce the agreeable and expres-'sive motions of the other; and their union entertains the eye and 'ear with animated pictures of sentiments; these two senses again 'convey to the heart the interesting images which affect them; 'while the heart, in its turn, communicates them to the mental 'faculty: thus the pleasure, resulting from the harmony and intel-'ligence of these two arts, enchants the spectator, and fills him 'with the most seducing pleasures of voluptuousness." Such grandiloquence is natural to a French ballet-master; but who could have expected the following from the grave English metaphysician, Locke? "Nothing appears to me," says he, "to give chil-'dren so much confidence and behaviour, and so to raise them 'to the conversation of those above their years, as dancing." John Bull has, indeed, been always fond of dancing. Says an old poet:—

> "The priestes and clerkes to daunce have no shame,
> The frere or monke in his frocke and cowle,
> Must daunce; and the doctor lepeth to play the foole."

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Bengalis, however, are not much addicted to dancing. Plato reduces Greek dances into three classes, the *military*, the *domestic*, and the *mediatorial*, or religious: the object of the first was the invigoration of the body; that of the second agreeable recreation; and the third was used for religious purposes. The Bengalis being an unwarlike nation, military dances cannot reasonably be expected to exist among them. The village chowkidars, however, some of whom are no mean proficients in fencing and *lattying*, practise a species of pyrrhic dance, of which there are no less than seven sorts. Domestic dances, properly so called, do not exist amongst the people; for it is considered highly atrocious for a woman of good character to dance. Though the Bengalis neither dance themselves, nor make their wives and sisters do so for their amusement; yet they do not hesitate to entertain themselves with *nátches*, in which prostitutes, chiefly Hindustani women, are employed to dance. It would be difficult to find words sufficiently expressive of the licentious nature of these *nátches*. No man, who has any moral delicacy, can witness them without horror. Yet Bengalis of all names and ranks enjoy these impure dances with enthusiasm; and we are sorry to add that some Europeans, also Christians by profession, encourage and take delight in them. On religious festivals of high excitement, such as the Káli Pujah, *Shákta* Brahmins, reeling with intoxication, dance away before the bloody *Shyámá*: and dancing forms an integral part of the devotion of the Vaishnavas.

Bengali Drama. The elegant amusement of dramatic representation has been always prevalent amongst all ingenious people. The noble tragedies of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, and the comic burlesques of Aristophanes, gave as much pleasure to the Athenians, as the matchless plays of Shakespeare did, and still do, to the English. India, in her high and palmy state, had also a dramatic literature of her own, and scenic representations to gratify the people. Of the ancient Hindu drama, some notice was taken in the last number of this periodical; we shall not therefore allude to it at all, but proceed to make a remark or two on the state of the drama as it now exists among the Bengalis.

Of the execrable representations, called *Jàtràs*, we dare not give here a detailed description; they are wretched from the commencement to the fifth act. The plots are very often the amours of Krishna, or the love of *Bidya* and *Sundar*. In the representations of the Krishná-játrá, boys, arrayed in the habit of *Sakhis* and *Gopinis* (milk-maids), cut the principal

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figure on the stage. It would require the pencil of a master-painter to pourtray the killing beauty of these fairies of the Bengali stage. Their sooty complexion, their coal-black cheeks, their haggard eyes, their long-extended arms, their gaping mouths, and their puerile attire, excite disgust. Their external deformity is rivalled by their discordant voices. For the screechings of the night-owls, the howlings of the jackals, and the barkings of dogs that bay the moon, are harmony itself compared with their horrid yells. Their dances are in strict accordance with the other accessaries. In the evolutions of the hands and feet, dignified with the name of dancing, they imitate all postures and gestures calculated to soil the mind and pollute the fancy.

The principal actors during the interludes are a *mather*, who enters the stage with a broomstick in his hand, and cracks a few stupid jests, which set the audience in a roar of laughter; and his brother *Bhuluá*, who, completely fuddled, amuses the spectators with the false steps of his feet.

Akin to the Játrás is the *Páchálí*, which is nothing more than the recitation of a story in measured lines, accompanied with singing and music. The stories recited are generally taken from the Hindu Shastras, as the marriage of *Siva*, the battle of *Kurukshetra*, the lamentation of *Rádhá*, and such like; but sometimes also original stories of an immoral tendency are recited. Of late the Páchálí has become very fashionable, and is annually celebrated in Calcutta on a grand scale. There are many Páchálí-versifiers now living: but the palm of superiority is certainly due to *Dásurathi Ráya*, a native of the district of Burdwan, whose poems already amount to several volumes. The *Half-A'krais* too have of late become fashionable, especially in the metropolis: these are distinguished from the Páchálís by more animated music and singing. During the Durgá Pujah celebrations, bands of *Half-A'krai* and *Páchálí* singers may be seen marching through the streets of Calcutta, with their flags hoisted, singing loud pæans of victory.

Our enumeration of the amusements of the Bengalis would be incomplete, if we made no mention of the *Kavis*, which deserve a place in this list, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because of the vast influence they exert, and the great attractions they possess for nine-tenths of the people of Bengal. *Kavi*, in the original Sanskrit, means a poet: but how this honourable appellation came to be applied to a crew of half-witted poetasters and songsters, it is difficult to say. A band of *Kavis* or *Kàvi-walas*, as they are oftener called, is composed of

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a number of songsters of different castes, leagued together under a leader, who gives name to the association. The leader may be a Brahmin, a confectioner, or of any caste. The *animus* of the *Kavis* is rivalry. Two bands under different leaders vie with each other in winning the applause of the audience. Their songs in the first instance celebrate the loves of Krishná and Rádhá, or the praises of the bloody goddess, Káli; but, these over, they indulge in songs of the most wanton licentiousness, and crown the whole with calling each other bad names. So far for the matter; the manner of singing is one of which Young Bengal may well be ashamed. *Kàvis* must be seen, heard, and tested in order to be known and appreciated. The houses of some of the rich Babus of Calcutta are annually the scenes of these disgraceful exhibitions. Others have got heartily tired of them, and have substituted the less barbarous, but not the less immoral, *nátches*. But the *Kavis* are in high repute in the Mofussil; and women, from behind the screens, may be observed greedily devouring their licentious effusions. The *Jhumurs*, or bands of female *Kavi-walas*, are nearly extinct.

We conclude this imperfect sketch, in the hasty drawing up of which some games and amusements may have escaped our notice, with expressing our hope, that with the progress of improvement and the diffusion of sound and useful knowledge, the sports and recreations of the people of Bengal will be more polished and rational than they now are. Games and amusements are but exponents of the national character; when a change is effected on the latter, the former will alter of themselves.

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ART. V.—*Life of Sir Thomas Munro. By the Revd. J. R. Gleig.* 1 *Vol. A new Edition, revised and condensed from the larger Biography. London.* 1849.

THIS is an improved edition of a standard Anglo-Indian biography. Compared with the old one, it has gained in value almost as much as it has lost in size. A mass of trivial and distracting details encumbered the original work. These dead branches, which only injured the vigorous trunk, have now been lopped away, and the various passages of the hero's life, formerly intermingled and confused, have now been separated with perspicuous arrangement, and presented as so many "tableaux vivants," forming an harmonious whole. But in both editions, much that is valuable has been omitted, apparently to make room for much that is mere lumber. We could have remained contentedly ignorant of Munro's notions regarding chit-chat, novels, love, society and such like, which are given at length in these volumes. But we confess that we should like to know how it was that he carved out the destiny, resuscitated the energies, and elevated the character of all the districts successively entrusted to his charge, which matters are not explained in either of the two editions. A number of extracts from the despatches of the Home and Local Governments are paraded and marshalled out, just like a string of certificates, to shew what almost national blessings were showered on the people by Sir Thomas Munro, and what fostering influences were evoked by his good genius. But it seems rather hard that we should not be told how all this was managed. His great fiscal and economical measures are left to be precariously indicated by casual hints, dropped during the course of private correspondence. Yet these said measures have been lucidly described in his official statements: and why should not extracts from these statements be given? Or even if the extracts should be found too long for insertion, why should not their substance have been set forth shortly and clearly? To the first edition there is subjoined an appendix, consisting of state papers: but the selection does not appear to have been very judiciously made. Several of these papers are comparatively unimportant: while the interesting treatises, which formed a goodly portion of the famous "Fifth Report,"* have been denied a place. Moreover,

* Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, 1812. This Report is a mine of useful information. Some of Munro's best fiscal statements were reprinted in the appendix to the Report.

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when writing the memoirs of a man, who so personally identified himself with the prosperity of the districts he ruled, it became almost requisite for the biographer to touch upon the history, peculiarities and condition of these provinces. This task, which would have been worthy of an author who was at that very time preparing a history of British India, and had all the best materials ready to his hand, was not even attempted, and was, indeed, disclaimed in the preface to the first edition. We shall endeavour (as far as our imperfect materials may permit) to supply this deficiency. And before discussing the several measures and the policy that distinguished Sir Thomas Munro's career, we shall succinctly trace the past fortunes of the districts, which from first to last fell under his beneficent administration.

Sir Thomas Munro's official life was spent entirely within the confines of the ancient Empire of Bijayanugur. This kingdom, embracing, as it did, the whole southern peninsula, exceeded perhaps in extent and splendour all the monarchies which were formed by Rajpút dynasties of "Solar" or of "Lunar" lineage.* Antiquarian research has shown that here was the seat of the best and earliest Hindu civilization. Here reigned the Sovereigns, whose "insatiable benevolence" has been rendered immortal by the glowing eloquence of Burke. Here was the face of the country covered with tanks, dykes, reservoirs, pagodas, and choultries. Here were the cities, whose grand remains have been alike celebrated by the verse of Southey, the popular prose of Heber, and the artistic delineations of Lord Valentia. Here was the great capital, "the city of Victory," (Bijayanugur), whose living greatness was attested by foreign travellers of all creeds and nations, by Cæsar Frederick, by the Turkish Abdurizak, by the Italian Bartema. This was the last great Hindu state that yielded to an alien conqueror. The flood-gates of Mussulman invasion had been opened upon India. Hindustan Proper and Bengal had sunk beneath the overwhelming tide. The sister kingdoms of Delhi, Kanouj, Ayudya, and Magadha had fallen. But Bijayanugur still remained unscathed. Again the swelling waves of conquest began to roll southward. The storm burst upon Central India; and the Bahmani Padshahs were enthroned in the Deccan. Bijayanugur, however, still stood firm: and even these children of fortune and adventure, whose talents and courage had raised them from serfdom to sovereignty—even they dreaded the might of this empire, and the valour of its kings. Mussulman soldiers were glad to render

* All Rajpúts believed themselves sprung originally either from the Sun or the Moon. See Tod's account of the mythology of Rajahsthan.

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homage to, and serve in the ranks of, the infidel Rajahs.* But that, which no single enemy could dare, was accomplished by union. A potent league was formed by the Bahmani kings of Golconda, Ahmednugur, Bijapur and Beeder, for the annihilation of Bijayanugur. One of the hardest battles in Indian history was fought at Talicota, A. D. 1565. The army of Bijayanugur was defeated, the capital sacked, the kingdom subverted.

But although the centralization of the empire had been broken up, yet the separate portions (like the "disjecta membra poetæ") still retained their distinctive features and pristine independence. The regal descendants retired into an ambitious seclusion, there to preserve the glorious annals of their fallen race, to cherish aspirations, and to meditate schemes for its future restoration. Among the separate principalities, which then rose up from among the ruins of the parent state, was the kingdom of Mysore. At length, under the auspices of the Mussulman usurpers of Mysore, were again fused and concentred the component parts of the old empire of Bijayanugur. Province after province were added to the Mysore dominions by the great father and still greater son, Hyder and Tippoo. Among the predatory incursions of these two royal robbers, Tippoo's invasion of Annagundi was specially marked by reckless cruelty. Annagundi was the modern Bijayanugur, though of course shorn of its former honors, "reft of its sons, midst all its foes forlorn." Tippoo attacked the city, levelled what little there remained of Bijayanugur with the dust, slaughtered the inhabitants, and burned the records. Well might the seers of Annagundi, as an omen of his own coming fate, have apostrophized him with "Ruin seize thee, ruthless king." Hyder, having averted the destruction threatened by the Mahratta hordes, resolved to measure swords with the British. The result of that contest we need not state. We shall merely note, that at the close of the campaign of 1792, Hyder was forced to cede to the British the province of Salem or Bara-mahal, and to restore the territory that had been conquered from the Nizam of Hyderabad (the ally of the British), namely the Balaghát districts. When Seringapatam fell in 1799, among the territories acquired by the conquerors at that epoch, was the province of Canara, which had been conquered by Hyder in 1763. The Balaghát districts were eventually ceded to the British by the Nizam in 1800, in satisfaction of his debts to the Company. The three provinces

* Brigg's Ferishta.

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of Bara-mahal or Salem, Canara, and Balaghát have been thus specially noticed, because they were to form the scene of Munro's future labours. The extensive country whose history we have thus endeavoured to sketch, had of course passed through almost as many changes in system as changes in rulers. Various were the methods employed by the ancient kings of Bijayanugur for the administration of their wide spread dominions. Many of the distant and newly conquered regions were formed into satrapies, and ruled by subordinate Rajahs, who furnished contingents or subsidies to the Central Government. Many are the stories of the tributary kings, whose retinues adorned the court and camp at Bijayanugur, who were constituted lords of the bedchamber to the Sovereign, who held his majesty's umbrella, waved his fan, and carried his betelnut. Those tracts, which formed the original appanage of the crown, continued all along to be administered directly by the Sovereign. The results of this administration, as far they can be estimated by external signs of prosperity, we have already noticed. The taxation was mild and equitable. The institute and pandects of Harahar Rai had been universally obeyed; and the spirit of the dictum of the legislator Vidyaranya, that "the king, who took more than one sixth of the produce of the land from the proprietor, should be deemed infamous in this world, and cast into hell-flames in the next," had been generally acted upon. The collections were made in kind and not in money. Proprietorship in land was recognised by the Government, and real property was both saleable and rentable. In all provinces, whether administered directly by the Sovereign, or indirectly by a feudal Suzerain, village institutions and local self-government were maintained.

In troubled times, a feudal system would naturally be strengthened and extended. Accordingly, during the political convulsions, which ensued upon the overthrow of Bijayanugur, a class of feudatories, resembling the lords of the marches in English history, rapidly rose into importance, and in after times, under various names, such as Poligars, Jaghirdars, Nairs, &c., became thorns in the side of the British conquerors. But as the growing kingdom of Mysore began to absorb all the neighbouring nations in the whirlpool of invasion, the power of these local chieftains was for a time broken by Hyder and Tippoo. These two Sultans proclaimed, that the Sovereign was sole lord of the soil, and sedulously addressed themselves to the task of extirpating all proprietary occupants of every grade. Having succeeded in driving away most of the feudal lords, Hyder farmed out the revenues of his dominions to Amildars,

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or satraps of his own. These worthies were empowered to collect whatever they could, as long as they paid their contract money to the Sultan; moderate terms were generally allowed them. But Hyder, by means of secret service agency, kept himself well informed of their proceedings; and, when he was assured that any Amildar had amassed a large fortune from the profits of his contract, summoned him to court and forced him to disgorge, by squeezing him like a full sponge. Tippoo, with his passion for change (a destructive radical in modern parlance) reversed all this. The Amildars were supplanted by Asufs and Tuhsildars, invariably Mussulmans, and often selected from the dregs of society. These gentlemen collected fixed rates in kind, transmitted the proceeds to the Sultan's treasury, and received regular salaries. This system was on the whole rather worse for the people, and much worse for the government. A system of collection in kind must generally engender speculation; and, in the Mysore dominions, a host of fiscal harpies preyed on the vitals of the country. It has been calculated that rarely more than 60 per cent., on the fixed revenue, and often not more than 50 or even 40 per cent., found its way into Tippoo's coffers. The Mysore armies were rarely composed of feudal contingents, but usually of troops receiving pay from the state treasury. The Sultan's attention was bent rather on fortifications, than on operations of agricultural utility; and the grand works of former dynasties were suffered to decay under the wasting influence of war.

We have thus touched upon the eventful annals of the three provinces, which were destined to be ruled by Munro. We have shown how they first belonged to the kingdom of Bijayanugur; then to that of Mysore; and lastly to the British empire. We can now deal with each province in detail, and with the results of British administration therein.

Salem, or the Bara-mahal first claims notice, inasmuch as Munro here commenced his official career. At the subversion of the Bijayanugur empire, this district, with several others, was granted by the victors to the descendants of the conquered Rajahs, who, it will be remembered, resided at Annagundi. When this last domain was torn away from them, the Bara-mahal for a short time fell into the hands, first of a powerful Poligar, then of the Cuddapah Nawab, till it was annexed by Hyder to Mysore. This series of invasions had pretty well crushed and "pulverised" the proprietors of the soil: and, when the British government assumed charge, all the agricultural classes had been reduced to the same level of indigence and depression. The people were represented as too poor to grow the better

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kind of crops, such as cotton, sugar, or indigo. Munro, in one of his private letters, says, "The average rent of the whole body of farmers (*i. e.*, cultivators or tenants) is not more than ten pagodas each. I am pretty sure there is not a man among them who is worth £500, and that, exclusive of their cattle, nine-tenths of them have not got £5." Captain Alexander Read, with several assistants, among whom was our hero, Lieut. Munro, were deputed to settle the province. Their settlement was essentially ryotwar, and may be looked upon as a *chef d'œuvre* of its kind. The system of course emanated from Captain Read. Munro and his colleagues reduced it to practice. The state was held to be the sole landlord. No proprietory right was recognised as belonging to any individual, not even the right of occupancy. All intermediate farmers, located by former governments, and all hereditary fiscal officers, were removed. No third or fourth estates were admitted as members of the body politic. There were recognised but two estates, the crown and the cultivator. The lands of each tenant were re-let on fresh terms every year.* The rents were assessed at 45 per cent on the gross produce of the soil. The "Village system" was ignored. The plan of assessing the revenue of a village, and leaving the occupants and sharers in the estate to distribute the sum among themselves after their own fashion, was abolished. Each man was entitled to a separate assessment for his particular fields, and was taught to look up to the collector as his only liege lord. The revenue authorities, however, did so far acknowledge the different villages as fiscal divisions, inasmuch as they reserved to themselves the right of holding the whole village jointly responsible for individual defalcations. But it does not appear that this right was ever exercised carefully. Surveys and detailed measurements were made in order that no field might elude the lynx-eyed vigilance of the taxing officer. A verbal description of a system like this is easily given; but the idea is with difficulty realised or adapted to European modes of thought. Can the reader picture to himself an European collector in the position of a middleman in a myriad of estates, the agricultural patriarch of a million of people? There are no farmers in the English sense of the term, no sub-division of labour, no capital. Each husbandman and his wife (for there

* "It is the universal custom in India, wherever collections are made in kind, that the proprietor should take one half the gross produce from the cultivator. In those parts of Europe, where rents are collected in kind, the same custom prevails. For instance, the Medietarii of the Roman Empire paid one half, and so do the Metayers of Modern Italy, of Tuscany and Naples, of France and of Modern Greece." Vide Jones on Rent.

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the women work harder even than the men) repair to the collector's office, and bargain for their plot of land, consisting perhaps of only a few fields which they can till with one plough and a pair of bullocks, raise a scanty crop with little toil, and just manage to pay their way, or rather keep with body and soul together till the next season—when off they are again to the office on the look out, it may be, for other lands with other rents. The boasted solicitude of "Mrs. Mother-country," is nothing when compared with the load of "atra cura," which presses on the ryotwar collector. Indeed, as he must be for ever in the saddle, riding about the fields and looking at the crops and pondering over the mysteries of tropical vegetation, the words of the poet become specially applicable, "Post *Equitem* sedet atra cura." Not a bullock dies, not a plough is broken, not a member of a husbandman's family falls sick,* not a crop is blighted, but he hears of it all. Our readers all know the immortal advertisement, "Wanted a governess," which has been paraphrased in this country to the tune of "Wanted an engineer." The Madras Board of the last century might have advertised for a ryotwar collector as follows; "WANTED A RYOTWAR COLLECTOR!—The candidate must be a practical agriculturist, a steady rider and strong walker, a keen judge of cattle, an experienced land surveyor, a first-rate Vernacular linguist, a sound lawyer, a smart penman and a rare accountant. He must be a good workman and general mason, and understand the mending of agricultural implements, the excavation of wells, the taking of levels, the conducting the least amount of water over the greatest possible amount of surface. He must be versed in the weighment of grain, and must be well informed of the latest prices quoted in the market:—above all, he must have a fine temper, an imperturbable demeanour, and inexhaustible patience. No candidate need apply who has not all the above qualifications." But, joking apart, the Government of that day not only "wanted" such men, but got them—and turned their services to the best account.

Such briefly was the ryotwar settlement of Bara-mahal. The various fiscal experiments, of which this province became subsequently the theatre, we pass over in silence, because our hero was not concerned in them. But we will notice one or two features in this settlement to the carrying out of which Munro lent such efficient aid. The operations of Colonel Read and

* Munro writes, "their families so far from being a burden to them, are a great support. Nothing is more common than to grant a man a remission of rent on the death of his son." And again he says, "a man complained that his wife had died, who did more work than his best bullock." Letters, passim.

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his coadjutors were extolled both in this country and at home, on account of the financial results which had been obtained, the frauds which had been repressed, and the even-handed justice which had been secured to all. The system, admirably administered by these gentlemen as it was, and adapted in many respects to a country just emerging from anarchy, no doubt, did merit such a meed of praise. But it was also distinguished by many tendencies, which the political economist must ever condemn. It absorbed half the produce of the soil, that is all the landlord's profit, leaving nothing to the cultivator but the bare means of subsistence and the means of carrying on husbandry. It subverted all local institutions. It rendered the gradation of classes a nullity, and a chance of individual advancement nearly impossible. Being subject to annual re-adjustment, it deprived the people of all motive to exertion by denying them a beneficiary interest in the soil; and thus put a stop to private enterprise. In short, it tended to keep the people in a perennial state of national infancy. It might teach an agricultural population to be contentedly helpless and peacefully humble, to remain in that blissful state of ignorance, wherein 'tis folly to be wise; but it could never lead them on to material wealth, political prosperity, or intellectual progress.

The circumstances, under which Canara was ceded to the British, have been already stated. Immediately after the cession, Munro was ordered to take charge of the new province. This he did with a heavy heart. He had now been several years in the Bara-mahal. He had become attached to a district, which he described as "a romantic country, in which every tree and mountain has its charms for me." In a subordinate position, and in a country where prosperity and order had been by degrees established, he had found leisure for intellectual converse and studious recreation. All this must now be exchanged for a life of responsible toil and corroding care, in a province which he despaired of raising from the depths of poverty and barbarism. He had also indulged his taste for gardening. But now he was to bid farewell to his graperies, his pine beds, and orange groves. He was to quit the Bara-mahal with its smiling valleys, its tanks and rivulets, and to pitch his tent on the rocky table land and gravelly champagne of Canara, deluged by torrents of never ceasing rain.

Canara, more properly called Tulava, is a long narrow strip of country, stretching along the Malabar Coast, about 200 miles long and 50 broad; and intersected by a chain of the Ghát mountains. It originally formed a division of the Malabar

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country. But it must not be confounded with the sister province of Malabar Proper, from which it widely differs in political institutions. Like Malabar, under the first Hindu monarchy, the lands were chiefly held on a feudal tenure by the martial race of Nairs. But, unlike Malabar, the province had been from the first subjected to a land tax. The kings of Canara filled their treasuries by a moderate land tax and customs duties combined. The Zamorins of Malabar, from customs and similar taxes alone, supported a regal state, that filled the Portuguese emigrants of the 16th century with amazement. The first recorded conquest of Canara is that by the Pandyan princes of Madura. The Nairs of course on this occasion fought for their patrimonies with the same spirit, that, some centuries later, cost the British such an infinity of trouble in Malabar. But they were rooted out: and their extirpation marks a social epoch in the history of Canara. In the year 1336, the Bijayanugur monarchs conquered the province from the Pandyans, and incorporated it with the larger kingdom of Carnata, or Canara. And thus it was, that the old name of Tulava was exchanged for that of Canara. After the disruption of the Bijayanugur empire, it fell into the hands of the Bednore Rajahs, until it became a prey to the Mysore invader in 1763.

In this summary of Canarese events, nothing has been said of what might be termed its ecclesiastical history.* We shall not recount the efforts by which the Romish Church aimed to establish an universal proselytism, by accommodating its practices to heathen usage, and by becoming, in a bad sense, all things to all men. Nor need we tell how the seminaries of Goa sent forth Conean priests by the hundreds to gather the people of Canara into the archbishop's fold. But one economical result of these Missionary operations (if they may be so called) should be noticed here, namely, the hold upon the land which these Romanized heathens acquired. Native heathens in dress, manner, thought and ideas, they yet owned themselves sons of the Church, and paid homage to the ecclesiastical authority, which centred in the Hierarchy of Goa. But the Romish teaching, though it may not have instilled much pure truth into their minds, yet seems to have disciplined their habits and made them useful citizens. So manifest was their superiority in industry and intelligence over the Hindus and even the native Portuguese, that it soon became an object with the Tulava princes to induce these *soi-disant* Christians to settle on the land. Eighty thousand colonists were thus introduced; and by

* Vide Hough's History of Christianity in India.

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degrees were vested with all the privileges that attach to landed proprietorship. But a "dies iræ" was at hand. The fury of Tippoo, the arch Iconoclast, burst on their peaceful homes and fertile fields. Their Churches were swept away by the same destroying hand, that had levelled the fairest monuments of Hindu architecture. The Clergy and Laity were driven out together. Some were put to the sword; some were sent to starve on desert islands; some, who embraced Islamism, were allowed to keep their lands; and some were thrown into the dungeons of Seringapatam, there to rot and linger, till the European sword should slay the tyrant and set the captive free. After the fall of Seringapatam, many of these expatriated Christians returned to pray for indemnification at the hands of the British. About 15,000 are said to have returned to Mangalore, one of the principal towns in upper Canara. Munro, in his correspondence, instances the case of 141 Christian proprietors, who had been released from captivity at Seringapatam, and had revisited Canara in the hope of being reinstated in their former possessions.

Such was the province, of which Captain Munro was ordered to develope the resources, and fix the taxation. To the last he never overcame the dislike, which he had imbibed against his new charge. Indeed, the inhospitable region, the poverty of the soil, which would grow nothing but rice and cocoanut, the irregularity of all communication, and the difficulty of marching, were enough to try the temper of most men. Previously to the Mysore Government, the people had been well conducted and well governed. But recent events had sadly demoralized them. Unable to resist the tyranny of the Mysore rulers, they resolved to strike a bargain with their oppressors. Tippoo's officials, when they practised fiscal extortion, were anxious to enrich themselves, and not their Government: and they thought, that, by making common cause with the ryots, they might be able to cheat their employers more effectually. Combinations were accordingly made between the people and the revenue officers to force the sovereign to reduce the taxation. The profits of the reduction were of course shared between the conspiring parties. This junction of forces was too much for the declining energies of the Mysore Government; and, in two or three years, Tippoo's revenue went down fifty per cent. When Munro gave out his determination of ignoring these reductions, and of raising the revenue to the standard at which it had originally stood, a mutinous spirit at once broke out, and an agricultural strike was organized throughout the district. Lands were thrown up, villages deserted, and the doors barred against the revenue peons. Under similar circumstances, the Malabar people betook them-

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selves to overt rebellion, and drove the collector clean out of the province. But Munro contrived to manage the Canarese. Some were conciliated; others were punished; and at length the whole mass were brought to terms. Thus, the way was cleared for a settlement.

In adjusting these matters in a newly conquered country, there are always two main questions to be decided: firstly, what proportion of the gross produce of the soil shall be the limit of the Government demand? Secóndly, who is the proprietor of the land?—Government, or the people?—If the latter, who are the parties entitled to engage with Government for the payment of the revenue, and to be recognized in consequence as owners of the soil? In shorter words, the questions may be put thus:—How much shall the Government take, and from whom? On the manner, in which these questions may be decided, will mainly depend the future prosperity of the province. We shall shew, that, in the case of Canara, Munro decided them rightly. Let us take the first question, namely, how much shall Government demand as its share out of the gross produce. The share fixed by the primeval Hindu legislators is one-sixth. This rule originally held good in Canara. The Pandyan conquerors, however, took ten per cent. in addition to this amount; and so did the Bijayanugur kings, until the law-giver, Vidyaranya, arose, and threatened with eternal damnation any prince who should exact more than one-sixth. After his death, however, the Bijayanugur kings remodelled their land-tax. Hitherto the Government share had been paid in kind. This was commuted to a money payment, which they regulated, however, by the old standard of one-sixth. But they enhanced their income by an ingenious device. The priesthood, they said, was entitled to a share. And so in fact it was. This share the crown would collect, and support the sacerdotal establishment. Thus the Bijayanagur monarchs raised their share from one-sixth to one-fourth. Their successors, the Bednore Rajahs, took ten per cent. again in excess of this. Hyder and Tippoo, of course, went upon their usual tack, and exacted the maximum that can be got out of land, namely, one-half the produce. But, after a few years, this plan was defeated, as we have seen, by the conspiracies of the ryots and the revenue officers. But even then, what with payments to the Government and payments to the revenue officers, the people must have paid one-third, or even more. Our readers will now be able to judge of the propriety of Munro's taxation, which was calculated at one-fourth on average estates, one-third on the best estates, and at one-fifth, one-seventh, and

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even one-tenth on those estates, which, from impoverishment or from any other cause, might be deemed fitting objects for indulgence. The exact amount of gross produce at any given time it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, to ascertain. But numberless records turned up in all quarters. The amount realized, annually, under former Governments, and the principles on which that amount had been fixed, were easily discovered. And thus a trustworthy, though approximate, standard was obtained. Moreover, statements had been preserved of the receipts in those days, when payments were made in kind. The rates, at which the landlords had leased their lands, were discovered from the village account books. Thus Munro had seldom any difficulty in ascertaining, for any particular estate, the sum which would be equivalent to one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of the gross produce. Viewing all the proportions together, it appears that Munro's taxation fell at the average rate of one-quarter on the gross produce. We have seen that one-quarter was also the share demanded by the best of all the native Governments, namely, that of Bijayanugur. Under that system, cultivation had flourished, the people had lived contentedly, the land had become saleable, had risen in the market, and had been sold at 10, 20, and even 30 years' purchase. Munro might reasonably suppose that the same results would ensue under his system; and hence we may pronounce his arrangements on this point to have been fair and just.

Let us next take the second question, namely, Who was the proprietor, and from whom was the Government to collect its revenue? From the earliest ages the Canarese had asserted the ownership of their fields. The assertion of this right had been sanctioned by their successive Governments, who, indeed, often ratified the same by royal patents. Every transfer of real property had been scrupulously registered and sacredly preserved. Parchment was frequently considered a too perishable material. The contracts were often inscribed on plates of copper, or engraven on slabs of stone. Well might Munro declare, that in no country of Europe were such title-deeds to be found, as in Canara. All documents, inscriptions, and records were inspected and collated by Munro. Those, who could judicially prove their title to the ownership of the land, were admitted to engage for the revenue. The labour, that this involved, may be imagined from the fact, that, within a year, settlements were made in 45,000 estates. Nor were the cultivators and sub-tenants forgotten. Their holdings were marked out and their rents were fixed with reference to past payments, in order that rack-renting might be prevented

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in future. These arrangements were not made for any fixed term, but were to last as long as Government might like to keep them up.

Munro had administered Canara for more than fourteen months, when the Balaghát territory was ceded. Having never overcome his dislike of Canara, he induced the authorities to remove him to the ceded districts. Before following him to his new destination, we would draw the reader's attention to the cardinal points of difference between the systems of Bara-mahal and Canara. In the former the crown was landlord; the people were Metayers; the revenue swallowed up half the produce. In the latter, a distinct class was admitted as standing between the crown and the cultivator; and, in order that this privilege should not be a mere sounding title, a share of one-fourth the produce was allowed as landlord's profit, inasmuch as Government demanded only one-quarter for itself.

Major Munro was appointed to the ceded districts in 1800. These districts formed a compact territory, situated above the great Ghát range (hence the name of Balaghát) and between the rivers Túmbúddra and Kishna. The preceding pages may have helped to show, that few parts of India could be more historically interesting, inasmuch as the ruins of Bijayanugur and Annagundi lay within its limits. When the arms of the league against Bijayanugur were crowned with victory (a league as important to the fortunes of Lower India as the league of Cambray was to those of Italy) the Balaghát territory fell to the share of the Golconda king, whose successors were afterwards better known as the Nizams of Hyderabad. But soon a class of half independent chieftains, named Poligars, sprung up and baffled the efforts of every regular Government. Thus, while the extremities of the Bijayanugur empire formed themselves into orderly principalities, feuds and distractions reigned at the centre. When all the Deccan monarchs owned a nominal allegiance to the Great Mogul, the Balaghát was included in the chart of Aurungzebe's dominions. When that empire was, in its turn, dismembered, and the Mahrattas aspired to universal supremacy, they also demanded tribute from the Nizam's dominions. Whether they always got it or not, we do not venture to affirm. At length Hyder wrested these districts from the Nizam. And when Tippoo in 1793 was forced to give one slice of his dominions to the English, and another slice to their ally, the Nizam, these districts were restored to the latter, by whom again they were ceded to the British in 1800.

Few districts had finer natural advantages, but none had suffered more. For two centuries and a half, the Balaghát had

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been the theatre of incessant war. The surface of the earth had been clean swept by destroying armies, till at last scarce a tree reared its head from a bare soil, that had once been crowned with groves and forests. The various Governments had vied with each other in mismanagement. Each successive ruler was worse (if possible) than the last. The acme of misgovernment, however, seems to have been reached, when the Nizam (in Munro's words) "turned loose a mutinous and unpaid soldiery, at the reaping season, to collect their pay from the villages."

A retrospect of the past, then, was not likely to make the future prospects of the Balaghát look encouraging: "existing circumstances" made them look still worse. When Munro took charge, gaunt Famine was stalking abroad in the land. From long impunity, the Poligars had become quite rampant in rebellion, and were all up in arms. The resources of the country had been over-rated by the Government, who had been misled by the schedules given in by Tippoo. More therefore was expected of the new territory than it could pay. The Central Board of Revenue distrusted Munro; and an outcry was raised that the revenue was being assessed too lightly. This wore an ugly aspect, in as much as a collector had been lately removed from his appointment, because it was ascertained that his taxation had been too easy. The following passage, from a letter of Munro's to one of the members of the board, shews how much he had to dread being misunderstood:—"If I leave room for 'my successor to raise the revenue, it would be said that I allow-'ed the people to defraud the Government. If I raise all the 'country can pay, and he could raise no more, it would be then 'said that I oppressed the people for the sake of exhibiting a 'high settlement."

Shortly afterwards the Mahratta war broke out, and the Balaghát became one of the main granaries that was to feed the army which fought at Assaye. Thus commissariat duties came crowding thick upon Munro. And all this time he had to counteract with Argus-like watchfulness the intrigues and conspiracies of the Poligars. In such a state of things, anything like a settlement of the revenue was out of the question. Munro and his assistants travelled about the country, and collected whatever revenue they could. When the country began to recover itself under the healing influence of moderation and order, he made at first what is technically termed, a *Mouzahwari* settlement, that is, the revenue was assessed, not upon individuals, but jointly upon the inhabitants of a *mouzah*, or parish.

But the Poligar question demanded the most earnest atten-

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tion. Our readers probably know that a Poligar, the chief of a Pollam or fief, is a feudal lord. The term corresponds to a Baron of the middle ages of Europe. It is needless here to trace the rise and prevalence of feudal institutions in the South Indian Peninsula. It is enough to say that, in young states, feudalism is a pillar of strength; in old states, an engine of destruction and a precursor of decrepitude. Its worst features were exhibited in the Balaghát country, which abounded with Poligars, and adjoined that part of the Northern Sircars, which was styled, *par excellence*, the Poligar country. These Poligars belonged to three classes. Some were Bijayanugur princes of royal blood; some were the old feudal chiefs of the Bijayanugur sovereigns; others were upstarts, who had been originally the paid governors of districts, and had gradually obtained such a hold and status in their provinces, as enabled them to assume independence. For two centuries they had successfully contended in the cause of anarchy. They now hoped to set the British power at defiance, in the same manner as they had braved every Government since the fall of Bijayanugur. Their own neighbourhood of course they kept in a perpetual state of turmoil. They caballed overtly and covertly with all the foes of the new Government. They joined the Mahratta confederacy, which was annihilated at the battle of Assaye. They fomented the spirit, and fanned the flame, that burst forth at the mutiny of Vellore. It was clear that these worthies must be extinguished in some way or other; and Munro resolved to tame them by conciliation or force. It was declared that all Poligars might keep their Pollams, provided they paid tribute, and collected from the occupants of the land no more than the rent fixed by the collector. They were all to wait upon the collector, as representative of the Government. Those, who did not like to appear in person, might send accredited agents. The majority disobeyed these orders. A force was organized under General Campbell to coerce the recusants. But it was feared that the Poligars, though their retainers might be routed and their forts dismantled, would still be wandering about, like so many firebrands of disturbance, destroying the peace of the country wherever they went. The peasantry were therefore armed and trained so as to form a rustic militia; and a strong body of Police was disciplined to hunt and track out the fugitives in the jungle, as soon as they should have been driven from their strongholds by the regular troops. By the rigorous execution of these measures, the Poligars were effectually crushed before three years were over. Many disappeared. Some were placed in confinement. The majority surrendered,

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and were graciously permitted to resign their property, and to languish in the obscurity of private life. Of those, who obeyed from the first, a few were pensioned off, and the rest were allowed to manage their Pollams.

Munro and his assistants had now leisure to push forward their improvement of their province, and to avail themselves of its resources. The Mouzahwari settlement was considered merely as a "pis-aller" for the nonce. The pacification of the country having been effected, a more searching method of taxation was adopted. Every estate and field was surveyed, and soils were classified. A money-rent was fixed for each holding. Proprietorship was not recognized as pertaining to any occupant. For ages in fact, throughout these distracted provinces, there had been no such thing as property in land, or in anything else. Men, who had with difficulty sustained a bare existence, and had thought themselves lucky if they could eat their daily bread in peace, had not the heart to vaunt about rights and property. They therefore claimed nothing: and Munro inferred from this that they had a right to nothing. But the constitution of the villages; the system by which the villagers portioned out their fiscal burdens amongst themselves; the manner, in which they always met for the settlement of their affairs, whenever a lull in the political tempest gave them any breathing time (all which things Munro himself most graphically described) clearly shewed, that here, as elsewhere, proprietory communities had originally existed. That possession is nine-tenths of the law may be a sound maxim; but there are of course limits to its application. It was true, that proprietory right in land had not been exercised for centuries. But neither had similar rights with regard to any thing else been securely exercised. Personal property was not in consequence declared null and void: why then should real property be so declared? In regard to the rate of taxation, the occupants were treated as mere cultivators—the full half share of the produce being demanded by the collector. The system, as administered by Munro, answered wonderfully. The cessation of hostilities, and the suppression of rapine and disorder, not only restored the confidence of those already employed upon the land, but brought a vast number of unemployed hands into the market. Cultivators were induced to flock from all quarters, and to make their homes in the new province. Lands, that had lain fallow ever since the fall of Bijayanugur, were now brought under the plough. By the close of the sixth year since the accession of the Company's rule, the annual rent-roll was raised from ten to seventeen lakhs of star pagodas. We may admire the stirring

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energy, that exterminated the enemies of peace. But we should admire still more the under-current of sustained exertion and never-sleeping watchfulness, that, year after year, tended the minutest concerns of the province, till its resources were finally expanded; the accuracy and evenness, with which the fiscal burdens were adjusted, both in years of famine and years of plenty; and the firmness and foresight, with which, in spite of clamorous impatience and envious cavilling, a lenient policy was pursued at first, in the assurance that its expediency would be justified by the abundant results of future years. Whether his theories were right or wrong, the result of Munro's rule in the ceded districts stood forth as a monument of administrative genius. But the loud praises, which were eventually sounded forth by the Home and Local Governments, fell not so pleasantly on his well tuned ear, as the noiseless murmur of gratitude, that swelled, as it rose, from the hearts of a contented people, or as the approving voice of his own conscience, which told him that he had, with Christian* patience, done his duty in evil report, until at length he was able to do it in good report. The people familiarly called him their "Father." Indeed they had good reason to do so.

He wound up his administration of the ceded districts by making a praiseworthy proposition to Government, which was however only partially adopted. He recommended that a proprietory title should be conferred on all occupants of land, who paid revenue to Government, and that the present revenue rates should be lowered twenty-five per cent—that is, that the Government share should be reduced from one-half to one-third of the gross produce. The disposal of all uncultivated land Government would reserve to itself. In spite of the immense strides which had been lately made in cultivation, it was supposed that the culturable land still equalled one-third of the cultivated. And it was hoped that this liberal measure might cause all these lands to be brought into cultivation, and the revenue to be raised thirty per cent thereby.

Such were the proceedings of Colonel Munro in the ceded districts. Having ruled them exemplarily for seven years, he set sail for England. The various high offices, which he filled on his return to India, are well known to the public. But the Balaghát was the last province, of which he was charged with the direct and immediate administration. The most instructive part of his career closes here. It may therefore be not

* Munro was a sincerely pious man, and his conduct was invariably regulated by religious principle.

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amiss to review some of the principles of the public policy, which we have endeavoured to sketch.

We all know that Englishmen carry with them to every clime the "spirit of party," which our home institutions universally engender. And, accordingly, those, who have from choice or profession, studied Indian finance, have loved to combat in the arena of fiscal politics. While half the Company's servants were contending on the battle-field; the other half were contending in the recesses of the Council Chamber or the study, about the question—Who is the real landlord? This paper warfare has rivalled in skill, power, and pungency, the oral disputations, in which the schoolmen of the middle ages used to indulge. The result of these gladiatorial exhibitions has been, that a mass of information has been culled and gathered together; that a few ill-fated experiments were made at first; and that eventually a sound and intelligent policy has met with general adoption. There have been the Crown party, the Ryot party, and the Zemindar party. But these parties merely represent the theoretical extremes, towards which opinions may diverge. And in this, as in many other disputed matters, it may be safely believed, that those are nearer the truth, who belong to no clique, who extract the pure ore and reject the dross in the opinions of every party, and whom the red-hot advocate of either side would designate "Trimmers."*

Munro's practice and writings have been constantly appealed to as furnishing evidence on these debated points. Those, who affirm that the crown is sole landlord, and that the ryot has no property in the land, eagerly quote Munro as their chief witness. Now, it is very true that Munro carried out in the Bara-mahal a system, which did not recognize any proprietory right as pertaining to the ryot, and that he asserted the same thing with respect to the ceded districts and the Deccan. But he only held this opinion with regard to these particular localities, and not with regard to India generally. For he not only declared the Canarese ryots to be proprietors; but he also expended especial labour and deep research to prove their titles indisputably. And, during the last year of his life, when from the height of his great position he was surveying the results of his wide experience and splendid career, he recorded his conviction that the Ryot is the real proprietor of the soil: while in the ceded districts, where he believed that the right had become extinct, or perhaps had

* Those, who have studied the last great narrative of the Revolution, know the full historical significance, which attaches to the epithet—"Trimmer."

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never come into regular existence, he recommended that it should be conferred on the ryot.

We have before stated our belief that he need not have hesitated from the evidence before him, to declare that there was such a thing as landed property in this province. But enough has been said to shew that he was one of those, who believe that proprietory rights *are* to be found in India. He seems to have arrived at this most just conclusion, partly from having discovered that landed transfers had been effected generation after generation; partly from what he had seen of the imperishable village communities; and partly from having invariably found the ryot enjoying the privilege of occupation, as long as he continued to pay his revenue. In fact this right of occupation, subject to the payment of a land tax (which is admitted even by a large section of those who deny the ryot's proprietory title), is almost tantamount to ownership. For property of all kinds, and in all countries, is held on the condition, that it shall be liable to taxation. But Munro discarded one of the most valuable sources of evidence upon this subject, namely, the Statute-Books of the ancient Hindu Lawgivers, which have come down to us. The Ryot's proprietory title can certainly be proved out of the mouth of these sages. And why should they not be believed? These books depict manners and customs, the traces of which are discernible to this very day. Their descriptions of political institutions have been marvellously verified by the experience of ages. They may therefore claim confidence, when they enunciate what were the rights and interests in land.

Munro has also been looked upon as an advocate for excessive taxation, and an expounder of the doctrine, that the Crown is entitled to half the gross produce of the land. We are happy to say, that this charge can be completely rebutted, and that there is nothing in his acts or opinions, that can justify such a notion. However, he certainly did think that the ancient taxation in India had been much heavier than is generally supposed. The law-books, which have just been mentioned, declare that the king's share is one-sixth. This Munro disbelieved —we think, unreasonably. The only reason assigned was this, that, if the share had really been no more than one-sixth, the payments would not have been made in kind. This argument has been demolished by several writers, who point to the obvious fact, that in many countries a proportion of one-tenth has been collected in kind. The fact, therefore, that payments were made in kind, is no proof that the taxation must have been heavy, and amounting to some such proportion as one-half. Besides his experience in Canara ought to have furnished him with ample

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confirmation of the dictum, that the Hindu monarch's share is one-sixth. Munro, however, asserted theoretically the State's right to a half share only, where, in default of other proprietors, the State was unquestionably the sole landlord—as in the Bara-mahal. And this proposition is not incorrect, provided it can be really shown, that in the particular province the State is the sole landlord, *de facto* and *de jure*. In such a case, the half share collected by the State is not strictly speaking entirely revenue. It is half revenue and half rent: inasmuch as the State stands in the double position of king and proprietor. And the possibility or probability of error lies, not in the amount demanded, but in the fundamental premise, that the State is the sole landlord. The latter proposition is *primâ facie*, to our thinking, suspicious, and ought to be strongly substantiated before it can claim acceptance. But if the State is indeed sole landlord, then it may demand the one-half share without any violation of prescriptive custom. In Canara, where he found proprietors, Munro fixed the assessment at one-fourth. In the ceded districts, when he recommended that proprietors should be recognized, he added that the one-half share should be reduced to one-third. There is no doubt that the state cannot consistently demand a one-half share from any proprietor. For then he ceases to be proprietor, inasmuch as the landlord's profits are absorbed in the public revenue. The cultivator must always have one-half. And, if the State takes the other half, what becomes of the proprietor?

On the other hand, it would be hardly correct to assume, that now-a-days, wherever the land is taxed with more than one-sixth, it is burdened more heavily than it used to be under the old Hindu polity. One-sixth was no doubt the king's share. But we believe that the land was also saddled with ecclesiastical charges, which, under the Brahminical system, were considerable. It had also to support more Police establishments than at present. Moreover, the legislators admitted that, in time of war, or any other public emergency, the king might take one-fourth, or even one-third. We have little doubt, therefore, that on the whole the land was charged with payments equalling one fourth of the gross produce. The land-tax, though almost unknown to modern Europe, has been the mainstay of many primeval empires, and of nearly all Asiatic Governments; and the subjoined table* of its amount

* The following are works of reference, which may be most easily consulted by any one, who may be disposed to verify the facts and figures of this table:—*Jones on Rent, Heeren's Researches, Smith's Antiquity, Wilkinson's Egypt, Brigs on the Land-tax, Davis's Chinese, Hamilton's Gazetteer, &c. &c.*

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in different countries may help to elucidate the point under discussion :—

Persian Empire	$\frac{1}{10}$	
Persia (modern)	$\frac{1}{3}$	
Egypt (ancient or modern)	$\frac{1}{3}$	
Roman Empire (decumæ)	$\frac{1}{10}$	(fruit lands) $\frac{1}{5}$
Greece (δεκατα,)	$\frac{1}{10}$	also $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$
Athens	$\frac{1}{20}$	
Carthage	$\frac{1}{5}$	(in time of war)
Burman Empire	$\frac{1}{10}$	
Turkey	$\frac{1}{10}$	
China	$\frac{1}{10}$	
Modern Greece	$\frac{1}{7}$	
Levitical Lands (tithe)	$\frac{1}{10}$	
India (ancient)	$\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$.	

From this it would seem that in India a larger portion of the revenue has been always drawn from the land than in other countries in Asia. It does not of course follow, that, because the land-tax has been higher here than elsewhere, the people have been more heavily taxed. The Cingalese for instance are more heavily taxed than the Bengalis, and yet their land-tax is much lighter. Direct taxation, in which must be included the land-tax, is just that kind of taxation, which political economists most disapprove of; and one of the most wonderful circumstances, connected with the wealth of India, is the manner in which it has grown for ages under so great a load of direct taxation. And so it may continue to grow, as long as the State demand does not exceed one-fourth, or even one-third, of the gross produce of the land. The present demand, we believe, in nearly all the Bengal Presidency and in a great portion of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, ranges from one-fourth to one-third; and we have seen that this is the probable amount also demanded in that halcyon antiquity, to which modern philanthropists are so fond of reverting. It has been the fashion to talk about the fabled wealth of India, as having vanished; and about the vitality of the country, as having been sapped away by excessive taxation. These are cheap assertions, which have certainly never been proved, but which it is difficult to disprove arithmetically because the primeval monarchies were not in the habit of publishing statistics. But we imagine that if the patriarchal lawgivers, Manu and Vidyaranya, or if the princes of Kanouj and Bijayanugur, could for a short time re-visit the earth, and be carried through India as it now is; if they could be shewn our ports, docks, arsenals, and magazines, our cantonments, our buildings and public works; if they could

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have explained to them our machinery of Government, the vast expenditure and the immense sums that have been drained off to the mother country; if they could view the face of the country, and see the cultivated plains, where, thousands of years ago, they used to chase the tiger and the elephant; if they could observe the forest sinking 'neath the stroke of the woodman's axe, the jungle broken up by the plough share and the harrow, and the wild beast retiring to his distant lair before the march of advancing civilization:—then, although they might miss the gaudy splendour of antiquity, yet they would surely confess that God had blessed the labours of the foreigner with unexampled success, and that verily these Feringhis were "lords of the three worlds."

In connexion with the principles above discussed, one question would naturally suggest itself, namely, Shall the revenue be collected in kind, or in money? We answer, in money of course. Munro's example furnished a similar reply. He always fixed money-rents, and never attempted to appraise the standing crop, or to dole out a moiety of the stored grain; and he pointedly testified to the demoralization invariably produced by such a system.* It may indeed be more accurate and in bad seasons more favourable to the cultivator, as it is based on the actual, not upon the probable, out-turn. It may be preferred by the more ignorant and indolent class of cultivators. But it has a tendency to establish an inquisitorial tyranny in every village. It hatches a vile brood of corruptions and peculations, which prey alike on the State and the peasant. It habituates the people to low cunning, and teaches them to engage with the public officers in a ceaseless contest of deception and knavery. The cash system may be not quite so discriminating, but it is more straightforward, more sensible, and more workable. It may press hard occasionally upon individuals, but for the mass it will enforce moderation. It has been found that collections in kind may be made up to the highest amount the land can possibly bear: but, if a money rent be raised up to the same culminating point, it breaks down directly. In fixing money payments, therefore, a margin, as it were, must always be left in favour of the tax-payer!†

* Europe has however witnessed systems more demoralizing. Passing over the slave labour of ancent times, we may adduce the fergand Labour Rents prevalent in Prussia, Russia, and the Austrian Empire.

† These remarks on rents in kind and money apply only to India. They might not be applicable in Europe. The Metayers of several European provinces may be classed with the happiest peasantries in the world; and the Irish Cottiers (who live under a cash system) with the most miserable. But it has been stated in the text, that money payments cannot be pushed so far as collections in kind. And

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There is one more point in Munro's administration, which requires a word or two of notice. He found the village system everywhere in operation: but he never tried to avail himself of its aid. Its principle was that the State should fix the revenue of the village, which revenue the villagers would then divide amongst themselves. This seems reasonable: because thereby Government is saved much trouble and expense both in collecting and assessing, and the villagers could no doubt make a much better division than the collector. It is a trite maxim, that the Government should never do for people what they can do for themselves. No court of justice in any country would dream of trying a cause, which could be decided by arbitration. By parity of reasoning, what is the use of Government perplexing itself with fiscal minutiæ, which the people themselves can clear off? Moreover, it is evidently a mistake to keep a nation in political leading-strings, or to tie it to the apron of a maternal Government. It is surely better that they should learn local self-government and self-taxation. The village system exactly effects this: and, when Munro rejected its co-operation, he let drop an useful instrument, by which the people might be led on to manly independence, and threw into the shade an institution that was eminently popular, and on which were centred all those feelings, that, in other countries, find a vent in patriotism or loyalty.

The remainder of Munro's career, from 1807 to 1824, useful and brilliant as it was, did not relate to any principle of lasting importance. We shall not therefore expatiate on his labours in the Law Commission, his services in the Pindari and Burmese wars, or his government in Madras. We will merely follow him to his grave in the ceded districts. He had left these districts as a collector; he returned to them seventeen years afterwards as the Governor of the Presidency. He was on the eve of returning, full of years and honours, to his native land, whither he had sent his wife and children before him. But he resolved to take one last tour in that province, which was endeared to him by every association, that has charms for a noble

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it may be, that in Ireland, an attempt has been too often made to extract the greatest possible amount from the land in the shape of money, and hence may arise one of the many causes which depress the Irish peasantry. However this may be, the example of Irish misery, of evictions, processes, distraints, and beggary, has prejudiced the public mind against money rents in general, and rendered the Cottier system a synonyme for oppression and distress. Thus the money rent system has had its faults set forth in strong relief, and has been visited with unreserved censure (which is not universally deserved), while its merits have been left unobserved.

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and aspiring mind. Thither he proceeded with a few attendants at the hottest season of the year. He had scarcely arrived, when, at a place called Gooty, he was stricken with cholera, and died in a few hours. Thousands of people had crowded to see the man, whom they still remembered by the name of "Father." But the solemn booming of the minute guns from the Fort of Gooty announced, in tones of thunder, to the weeping inhabitants, that their benefactor was numbered with the dead. Many graves of great men have been honoured with all the pomp and circumstance of a public funeral; but what tomb could be more honoured than his, over which a rose a choultry, built by the natives of the district, and shaded by a grove which they had reverentially planted? A great Poet has said, it is meet that a "lover of nature" should be buried amidst the scenery he loved to look upon. Far meeter is it, that a great and good governor should lay his bones among the people whom he had beneficently ruled, and have his last resting place among the scenes of his labours. Merciful was the dispensation of Providence, which so ordained his death, that his tomb might stand as a visible memorial and example before his successors, and cause the remembrance of his actions to be enshrined in the affections of distant generations.

India has but one more grave like this to show. Many of our readers may have seen the unpretending monument erected by the Government at Bhágulpur to the memory of Cleveland, with a brief inscription, that tells how he established the Company's dominion in the hearts of the Hill Tribes. The public characters of these two men were much alike. We gather from Munro's letters at Canara, that the inspiriting example of Cleveland in Bengal nerved him to the task of winning over the minds of the people. Both these good men, so akin in thought, in aspiration, and in active life, were buried under similar circumstances: in death they were not divided. The greatest of Indian scholars has written, that it is *men* that constitute a State. When the Company shall ask for a renewal of the Charter, may not one of its claims to public confidence and sympathy be this, that its services have produced such men as Munro and Cleveland?

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ART. VI.—*The Law relating to Officers in the Army. By H. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister at Law.*

"THE laws being given, (quoth Jeremy Bentham), why has 'the legislator prepared them? The answer is simple, as it 'is incontestable: 'with the intention that each disposition 'should be present to the minds of all those who are interested 'in the knowledge of it, at the moment in which this know-'ledge may furnish them with motives for regulating their 'conduct.' For this purpose it is necessary—1. That the code 'be prepared altogether in a style intelligible to the com-'monest understanding. 2. That every one may consult and 'find the law of which he stands in need, in the least possible 'time. 3. That for this purpose the subjects be detached 'from one another, in such manner that each condition may 'find that which belongs to itself, separated from that which 'belongs to another.

"'Citizen,' says the legislator, 'what is your condition? are 'you a father?—open the chapter 'of fathers.' Are you 'an agriculturist?—consult the chapter 'of agriculturists.''

"This rule is both simple and satisfying. Once announced, 'it is comprehended; it cannot be forgotten. All legislators 'ought to follow so natural a method, says philosophy. Not 'one of them has ever dreamt of it, replies the lawyer."

Far as we are from having any such well-arranged code as yet promulgated either for England or India, we hail with pleasure every attempt to remedy the defects of diffuse haphazard legislation and of undefined judge-made law; and whoever endeavours to remove or to simplify the difficulties, under which any particular class or condition labours, in consequence of the want of systematic arrangement, and of the absence of well-defined principles and laws, performs a service of no mean value. If this be the case, where the states or conditions are those of the ordinary relations of life, towards which there can exist no popular prejudice, and whose rights and obligations are not only universally acknowledged, but (forming the cementing bond of society) have been the objects of primary solicitude both with the legislator and the judge, how much more necessary is it, where a class of men are the objects of national jealousy, fear, and prejudice, that their position should be clearly defined, in order that the members of the obnoxious class, cut off from all popular sympathy, may know their rights and obligations, and may

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be able to acquit themselves of the latter in the execution of duty with a tolerable sense of security. Of all classes or conditions of men in England, the military stand in greatest need of such a digest; for none incur so great risk from coming into conflict with the common or statute law of the land. Limited as are their numbers, jealousy even of the legal constitution of the army is deemed a right English feeling: and any transgression on the part of the members of a body, the subject of what may be termed a constitutional suspicion, is sure, even when originating in mere error or accident, to meet with little mercy, if not with extreme severity. There are circumstances, under which an officer may be suddenly placed, and in which he had need to be no mean lawyer in order so to act, as on the one hand to steer clear of the fangs of the common law, and on the other to satisfy the rigorous demands of the military code, to which he is specially subjected. On the one side the proverbial uncertainties of judge-made law and biassed juries beset him: whilst on the other, the slightest dereliction threatens him with the iron grip of offended discipline. To reconcile the duties of a citizen and a soldier is at times a delicate operation: and any work, which briefly and perspicuously furnishes a young officer with the general principles for his guidance, cannot fail of being acceptable and valuable.

The Manual, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, is an unpretending attempt to fulfil, to a certain extent, for the officers of the British army, that which Bentham would have effected for every state or condition of the body social and politic, by the systematic arrangement of a well-ordered code. It is an endeavour to define the civil rights, duties, and liabilities of the officers of the army—the object of the work being thus set forth in the preface by the author:—

"Officers in the army are subject to a variety of special 'laws and legal principles, which deeply affect their profes-'sional and private rights; and it is hoped that a work, which 'endeavours to develope these subjects in a connected and un-'technical form, will not be deemed a superfluous contribution 'to military literature.

"With this view the following pages are by no means so 'much addressed to lawyers, as to a class of readers whose 'opportunities of access to legal publications are necessarily 'very limited; and care has been taken, in all cases of impor-'tance, to set forth the exact words and expressions employed 'by the learned judges in propounding the law, and, on other

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'occasions, to give quotations at length from books of authority."

The work is stated to have originated in a suggestion, made to the author by his brother, Lieut. W. G. Prendergast, 8th Bengal Cavalry, to whom the author liberally ascribes any merit it may possess, merely making himself responsible for the composition. The suggestion was certainly a good one: and although, in the way it has been acted upon, the result is a work calculated to be more useful to the officers of Her Majesty's, than to the officers of the Company's army, yet, even to the latter, it will form both a useful and a readable acquisition to their portable libraries. For, although the position of the Anglo-Indian army in India is entirely distinct from that of the army in England, yet, there are many points, such as those of foreign enlistment, right of retirement, rank, sale and purchase of commissions, purchasing out to facilitate retirement, pensions, prize money, criminal and civil liabilities, courts martial, domicile, wells, and a variety of other matters, in which the officers of the Company's army will find valuable information.

The opening chapter on the legal constitution of the army, after giving a concise account of the origin of the Mutiny act, proceeds to give the following remarks upon the distinction between military and martial law—a distinction often lost sight of by many public writers:—"Military law is totally distinct 'from martial law. Military law affects only the troops, or 'forces to which its terms expressly apply; while martial law 'extends to all the inhabitants of the country or district where 'it happens to be in force. Military law is a code of previ-'ously defined regulations; whereas martial law is wholly 'arbitrary. By its very nature it originates in emergencies, 'and is regulated by the expediency of the moment. Military 'law is in operation during peace, as well as in war; but mar-'tial law emanates entirely from a state of intestine commo-'tion, or hostile war actually raging in the scene of its ad-'ministration. Martial law always accompanies troops in the 'field on foreign service; but it ceases on their return within 'the jurisdiction of civil or municipal tribunals actually exer-'cising their functions. Military law, on the other hand, 'consists with the general undisturbed administration of the 'civil or municipal law, as is constantly exemplified by the 'sittings of courts martial in garrisons and harbours within 'the realm during profound peace."

It is only in a modified sense, that martial law can be said

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always to accompany troops in the field on foreign service. When insurrection has destroyed, or threatens to annihilate all civil authority, martial law is frequently the only resource for staying anarchy and restoring order; but armies marching and fighting in foreign countries often leave the civil and municipal administration undisturbed, and support rather than subvert the existing local tribunals. Martial law then simply consists in the exercise of sovereign powers by the commander of the army, without any alteration in, or violent interference with, the machinery of subordinate administration. During our wars in India, this has almost invariably been the course pursued; both good policy and convenience recommending its adoption. Thus too the Duke of Wellington's late striking protest, on the occasion of Lord Torrington's exculpatory address to the House of Lords, exemplifies the system pursued in the Peninsula.

"But what he (the noble Duke) rose for, was to advert to 'what the noble Earl had said on the subject of martial law. 'Now he (the Duke of Wellington) contended that military 'law was neither more nor less than the will of the General 'who commanded the army; and it was, in fact, no law at all. 'The General must carry the law into execution. He was 'bound to lay down accurately the rules, and regulations, and 'limits, within, and by, which it was to be carried into execution. He had, in defence of his country, carried on martial 'law, that was to say, he had carried on the laws of the country by his own will. What did that mean? Why, that the 'country should be governed by the national laws, and he 'accordingly carried into execution those laws. He governed 'the country by the laws of the country; and he governed it, 'he must say, with such moderation, that the political servants 'of the country, whose military forces were driven out of the 'country, acted under his direction. The judges sat in the 'courts of law, and conducted efficiently the business of the 'country under his direction. He never was suspected to have 'acted in the manner in which the noble Viscount, who had addressed their Lordships, was said to have done: and he protested against being called into comparison in any way whatever 'with the noble Viscount."

It may be a thoroughly English definition of martial law, which the Duke of Wellington gave; but we are proud to think that it is a correct one, in so far as British Generals are concerned: and we should be running the risk of turning into exceptions what is the general rule, were we to quote

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other instances besides that signal one to which the Duke adverted.

When the spirit of revolution and insurrection involves in one common ruin all the elements of order, except the sword—the latter must be unsheathed to preserve society from the utter dissolution with which it is threatened. All other law being trodden under foot by miscreant masses, martial law steps upon the field, to put down anarchy, to repress force by force, to curb the sanguinary masses by the disciplined few, and to re-erect the sacred throne of justice. On such occasions, martial law, that is, the will and spirit of the Dictator-General, comes for a time singly into operation. Fortunately for England, this has very seldom, if ever, been the case; and although the military has frequently been called out on occasions of riot, it has been so at the bidding of the civil power, and acted in support of the same, whilst the foundations of its authority were unshaken and its supremacy undoubted. The doctrine of those eminent lawyers, who regard the military as armed citizens, and who consider that their being on rare occasions called in by the magistracy, to save the effusion of innocent blood, and to preserve the dominion of the law, forms no approach to martial law, appears sound. The events on the continent, in 1848, will doubtless have strengthened this opinion, and will have weakened the prejudice and aversion felt towards the "armed citizens" of the nation, not alone by the ignorant, but also by the better informed and more influential classes. The sword is now less regarded as the symbol of oppression than formerly. On the contrary, those, who have anything to lose by the subversion of the social condition of civilized Europe, esteem the sword as the friend of order and the successful opponent of mad anarchy. For a time, therefore, the force of English prejudice against the military is weakened, and the bias is neither so strong nor so generally hostile to them; but young officers of the British army must not permit themselves to be blinded, or to assume undue confidence from the perusal of Mr. Prendergast's chapter on criminal liabilities. They must remember that the popular prejudice against the profession is deep rooted, and, though at present somewhat modified, more or less pervades all classes; that juries are steeped in popular feeling and prejudices; that the press is the same necessarily; that the opinions of some judges form no invariable rule for their successors; and that, in the absence of clear, unquestionable statute law, judge-made law may vary to an indefinite amount—and that too, unfor-

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tunately, without pre-monition to the public. Hallam has a passage very characteristic of English feeling upon this subject, and but little consonant with the doctrine of the eminent lawyers put forward by Mr. Prendergast. After deriding the supposition as idle, that at any time, since the Revolution, the regular army could be employed to pull the Speaker out of his chair, or to confirm a despotic power in the Crown, he proceeds to say—"But, as the slightest inroads upon private 'rights and liberties are to be guarded against in any nation 'that deserves to be called free, we should always keep in 'mind, not only that the military power is subordinate to the 'civil, but, as this subordination must cease where the former 'is frequently employed, that it should never be called upon 'in aid of the peace without sufficient cause. Nothing would 'more break down this notion of the law's supremacy than the 'perpetual interference of those, who are really governed by 'another law; for the doctrine of some judges, that the soldier, 'being still a citizen, acts only in preservation of the public 'peace, as another citizen is bound to do, must be felt as a 'sophism, even by those who cannot find an answer to it. And 'even in slight circumstances, it is not conformable to the 'principles of our Government to make that vain display of 'military authority which disgusts us so much in some continental kingdoms."

To this latter sentence is appended the following foot-note:—"Nothing can be more *un-English* than an innovation of no 'long standing, which I never observe without disgust—the 'presence of sentinels at the doors of the British Museum, 'and even at exhibitions of pictures. Though this proceeds 'from the silliest vanity, it is pity, that, among the numberless 'modes in which that quality can display itself, it should not 'have chosen one less unbecoming."

We have quoted this passage and note because the whole is thoroughly characteristic—thoroughly English: and with such a substratum of national feeling—a wholesome one, though often degenerating into the ridiculous—it would be unsafe for young or old officers to allow themselves to be deceived into a fatal sense of security by the grim smiles, or wise saws of the sages of the law. An officer in England cannot well be either too cautious, or too studious, only to act in direct indubitable subordination to the magistrate.

These remarks are not wholly inapplicable to India. Steam has brought England close to us in point of time; and, although no two conditions can well be more essentially different than

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those of the British army in India and in England, yet British officers acting in India must ever bear in mind the peculiarities and qualities of that English public opinion, based on English feelings, which is ultimately to pronounce on their conduct. We could wish that Mr. Prendergast had been furnished with somewhat more than Sir Thomas Munro's General Order of 1825, in which that distinguished man lays down the course to be observed by the civil magistrates in calling upon the military for aid to preserve the peace of the country. Although they do not essentially differ from those in force in the Bengal (and we suppose in the Bombay) Presidency, yet, as clear and definite instructions have been issued in the political and in the civil departments for the direction of political and civil officers, who find it necessary to call the military into play, the Manual would have been rendered most valuable to a large class of officers, had its author dwelt somewhat more fully on a subject of no trifling importance to the military serving in India. The author's supply of information from the India House seems to have been very restricted; which is a pity.

The necessity, however, for the utmost caution on the part both of Queen's and of Company's officers in the execution of duty, will be best seen in the chapter headed "Liability for private injuries." No such act has been passed with respect to military officers, as has lately been promulgated and made law in favour of the civil servants of the Company. The former, therefore, are bound to keep clearly in view their liability to be arraigned before the courts of law, and to find themselves engaged in actions, arising out of the abuse, real or imaginary, of military power and authority, exerted in conformity with the rules of discipline and the code of military law. Lord Mansfield's language merits peculiar attention: for where a jury, ignorant of military law, inexperienced in the emergencies of discipline, naval and military, and to whose habits and feelings military obedience is repugnant, are to pronounce "*how the heart stood*," when an officer performed a duty, perhaps eminently distressing to his feelings, at a time, however, when any weak display of such feeling might be productive of great, if not irremediable, evil—then, we say, that both the jury and the officer, standing as defendant before that jury, are placed under very difficult and very peculiar circumstances. How far the "secrets of the heart" are matters of fact for a jury to pronounce upon, need not here be discussed. The doctrine has been enunciated, and is recorded as almost of equal authority with statute law: and therefore a jury would set about enquir-

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ing and deciding upon "how the heart stood," without much question as to the facility of an investigation into this "matter of fact," pronounced to be within the scope of their deliberation. An officer ought therefore to bear the circumstance in mind, for, although "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and therefore we do not so much object to the doctrine, where time, place, and circumstance facilitate full immediate enquiry, and the attendance of creditable witnesses, whilst words and acts are fresh in their minds—yet, where time has elapsed, circumstances are no longer fresh in the memory, and witnesses may be dead, or not available and at call, we regard the doctrine as full of danger in application.

"In trying the legality of acts done by military officers in 'the exercise of their duty, particularly beyond the seas, 'where cases may occur without the possibility of application 'for proper advice, great latitude ought to be allowed: and 'they ought not to suffer for a slip of form, if their intention 'appears by the evidence to have been upright. It is the 'same as when complaints are brought against inferior magis-'trates, such as justices of the peace, for acts done by them 'in the exercise of their civil duty. There the principal en-'quiry to be made by a court of justice is—*how the heart stood?* 'and, if there appear to be nothing wrong there, great latitude 'will be allowed for misapprehension or mistake. But, on 'the other hand, if the heart is wrong—if cruelty, malice, 'and oppression appear to have occasioned or aggravated the 'imprisonment, or other injury complained of—they shall not 'cover themselves with the thin veil of legal forms, nor 'escape under the cover of a justification the most technically 'regular, from that punishment, which it is your province and 'your duty to inflict on so scandalous an abuse of public 'trust."

In the chapter on the sale and purchase of commissions, the author touches upon a subject, which very deeply concerns the officers of the Indian army, and which it would be advisable, before the renewal or modification of the East India Company's charter, that they should move to have put upon a satisfactory footing. If the law be as stated by the Manual, the interests of the great body of the officers of the army are on a most precarious footing; the purchase of promotion, now the rule and custom in most corps of the service, being carried on not only upon bare sufferance of the East India Company, but also in contravention of law, and therefore, whenever and wherever called into question, illegal.

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After examining the law with respect to the sale and purchase of commissions in the British army, the author proceeds as follows:—"As to those corps, therefore, in the Royal army, 'in which promotion takes place only by succession, the result 'is, that where an officer for a pecuniary consideration makes 'way, by his retirement, for the admission on promotion of 'another, the transaction is illegal and void. It makes no difference whether the money paid is in the form of a gross sum 'or an annuity, or whether the payment is effected out of private funds, or secured by a charge upon the future emoluments 'receivable by the officer, who gets the benefit of the vacancy.

"The like law must obviously apply, in equal degree and in 'every particular, to the East India Company's military service, where succession by seniority is the rule of promotion. 'It is, therefore, perfectly clear, that all those transactions, 'which are understood to be of frequent occurrence in the 'various corps of that service, for inducing the retirement of 'senior officers by pecuniary considerations, are utterly illegal 'and void in themselves, and expose all parties, without 'exception, who are concerned in such transactions, to a prosecution for misdemeanour before the Supreme Courts in 'India, or the Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster, as 'circumstances may require.

"It has been already pointed out, that the money paid upon 'such transactions, whether in the Royal army, or in the East 'India Company's forces, can be recovered back by the officers 'who contributed it, or by their representatives; and that 'officers concerned in such transactions are liable to be 'cashiered.

"It is obvious, that parties concerned in irregular transactions, like those under consideration, incur great risks of 'extortion, in order to compromise prosecutions, or to avoid 'injurious exposures in courts of justice."

Now, this view of the nature of such transactions does not appear seriously invalidated, either by the comparative publicity and unanimity of a corps combining to purchase out members, or by the despatch of the Court of Directors of the 29th November, 1837, quoted by the author, which states:—

"We see no necessity for interfering with the arrangements 'which the junior officers of a regiment may make in individual cases for adding to the comforts of a senior officer, on 'his retirement from the service on the pension to which he 'may be entitled."

"The regulation of 1798, requiring officers, upon retirement

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'to make oath that they have received no pecuniary considera-
'tion for quitting the service, has not been enforced by us in
'any single case of retirement in England, during the period
'of nearly forty years, which has since elapsed. It was esta-
'blished, chiefly upon financial grounds, to prevent (as observed
'by Lord Cornwallis, when recommending other rules for the
'same object) *an unreasonable load of pensions.* This presumed
'necessity for the rule has, however, not yet been felt; on the
'contrary, additional facilities have been required, and have been
'given, for enabling officers to retire upon full pay. We shall,
'therefore, continue to suspend the operation of the rule; and
'officers, retiring from time to time, will not be called upon to
'make the declaration, unless the financial necessity, to which
'we have referred (and of which due notice shall be given)
'shall, at a future period, be fully realized."

The court, by this despatch, do not, for the present, interfere or discourage such transactions as those to which they advert: but, as remarked by the author of the Manual, the East India Company has no power to legalize transactions prohibited by Act of Parliament, and parties concerned in them are liable to suits and prosecutions. The sense of honour among the officers of the army is too high to render the frequent occurrence of such suits or prosecutions a probable event: but cases might happen in which officers, discharged from the service, who had paid large sums towards purchasing out their seniors, and who felt themselves, or fancied themselves, aggrieved by dismissal, might seek to recover a portion of their losses in such payments: —and it must be remembered that before an English court, the fact, that the plaintiff had himself agreed to give the money, had actually done so, and was therefore *particeps criminis*, would not, according to precedents, have weight where the relief is given on grounds of public policy. Other instances may easily be imagined, in which suits and prosecutions on account of such payments might arise. Now, as experience proves that apprehensions regarding an overwhelming pension list are idle, and as the law is in conflict with a practice which the Court of Directors virtually sanction, it would, in every respect, be well that the officers of the army, by far the greater part of whom are now *particeps criminis* in this respect, and have many of them spent considerable sums in the hope, when their turn came, to profit by such arrangements, should be secured, whether retired, or in the service, from liability to suits and prosecutions for perfectly honest unobjectionable transactions. It is well known that many corps, besides the larger ones,

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such as the Artillery and Engineers, have organized a system of gradal and periodical subscription for the purpose of purchasing out seniors, or officers willing to quit the service if aided. It would be hard indeed, after a life of heavy payments on this account, that an officer retiring should find himself forced to refund to any particular members their quota, or that a whole corps, after having for years paid away large sums in this manner, should suddenly, for any fancied pressure of the pension list, be precluded from continuing a system, in which all the members concurred and paid, often with great difficulty, from the hope of ultimately profiting. Whatever the form in which the charter is renewed, and the constitution of the Indian army maintained, this is a point affecting their position and interests, which should not be passed over with oblivious negligence, as the vested rights (they may so be termed with propriety) of three-fourths of the officers of the army are therein deeply concerned.

The chapter, entitled "Pay, half-pay, pensions," in which are set forth the rules and principles, both in law and equity, which have been fully recognized and acted upon by the legislature, contains information in a compact form of the highest importance to all officers. So also the chapter "On prizes and booty," in connection with which it may be remarked, that the Koh-i-núr would appear fairly to fall within the specification of the subjects from which prize money is to arise, as laid down by the 2 Wm. IV., c. 53: and therefore the army may fairly look for an explanation of the grounds upon which that celebrated jewel has been otherwise treated. If considered *state* property, it would require some ingenuity to except it from the booty of the campaign. If regarded as private property, and the transfer has been a transaction between a minor and our Government, the matter merits a parliamentary explanation. The army and the British nation ought to be made aware of the exact character of a transaction, which strips the Ex-Maharaja of so invaluable a jewel, and places it among the crown jewels of England. Much as they may feel the glory of such an acquisition, and proud as they may be that the Queen of England should wear this glittering prize, neither right pride, nor true glory can be entertained by the nation, until it is satisfactorily proved, that the whole transaction can bear the light:—and the sooner this is done, the better.

That portion of the Manual, which touches on the question of domicile, is of very material importance to the officers of the Indian armies, so many of whom boast of Scotland as their native

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country. It concerns them to bear in mind, that the law of succession in Scotland differs from the English law on that subject; and that it has been ruled "that a Scotchman, entering the military service of the East India Company, abandons and loses his original Scotch domicile; so that if he dies in India, while in the pay of the Company, and without making a will, the succession to his personal property is regulated by the law of England, and not by that of Scotland."

The remarks, and the cases cited, on the subject of wills, are also worthy of attention, and calculated to prevent errors, such as the late Major-General Clement Hill fell into, and in consequence of which his will was declared to be invalid. In lieu of the Tarragona, Genoa, and Russúl Khyma Prize Warrants, which the author has given in the appendix to the Manual, a few plain directions for, and drafts of, wills would, we think, be an improvement, and add to the utility of this handy volume. It is a subject on which much general ignorance prevails amongst officers, whose acquaintance with matters of this nature, from the want of such a small treatise as the Manual, is vague, and frequently coincides with that, which the late Major-General C. Hill entertained.

We take leave of Mr. Prendergast, with the feeling, that he has done valuable service to the officers of the British armies, and that his Manual will form part of the "kit" of the intelligent portion of the military profession.

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ART. VII.—*Christianity in Ceylon; its introduction and progress under the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and American Missions: with an historical sketch of the Brahminical and Buddhist superstitions. By Sir James Emerson Tennent, K. C. S., L. L. D., &c. With illustrations. London. John Murray.* 1850.

THE history of Christianity in Ceylon may be compressed into very few words. It is yet in its infancy. But the history of the attempts, that have been made to introduce it into that beautiful island, affords ample scope and most varied and interesting materials for a larger work than the elegant and elaborately finished volume of Sir James Emerson Tennent. We have witnessed three centuries and a half of persevering effort to plant the cross deep in the Singalese soil; and, for the greater part of that time, the work has been carried on with a high hand, and with no slackness of zeal, or over-scrupulousness as to means. The new religion had the attractiveness of novelty, the *prestige* of conquest, and the influence of Government, in its favour. No champion stood forth to attack the faith of the *Feringhis*, or to defend his own; and multitudes of the apathetic and feeble-minded idolators were found ready to become Romanists, or Protestants,—or any thing else, according to the latest Government Regulation.

To trace the progress of this grand experiment through all its varying phases, is a task of no ordinary interest; and Sir J. E. Tennent has, we think, been singularly happy in his choice of a subject. We have begun to recognize that battles and bloodshed are not the true land-marks of history: and the vulgar hero-worship of the Alexanders, Cæsars, Timours, and Napoleons is now being transferred to other and worthier shrines. The man, who contributes most efficiently to the intellectual or moral advancement of his race, is the true hero of history; and, from this point of view, Plato and Aristotle, Bacon and Newton, will take rank above "blind old Mæonides," or even above Shakespeare himself, the most many-sided and creative genius, that the world has yet seen. Science and Politics have their ever-renewing conflicts; but the world-wide and world-long war, on the issue of which hang the destinies of humanity, is between good and evil. To eradicate the prejudices and superstitions, which debase and disgrace our nature—to put away the follies and subdue the passions, which lead to crime and guilt—to live together in a brotherhood of peace and love—to have a true faith, a sure hope, and the same God—this is

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what humanity should aim at; and every true right-hearted man should set himself in earnest to the work. Poetry and Art, Science and Philosophy, may charm the intellect, and pour into it an unceasing flood of wonder and delight: mechanical triumphs may be multiplied, property more equitably distributed, and "the best of all possible republics" may stand forth at last a reality; the poor may live in palaces, and eat from vessels of Californian gold; and unexpected and inexhaustible resources for comfort and luxury may speedily be brought to light. Yet, after all, a world covered with "crystal palaces," and inhabited by "admirable Crichtons," would still be wasted and blurred by death and suffering, by sorrow and crime. For these there is but one remedy—the Gospel of Christ in its purity received into the heart, with the full consent of the intellect, and carried out thoroughly in every-day life and conduct. Christianity in its true power, thus exhibited, would soon draw all eyes, and make short work with all that mass of faint-heartedness and sham, of candle-lighting and posture-making and calling names, of Socialisms and Fourierisms and Mormonisms, which men now strive to palm upon the world in its stead.

If any such exhibition of the spirit and influence of the Gospel is now to be found, we would neither seek it on the battle-field of controversy, nor even within the settled creed and use-and-wont practice of an orthodox and long-established sect. The eye naturally turns to her Missions, as the bright spots of the Church; and undoubtedly she should teach there with greater freedom from sectarian-prejudices, with more largeness of view and aim, and with more love and zeal, than in any other place, where her voice is heard. There is something, one would think, humanizing and elevating in the very attempt to rescue a fellow-creature from mental bondage or cruel and murderous delusion, and to lead him to virtue and to God. There are sweet and gentle natures, there are high and noble minds, to be found hood-winked and blind-folded amongst the votaries of Krishna and Kali. Can any task be more interesting and delightful, or more worthy of our highest energies, than to search out and to find such, to teach them to fling off the foul and bloody yoke, and to rise up (a glorious building) to the height of the Christian standard—to a love of the pure and holy, the living and true God, and to a loving recognition of the whole human brotherhood? But, when we deal, not only with individual destinies, but with the future (spreading out to eternity) of a nation, surely, it cannot be denied, that the Christian Missionary's work, marred though it may be by errors

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of design and of execution, is, in itself, a noble and a god-like work, worthy of all sympathy, and worthy of all praise.

Some such views the Portuguese and the Dutch, buccaneers and adventurers though they were, seem to have entertained of it; and, in their earlier intercourse with the Hindus, there was no lack of zeal, or of a wild sympathy with the Missionaries, or of genuine but misdirected efforts, not for, but against, the idolators.

The history of what has been done in Ceylon for the introduction of Christianity, has not only the common interest attached to every such attempt, and certain leading features, which identify its course with the usual progress of Missions since the era of Constantine, but it has also peculiar features of its own, pregnant with instructive and weighty lessons, bearing on the Missions of the present day. It is a very common mistake to confound the wonderful expansive power, which Christianity at first put forth, and which virtually conquered for it the Roman Empire, with its progress afterwards: and the friends and foes of Missions are but too apt unreasonably to find fault with their results in modern times. The impartial pages of history afford no ground for such fault-finding. After the first great impulse, when the word was preached with power, God himself confirming it with signs and wonders from heaven, the era of controversy succeeded the era of Missions. When Constantine flung his sword into the scale, the movement was political rather than religious. From his day the onward march of the Gospel became slower and slower. Century after century rolled by; and, a thousand years after the birth of Christ, Europe was not all even nominally Christian. Paganism still lingered in many lands, and was rampant in Sweden, Lithuania, Poland, and Prussia; and it was not until the conquest of Rugen, the last great stronghold of the Heathen, by the Danish king Waldemar in 1168, or rather until the utter desolation of Prussia by fire and sword, which the Teutonic knights finally accomplished A. D. 1287, that the faith of Europe became professedly Christian. If, as Gibbon would have it, the Gospel owes its triumphs to human power and human policy, how came it that such mighty and puissant Missionaries as Clovis and his Franks, Charlemagne and his Peers, the valiant Cœur de Lion, his great rival, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis and the chivalry of France, achieved such miserable results, while Paul the tent-maker, and Peter the fisherman of Galilee, filled the known world with their converts? The answer is not far to seek. The Apostles preached the pure Gospel, with a living faith in their own hearts, and their weapons

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were tempered and polished in the armoury of Heaven. They proved by miracle (as need then was) that they were commissioned to speak the truth of God; and the truth was so powerful, that it drew forth men and women by tens of thousands to leave all that is dearest to flesh and blood, and to expose themselves, with deliberate forethought, to scorn and suffering, and not unfrequently to the martyr's death.

But the Apostles, and those, who followed them as they followed Christ, passed away; and another faith and other measures prevailed. Christianity, or rather what was so called, was encrusted and overlaid with superstition. Her followers were still zealous, according to what light they had: but that light burnt more and more dimly; and, at last, all but merged into Romanism. Deeds were done in the name of Christ, and professedly for the propagation of Christianity, that made the very name "stink in the nostrils." The Bible was shut: the sound of the Gospel was unheard. The knights of the Temple and the Hospital were the accredited champions of the Cross; and, where it might have been troublesome to convince or to confute, a lance-thrust, or a crushing blow with a mace, silenced the opponent for ever. Charlemagne dealed with the Saxons, as the Teutonic knights with the Heathens of Prussia, after the fashion of Islam.

Nor did the Church of Rome trust to arms alone. Her policy for her own temporal and spiritual aggrandizement was unscrupulous, unslumbering, masterly. She engrossed the learning of the times, and for ages influenced the politics of Europe. She won the masses by showy processions, incense, music, and an imposing ceremonial: she deluded them by juggling miracles, lying legends, and high claims to sanctity. She overawed the timid by the voice of authority; and she punished the contumacious with excommunication, or death. The same power, that lit the fires and worked the pulleys of the Inquisition, travestied the holiest things in the mysteries, and encouraged the coarse revels and baptized Heathenisms of the rabble; and in the same Church might be seen a master-piece of Raphael, and a paring of some Saint's nail, or a phial of the apocryphal blood of an apocryphal martyr. She had holy men too, and zealous Missionaries—her Patricks, her Augustines, and her Xaviers; and truth herself seemed abashed in the presence of Aquinas and Borromeo, of Bossuet and Thomas à Kempis. But, though she had the field to herself for nearly a thousand years, the first blast of the Reformation showed how little real progress she had made, and how weak, before the Ithuriel touch of truth, are all the might and pomp

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of falsehood. It is true that she held much truth; but she held that truth in unrighteousness. What was of God stood firm; but the wood, hay, and stubble, which she had added, could not endure the day of trial. Christianity has a way of its own, and will take no other; and, whoever they be, Papist or Protestant, who despise the simple machinery of the Gospel, and take craft or cunning, policy or force into their counsels—however great their success may seem for a time, in the end they will reap disappointment.

The mere fact then, that more than three hundred years have elapsed since the first systematic attempt to introduce Christianity into Ceylon, and that little real progress has yet been made, has but too many precedents in history; and, when we turn our attention to the manner and the spirit, in which this grand experiment has been conducted, nothing seems more natural than such a result.

It is quite unnecessary to discuss here the legend of St. Thomas, and the supposed introduction of the Gospel into India in Apostolic times. It is not even alleged to have reached Ceylon before the 5th or 6th century. But no native Church appears to have been formed then; and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 is the real epoch, from which the authentic history of Christianity in Ceylon begins. This is very lucidly established in the opening pages of Sir James E. Tennent's work; and the extract, which follows, is no unfair specimen of the judgment, learning and temper, with which the book is written :—

The earliest notice of the existence of Christianity in Ceylon is that of Cosmas Indopleustes, an Egyptian merchant, and afterwards a monk, who published his "Christian Topography" in the reign of Justinian, in order to vindicate the cosmography of the Old Testament from (what he believed to be) the heresies of "the Ptolemaic system."* Cosmas, who was himself a Nestorian, tells that in Taprobane† there existed a community of be-

* The Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία of Cosmas Indopleustes, or Indicopleustes, has been edited by Montfaucon, and will be found in his Collectio Nova Patrum, vol. ii., par. 1706. The portion, relative to Ceylon and the plants and animals of India, was printed by Thevenot, with a French translation, in his *Relations de divers Voyages curieux*, vol. i. There are some legends to the effect that Christianity had been preached in Ceylon by St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; but there is no reasonable ground for believing that India was ever visited by an apostle, although the tradition is supported by St. Jerome and Chrysostom, by Athanasius and Eusebius; and it was so firmly believed in the early ages of the Church that Alfred the Great sent Swithelm or Sighelm, the Bishop of Sherburn, on an embassy to India to visit the shrine of St. Thomas. (Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, p. 185; Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii., p. 138). There is a still more curious tradition to the effect that Ceylon had been visited, and the Christian faith introduced, by the Eunuch of Candace, whose conversion by Philip is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. (Hough's History of Christianity in India, vol. i., pp. 30, 32, 42; Baldæus, p. 280.)

† The ancient Greek name of Ceylon.

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lievers, with an episcopal form of discipline, priests, deacons, and a liturgy. This slender statement has afforded material for enlarged speculation as to the doctrines, the extent, and duration of an early Church in Ceylon. It has been assumed as proof of the conversion of the Singhalese prior to the fifth and sixth centuries; and the author of the "History of Christianity in India" propounds it as more than probable, that the Church, so implanted, survived till the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, when "their buildings no doubt shared the fate of the temples of Buddhu, which they (the Portuguese) pulled down, and with the materials erected Churches of their own religion on all parts of the coast."*

But a reference to the original authority disposes at once of these eager conjectures.† Cosmas expressly declares that the members of the Church in Ceylon were *Persians*, and merely sojourners—a portion, no doubt, of that concourse of merchants and travellers, who then resorted to the northern parts of the island, as the great depôt and emporium of Eastern trade‡—but that the natives and their kings were of a different religion. As to doctrine, the probability is that they were of the same faith and form of ecclesiastical government as the Syrian Churches in the southern promontory of India, which were founded in the third or fourth century by Christians from the Persian Gulf, whose successors to the present time have preserved a form of Christianity, however corrupted, and maintained an uninterrupted connexion with the original Church,—first through the See of Seleucia, and since through the Patriarch of Antioch. But with the decline of Oriental commerce, and the diminished resort of merchants from Arabia and Persia, the travellers and adventurers, who formed the members of the first Christian body in Ceylon, ceased to frequent the shores of Manaar; and Christianity, never firmly rooted, gradually decayed and disappeared.

Between the sixth century and the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth, we have but few accounts of the internal condition of the island, and no mention whatever of a Christian community.

The "two Muhammadans," Ibn Vahab and Abou Zeyd, whose narratives have been translated by Renaudot, and more recently and completely by Reinaud, describe Ceylon in the ninth century, and record the division of the island between two kings, as mentioned by Cosmas, one of whom was, of course, the Rajah of Jaffina. The authors are altogether silent as to the existence of any form of Christianity, although Abou Zeyd states that "the king, who then reigned, permitted the free exercise of every religion; and the island contained a multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even Ta-

* Hough's History of Christianity in India, vol. iii., b. vii., ch. 2, p. 74. The assertion is given on the authority of Cordiner (Description of Ceylon, vol. i., p. 154,); but it is entirely conjectural, and at variance with the testimony of every traveller in Ceylon during the middle ages.

† Δύο δὲ βασιλεῖς εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἐνάντιοι ἀλλήλων. ὁ εἷς ἔχων τὸν ὑάκινθον, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τὸ μέρος τὸ ἄλλο, ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τὸ ἐμπόριον καὶ ὁ λιμήν. Ἔχει δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ νῆσος καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Περσῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενον, καὶ διάκονον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν λειτουργίαν.—οἱ δὲ ἐγχώριοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀλλόφυλοί εἰσιν. *Cosmas Indopleustes; Thevenot, Relations*, &c., &c., vol. i.; *Ibid.*, 1. xi.; *Montfaucon Coll. Patr.*, v. ii., p. 336.

‡ Ἐξ ὅλης δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Περσίδος καὶ Αἰθιοπίας δέχεται ἡ νῆσος πλοῖα πολλὰ, μεση τις οὖσα, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκπέμπει.—*Cosmas Ind.*, 1. xi.; *Montf.*, vol. ii., p. 337.

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nouis, or Manichees." As to the faith of the sovereign, and the mass of the people, they say that "the king makes laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; and here are doctors, and assemblies of learned men, like those of the Hadithis of Arabia. The Indians repair to these assemblies, and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expositions of their laws."*

Four centuries later, Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, made his way to Ceylon about the year 1290 A. D.; he declares that "the inhabitants were idolators;" and it is scarcely credible, had a Christian Church, however small, been then in existence, that he, a Christian himself, would have omitted all mention of so interesting a fact.

Ibn Batuta, the adventurous Moor, who traversed almost all the countries of Asia in the fourteenth century, and visited Ceylon about 1324 A. D., is equally silent in relation to Christianity; although he is particular in describing the Emperor as an infidel, and records the proceedings of the Brahmins and Buddhists, and the pilgrimage to the sacred foot-mark on the summit of Adam's Peak.

Thus, notwithstanding the remarkable preservation of Christianity in India, throughout this gloomy period, amongst the Syrian Churches on the Coromandel coast, and its permanent adoption by the Tamils and other tribes of the peninsula, its light appears to have been but transiently kindled, and to have speedily become extinguished on the opposite coast of Ceylon. If it ever included in its communion any of the native inhabitants of the island, they must have relapsed into idolatry, shortly after the departure of its original founders.—*Pp.* 1—6.

The history of Christianity in Ceylon begins then with, what Sir James styles, the Portuguese period: and it will throw some light on the results of that period, which extended over a hundred and thirty years, if we consider the opinion, which the natives must necessarily have entertained concerning the upholders of the new faith. The Portuguese were then a gallant and a warlike race. Not Cortez or Pizarro run greater risks, were more rapacious for gold, or more reckless of life and principle, than the valiant cavaliers, who fought, and robbed, and conquered under Vasco de Gama, the magnificent Albuquerque, or the redoubtable Mascarenhas. There were a certain stateliness too, and chivalric bearing, and withal a strong dash of devotion, or rather superstition, which distinguished them from the vulgar pirate. But pirates and buccaneers they were—fierce, remorseless, unpitying; and, pirates and buccaneers they must have seemed, ere they grew to be tyrants and conquerors.

The famous Vasco de Gama himself, with perhaps somewhat of the roughness of the sea, was no unfavourable specimen of

* "Le royaume de Serendyb a une loi et des docteurs, qui s'assemblent de temps en temps, comme se réunissent chez nous les personnes, qui recueillent les traditions du Prophète. Les Indiens se rendent auprès des docteurs, et écrivent, sous leur dictée, la vie de leurs prophètes, et les préceptes de leur loi. . . . . On trouve dans l'île de Serendyb une communauté de Juifs, qui est nombreuse. Il y a également des personnes des autres religions, notamment des Dualistes (les Manichéens). Le roi de Serendyb laisse chaque communauté professer son culte." Transl. par Reinaud, vol. i., p. 128.

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his nation: yet was ever pirate or robber guilty of more cold-blooded atrocity, than is recorded of him by the Jesuit Lafitau?

"On reaching the Malabar Coast (this was during his second 'voyage, in 1502), he fell in with the *Meris*, a large ship, 'which the Sultan of Egypt sent every year to Hindustan, 'from which it brought back a rich cargo on his account. 'The ship also carried many passengers, whom devotion led 'to visit the tomb of Muhammad at Mecca. On over-'taking her, Vasco gave way a *little too much* (un peu trop) to 'the movement of his hatred against the Moors, and that 'too in a manner unworthy of a gentleman! For, not content 'with plundering the vessel, which offered no resistance, and 'taking out of her in the first place twenty children, whom 'he destined to become monks in the monastery of Our 'Lady of Belem, he then tried to sink the vessel, in order to 'drown all that remained on board, to the number of nearly '*three hundred persons*. But, not being able to succeed, he 'was obliged to attack her by open force, and to set her on 'fire—which perhaps he might not have accomplished so 'easily, had these poor wretches, foreseeing the cruel fate 'that fell upon them, endeavoured to defend themselves." *Lafitau, Vol. I., pp.* 184-185.

Here all is in keeping: the pillaging—the cruel superstition—the pitiless murder—and the flippant and heartless narrative of the priestly historian. But this was not the Amirante's sole exploit of a similar kind. In one of his disputes with the Zamorin of Calicut, he picked up fifty harmless fishermen, who were peaceably following their trade, ignorant and unconscious of danger; and, when the Zamorin refused to comply with certain terms which he proposed, Gama hung up the whole of these poor innocent creatures in sight of the town, and, cutting off their feet and hands, floated them ashore with the tide on a raft.

Five years later, Lafitau tells us how Dabul was stormed by the Viceroy, Francis D'Almeyda:—

"They (the Portuguese) spared neither age nor sex: the 'wife of the Governor himself could not purchase her life with 'the offer of all her riches. The insolent conquerors, fell with 'such savage fury upon the miserable inhabitants, that they 'took pleasure in tearing children from the bosoms of their 'mothers, and dashing their brains out against the walls; so 'that their cruelty has passed into a proverb in Hindustan '—the Hindus in their imprecations being accustomed to say, '*'May the wrath of the Feringhis fall upon thee, as it fell*

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'*upon Dabul!*' When at length they were glutted with 'murder, they thought of nothing but satiating their avarice; 'and D'Almeyda, before he could get them away, was obliged 'to set fire to the town, and thus put the finishing stroke to 'the destruction of all that had escaped the hands of his rapa-'cious soldiery." *Vol. I., p.* 421. In the following year (1509) this same monster,* after the conclusion of a peace, won by constant victories, signalized his triumphant return to Cananore, by hanging up many of his unfortunate prisoners, and blowing many others from the mouths of cannons, in the sight of all the town; on which courtly father Lafitau permits himself only to remark that, "it is difficult to command our passions in prosperity." But we will not sicken our readers with more tales of blood. These were common incidents in the calendar of Portuguese conquest. Invincible in fight, fierce, cruel and remorseless, insolent and overbearing in their demeanour, tyrannical and exacting beyond all Hindu or Muhammadan precedent, with hearts set on gold, and hands stained with blood;—such was the aspect, in which the European followers of Jesus first showed themselves to the natives of Hindustan.

When these men (for like the Thugs in India, and the robbers in the Papal states, they were very devout in their way) set themselves to convert the natives to *their* religion, and literally "to compel them to come in," what could be expected, especially from the timid and passive Singalese, but fear, abhorrence—and compliance? Gama himself, it will be remembered, made twenty converts in one bloody day. But the monarch of Portugal had worthier views; and the second fleet, that doubled the Cape under Cabral, carried five Franciscan Missionaries to preach the Gospel to the Hindus. Never did Mission commence with more of Royal favour or encouragement. The Bishop of Viseu publicly consecrated the standard: the King, with his own hands, placed on the head of Cabral, a hat blessed by the Pope; and, professedly, the chief object of the expedition was to obtain from the Zamorin permission for the Missionaries to preach the Gospel freely in every part of his dominions—failing which, Cabral was enjoined to fall upon him with fire and sword, and "to do him all the harm he could in every possible way." It is true that this was in the main a mere blind; and that the real design of the expedition was to secure, by fair means or foul, a monopoly of the Indian trade. King Emmanuel, however, was honestly zealous for his

* D'Almeyda was superseded in 1509; and, on his way home, perished miserably, being run through the body with a wooden spear by a Hottentot, or Caffre, in an obscure skirmish, at the Cape of Good Hope.

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faith, and proud of it too: and his measures for promoting it, if not the most judicious, were at least princely, and worthy of a great monarch. It was reserved for later times to behold Missionaries driven out of India by a Protestant power, lest they should preach the faith of Jesus; and British statesmen of high repute, reserving their countenance for idolatry, and seemingly more scared at the coming of a Carey or a Judson, than by an enemy's army of 50,000 men!

One would like to have a glimpse of these FIRST five Missionaries, who vanish, alas! and are no more heard of. Of one at least, Father Henry, "a man of merit," as Lafitau tells us, and the superior of the five, we know that he returned home, and became Bishop of Ceuta; but of his Missionary career we have only the commencement, which, however, was of so singular a character, that, but for the gravity of the subject, and the perfect good faith of the actors, there is nothing more ludicrous in Punch. It so happened that, on his voyage out, Cabral discovered Brazil; and the whole expedition were charmed, as well they might, by the noble harbour, the splendid rivers, the fertile soil, the beautiful scenery, and the gentle and mild barbarians, who flocked, wondering and admiring, to gaze upon the strangers. The rest of the story we must borrow from Father Lafitau, who evidently enjoys it:—

"Cabral, seeing the inhabitants apparently good and simple, 'but without any trace of religion, law, or civil Government, 'felt great compassion for them: and he requested Father 'Henry, the superior of the five Missionaries, a man of merit, 'who was afterwards Bishop of Ceuta, to preach to them the 'truths of the Gospel. This the Missionary did, in a very 'beautiful discourse *in Portuguese*, of which the savages, 'although very attentive, *did not understand one word*. But the 'Missionary had not the less merit before God, or less credit 'in the eyes of his own countrymen, who enjoyed his sermon 'exceedingly, thought it very convincing, and approved highly 'of his zeal." *Vol. I., p.* 163. A Protestant might insinuate that the saying mass in Latin was no bad introduction to the practice of preaching in an unknown tongue: at all events Father Henry seemed to have no misgivings, and the ceremony went off well.

The next Missionary we shall introduce to our readers was a man of quite another stamp; and we shall endeavour to let them know, in few words, what he did in Ceylon. But we have to leap over a century and a half. The star of the "Portugueses" was setting, as it rose, in blood; and the star of the "Hollanders" was now in the ascendant.

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In the month of October, in the year of Grace, 1655, the Dutch, under their Governor and Commander-in-chief, Gerard Hulst, and "the very large and very fat" Major Van der Laan, a redoubtable soldier, and the terror of the Portuguese, laid siege to Colombo. It was fiercely attacked and valiantly defended. The prize, as the quaint old chronicle of the siege pithily remarks, was "a whole kingdom, three times bigger 'than Portugal itself, and much richer, and more plentiful, 'the very centre of the world, the richest tract of land under 'the sun, and with it (probably) all that is in possession of the 'Portugueses to the south of Cape Comorin." It cost the Dutch their General, who was mortally wounded by a musket ball, and the lives of many brave soldiers; but, when the aged Coutinho, with his two hundred surviving countrymen, "who 'looked more like skeletons than living men," and "who had 'defended themselves like lions set upon by a multitude of 'Dutch dogs," surrendered the place in May, 1656, Ceylon changed masters, after a servitude of one hundred and fifty bloody years.

It must be remembered that, though the Portuguese held the coast and engrossed the trade, the native princes were formidable and warlike, and that there was inveterate hatred between them and the insolent and domineering foreigners. It was therefore always the standing policy of the Portuguese to foment disputes in the Royal family, to set up rival claimants to the throne, and, by *all* means, to breed civil dissensions and strife. The history of their dominion in Ceylon is marked by a continual succession of the blackest treachery, of murders, assassinations, and battles and sieges, where mercy was neither shown nor expected on either side. When the Dutch entered on the scene, it was at the call of a Singalese monarch; and, though with them something of the more civilized usages of warfare began to prevail, the strife between them and their Portuguese rivals was embittered by the remorseless policy of gain, and all the rancour of hatred and intolerance, miscalled religious. Good Philip Baldæus himself was always ready with a thanksgiving sermon for every success of the victorious troops, whom he accompanied; and the priests on the other side, Jesuits and Capuchins alike, went a good way farther. The clergy, as it is told in the narrative of the siege already quoted, but especially the Capuchins, were "very assiduous 'in confessing the soldiers, in praying, and in doing all manner 'of good offices without intermission; and some of them would 'not be backward in being upon the guard with the soldiery, '*and giving the enemies ample proofs of their valour.*"

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In that long and famous siege of Colombo, the foremost man in the garrison was the Jesuit, Damian Vieyra; indeed more than once, like the Homeric heroes, his single arm turned the tide of battle. His first appearance in action is thus chronicled in the narrative, written by one of the survivors of the siege,* and to be found in Baldæus: "Father Damian Vieyra, the Jesuit, 'being employed in furthering this work (throwing up an en-'trenchment), a bullet, taking away a great piece of the wall, 'struck him on the head, so that he fell (as) dead upon the 'ground; but, soon recovering himself, he fell to his work 'again, his servant constantly attending him with a sword 'and fusée, *wherewith he did considerable execution*, being com-'monly one of the foremost in charging the enemy."

On the 12th of November, the Dutch made a general assault upon the city, which was very nearly successful. In one place, having forced their way into a narrow street, they were met by Diego de Souza, who, discharging a musquetoon, made them halt; "the same was done by Father Damian Vieyra, who, 'with another musquetoon, made such havoc among the ene-'my, that these two stopped their further progress." The Padres were not less busy in another part of the field. Father Antonio Nunez, a Jesuit, "with his drawn sword, 'threatened such as were ready to fly with present death;" and thus prevented a rout, which might have been fatal.

To do this fighting Jesuit justice, he was as eager to convert, as to kill, the Dutch; and many of the prisoners (seventy-four were taken) are said "to have been converted to 'the Catholic faith, by the indefatigable care of the Jesuits, 'and especially of Damian Vieyra."

His next exploit was on the 10th of April, when "Father 'Damian de Vieyra, (and two others,) did kill many of the 'enemy upon this occasion:" and, on the 13th of the same month, "Father Damian Vieyra killed a stout Hollander."

On the 18th, when going to visit a mine, he drew upon himself incautiously the fire of his own party, but "miracu-'lously" escaped unhurt. "This happy escape was attributed 'to the prayers of Father Frey Luys, a Capuchin, to whom 'such as were going upon some desperate enterprize, used to 'recommend themselves."

On the 19th and 23rd, the stout father led two vigorous sallies, which had but indifferent success. On the night of the 27th, however, at the head of only seven companions, he broke into the Dutch trenches, and carried off most of the tools

* Sir Emerson quotes it, as if written by the Governor, the venerable Antonio De Souza Coutinho; but this is a mistake.

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of their workmen: and, on the 30th, he attacked their works, "sword in hand." On the 3rd of May, he was outside the fortifications, picking up the Dutch bullets; and on that same day, and on the 5th, we find father Damian, "who never staid behind on such like occasions," again engaged in vigorous sallies.

On the 7th of May, the Dutch made their last great assault, which, though it did not give them possession of the city, was so far successful as to render a capitulation inevitable. This was the last day of fighting; and all the Padres were in the very thick of it. Antonio Nunez, the Jesuit, "a pattern of virtue," was "shot at the gate of the bastion with a 'musket-ball, received afterwards a deep cut, and was at last 'slain by a hand grenade, after he had killed several of the 'enemy with his musquetoon. The Rev. Father Paulo was 'wounded, as he was furnishing the combatants with fire 'works; as was likewise Father Manual Velles, who was 'touched by two bullets, without receiving the least harm 'from them." Fathers Philippo and Pedro de Castelbranco "were not behind-hand with the rest;" and, it need scarce be added, that Father Damian Vieyra "with his company, did "considerable mischief to the Dutch."

But if Father Damian was the Hector of the siege, though with a happier issue, the burly Major Van der Laan was its Achilles. His portrait is not flattered in the narrative; yet we fear, it is in the main but too correct. He is described, as "a mortal enemy of the Portugueses, and a zealous heretic," and as "massacring all he met with (sometimes twenty or 'thirty together) in cool blood, he having been often heard to 'say, that *If the Portugueses were at his disposal, he would cut 'them all off at one stroke.*" The climax, however, of Dutch atrocity, in the opinion of the chronicler at least, remains yet to be told. "My pen wants words," says he, "to express the 'affronts put upon the holy images by the heretics, whereof 'I will give you only one instance. They took the image of the 'holy Apostle, St. Thomas, and, after they had cut off the nose, 'ears, and arms, set it up for a mark to shoot at. Afterwards 'they knocked it full of great nails, and so shot it out of a 'mortar into our ditch, where it was taken up and carried to 'the Jesuits' College, by father Damian Vieyra and two others. 'But the Franciscans, laying claim to it, carried it in public 'procession to their Church, and placed it upon the high 'altar. Father Francisco St. Mattheus solemnized the day 'with a learned speech." It is hinted pretty broadly, that St. Thomas was not ungrateful; for, four days after, "the holy 'Thomas blessed us with the arrival of a certain Portuguese,

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'named Simon Lopes de Basto, who left the Dutch, and 'came over to us, and did us most signal service in the siege." Whatever service this poor fellow did to his countrymen, he did none to himself; for the truculent Van der Laan, without the least respect for St. Thomas, hung the unfortunate De Basto on a gibbet, the very day that the Dutch entered the city.

But while the vultures fought thus fiercely over their prey with beak and claw, their wretched victim was torn to pieces between them. It is harrowing to read of the inhuman treatment of the miserable inhabitants of Colombo; and here at least the cold-blooded merciless cruelty of the Dutch far exceeds that of their ferocious rivals. The one murdered on the plea of necessity; the others, merely to embarrass the enemy. Again and again it is recorded, that, when food became scarce, the Portuguese drove out crowds of the natives beyond the gates. The first time, the Dutch kept the men to work in their mines and intrenchments, but, as Baldæus tells us, the women and children were *whipped* back to the city, with a threat, that, should they return again, the Dutch would hang them on gibbets. This threat, to the shame of humanity, was brutally fulfilled; and such of the poor wretches, as fled from the gibbet, were either shot down from the walls, or perished of famine, in the sight of both parties. No wonder that it was a common sight to see them, in their agony, "imploring heaven 'for assistance, and cursing those, who were the occasion of 'their misery."

Unfortunately, for the progress of truth, the world is not yet sufficiently up in its logic to distinguish between a cause and its supporters; and the Singalēse, had they been ever so willing, had not the means. The Portuguese came upon them, as the old Sea-kings upon the shores of Britain. Fierce, rapacious, and insolent, they shrunk from no crime, and from no baseness, to quench their thirst for dominion and gold. Their course, from the starting point to the goal, was marked by a long track of blood: and it is difficult to say whether the natives looked upon them with more of fear, or abhorrence. But this was not the only obstacle against which Christianity had to contend. It was not the fashion, three centuries ago, to have a religion for the family or the individual, but to have none for public or national guidance. The Portuguese always set their religion in the fore-front: and the Singalese and Tamils had no cause to suspect that they were other than they professed to be—true and zealous followers of Jesus. It would have been better for the new faith to have been brought in by enemies, than by such allies. The timid and oppressed

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islanders must have listened to them with feelings, which we can only conceive of, by supposing Kirke's "Lambs" expounding the Sermon on the Mount to the peasantry of Somerset after the defeat of Monmouth. Unluckily, it was not the Sermon on the Mount that the Portuguese took to expounding. Even from their rude lips and bloody hands, the great truths of the Gospel might have found their way to the heart. But the Gospel was never heard or seen by the Singalese; and the religion of their masters, as taught even by its priests, appeared under the guise of a few questions and answers learned by rote, the Pater Noster, the Hail Mary, a few prayers to the saints, great variety of beads, metals and crucifixes, and a splendid abundance of ceremony, show, and *tamasha*.

It must not be forgotten, that the natives of Ceylon, in common with all the Hindu race, whether Buddhists, or Brahmans, had a religious repugnance to the taking away of life, and considered it a sin to kill even an insect. We pass no sentence on Nunez and Vieyra, and the other priests and friars, who did such soldierly service at the siege of Colombo; but, we ask, when the natives of Ceylon saw these priests, grim with smoke, and reeking with blood, killing and slaying others (also calling themselves followers of Christ), what did, or what could, they think of the new faith, by which, it seemed, such things were permitted?

But it mattered little to the Portuguese Government and priesthood, what the natives thought of this faith, provided they were baptized into it: and to this latter work they set themselves in earnest. Unfortunately we know very little of the measures they employed. The grand figure of Xavier appears for a moment on the canvas; but all that concerns his doings in Ceylon is vague and unsatisfactory. We hope to have another opportunity of reviewing at length his remarkable career; so that, even if materials were ready, we would pass it over for the present. Sir Emerson, who seems to have consulted all the more easily accessible memorials, is driven to conjecture and analogy; and, though he reaches firm ground, when he deals with the results, he can only guess, more or less happily, as to the means which were employed to produce them. The records of the Government, he informs us in a note, were transferred to Goa, thence to Lisbon, and finally to Brazil; and are therefore lost to the public. Probably these and the letters of the Missionaries may yet be recovered; but in the mean time we are left to the Dutch accounts, and to conjecture.

The great cause of the apparent progress of Christianity in Ceylon, where vast numbers were baptized, and where, in a very

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few years, almost the entire population of the Peninsula of Jaffna publicly abjured idolatry, was beyond all doubt the influence and authority of the Government. We have an authentic copy of the instructions of John, king of Portugal, to the Viceroy of India, John De Castro, sent out in the year 1546; and it was in 1548 that the Missionary exertions of the Portuguese may be said to have fairly begun. Sir James makes the somewhat extraordinary assertion, that "there is no proof that compulsion 'was resorted to by them for the extension of their own faith, 'or violence employed for the extinction of the national super-'stitions," *p.* 8;—and he returns to this assertion, and repeats it again and again. We call this an extraordinary assertion, because he refers in a note to the letter of King John. The following are the opening sentences of that letter, which Sir J. E. Tennent does not quote:—

"To JOHN DE CASTRO, *Viceroy of India.* All happiness:—'You knowing what an abominable thing idolatry is in 'our eyes, the same shall for the future not be tolerated in 'my dominions. Being informed that, in the country about 'Goa, the Pagan temples are suffered and frequented both in 'public and private, as well as divers sorts of Pagan diver-'sions, we command you once for all to have the same *demo-'lished, burnt,* and *rooted out;* and that all imaginable care be 'taken to prevent the importation of idols, either of wood, 'metal, earth, or any other matter. The heathenish sports 'shall be abolished; and the Brahmans not in the least encou-'raged; and such, as contravene this our mandate, *shall be 'severely punished.*" Now it is quite true that the zealous monarch does not, in as many words, give orders that his new subjects shall be compelled to become Christians; but he enacts, that if they continue Heathens, they shall be "severely punished", whereas, if they come over to the new faith, the following rewards are held out to them;—

"And considering that the Pagans may be brought over to 'our religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, *but 'also by temporal interest and preferments,* you shall not for the 'future bestow any offices, or any other places in the custom-'house (as has been practised hitherto) upon the Heathens, but '*only upon the Christians.*" In addition, the new converts were to be exempted from impressment in the navy; nine hundred quarters of rice were to be distributed among them yearly from the royal revenue (so early was the origin of the "rice Christians"); the Christian fishermen were to be allowed to dispose of their pearls at their own price, and Xavier was to be consulted, whether it might not be expedient to give them the

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monopoly of the pearl fishery, excluding the Heathens and Muhammadans altogether; and the Viceroy, in the conclusion of the letter, is again exhorted "to encourage such as embrace 'Christianity, by your favour, presents, and otherwise." It would seem, therefore, that unless the Portuguese Government proceeded to the full extent of putting every idolator to death, they could scarcely have adopted more stringent and vigorous measures for the extinction of the Heathen faiths, and the propagation of their own. We fully agree, however, in Sir James's conclusion.

"Those acquainted," he writes, "with the national character 'of the Singalese, with their obsequiousness to power, and the 'pliancy with which they can accommodate themselves to the 'wishes and opinions of those whom it may be their in-'terest to conciliate, will have no difficulty in comprehend-'ing the ease, with which the Roman Catholic clergy, under such 'auspices and with such facilities, succeeded, in an incredibly 'short space of time, in effecting multitudinous conversions."—*p.* 9. Seen in this light, and as we read of it in his own letters, the success of even a Xavier shrinks into very moderate dimensions;—but ill according with the magniloquent tone and triumphant appeals of Cardinal Wiseman, and such like dishonest or ill-read partisans, in former days, as well as in our own.

But what were the Missionaries themselves about, while the Government were labouring so strenuously in their behalf? That is exactly what we find it so hard to discover. However, though Sir James Tennent makes more than one mistake, he is evidently on the right path; and, if he has not found the whole truth, he has found something very near it:—

> Here the question naturally arises, by what agency and expedients were these multitudinous conversions accomplished, in defiance of the notorious antagonism of the Brahmanical system? And the inquiry becomes the more interesting, from the fact, that the success of the Roman Catholic clergy at this period appears to have been more extended and complete, amongst the apparently impracticable Hindus of the North, than it afterwards proved amongst the pliant and apathetic adherents of Buddhu in the Southern and purely Singhalese portions of the island. Amongst the latter a commencement was effected, in the first instance, by the influence of authority and the prospect of gain; and, however unsound and discreditable may have been their earlier incentives to nominal conversion, there is palpable evidence to establish the fact, that, once enrolled as Roman Catholics, the imagination of the Singhalese became excited, and their tastes permanently captivated, by the same striking ceremonial and pompous pageantry, by which the Roman Catholic religion recommended itself at a later period to the Tamils and Hindus.
>
> When Christianity was first preached to the natives of India by Xavier, it was proclaimed by him with much of the simplicity and apostolical zeal, which have since characterised the ministrations of his Protestant successors. But, notwithstanding the multitude of his converts, St. Francis has recorded in his letters to St. Ignatius Loyola his own disappointment at discovering the inward unsoundness of

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all he had outwardly achieved ;* and the open apostacy, which afterwards manifested itself among his converts, suggested to those, who succeeded him in his task, the necessity of adopting a more effectual machinery for arousing the attention of the Hindus, and overcoming their repugnance to the reception of Christianity. The Jesuits, who resorted in prodigious numbers to Hindostan during the period which followed the death of Xavier, persuaded themselves, by the partial failure of his system, that no access was to be gained, and no footing established in the confidence of the natives, without an external conformity to their customs and habits, and a careful avoidance of any shock to their prejudices, religious and social. Under the cover of such a policy, it was conceived that a silent approach might be effected, and the edifice of their ancient superstition undermined, almost before its defenders could discover that its assailants were opponents. In pursuance of this plan of assault, Christianity, in the hands of those by whom it was next offered to the heathen, assumed an aspect so extraordinary, that the detail would exceed belief, were it not attested by the evidence of those actually engaged in the execution of the scheme. The Jesuits, who now addressed themselves to the conversion of Hindostan, adopted the determination to become all things to all men for the accomplishment of their object ; withholding, till some more favourable time, the inculcation of Christian simplicity, and adopting in the interim, almost without qualification, the practices of heathenism. To such an extent did they carry this policy, that, in the charges which were eventually lodged against them before the Holy See by the other religious orders in India, it was alleged to be doubtful, whether the Jesuits, by affecting idolatry and tolerating it amongst their proselytes, had not themselves become converts to Hinduism, rather than made the Hindoos converts to the Christian religion.†

They assumed the character of Brahmans of a superior caste from the Western World ; they took the Hindu names, and conformed to the heathen customs of this haughty and exclusive race, producing, in support of their pretensions, a deed forged in ancient characters, to show that the Brahmans of Rome were of much older date than the Brahmans of India, and descended in an equally direct line from Brahma himself.

They composed a pretended Veda, in which they sought to insinuate the doctrines of Christianity in the language and phraseology of the sacred books of the Hindoos.‡ They wore the *cavy*, or orange robe, peculiar to the Saniassis, the fourth, and one of the most venerated sections of the Brahmanical caste. They hung a tiger's skin from their shoulders, in imitation of Shiva ; they abstained from animal food, from wine, and certain prohibited vegetables ; they performed the ablutions required by the Shasters ; they carried on their foreheads the sacred spot of sandal-wood powder, which is the distinctive emblem of the Hindus ;§ and in order to sustain their assumed character to the utmost, they affected to spurn the Pariahs and lower castes, who lay no claim to the same divine origin with the Brahmans.‖

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As these proceedings were in progress in India, during the period when similar exertions were simultaneously made in Ceylon, by the priesthood of the same

* Letters on the State of Christianity in India, in which the conversion of the Hindus is considered as impracticable. By the Abbé Dubois, Missionary in Mysore. London, 1823. P. 3.

† Letters of the Abbé Dubois, p. 8. A striking account of these almost incredible proceedings of the Jesuits, extracted from the authority of contemporary Roman Catholic writers, is contained in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1844, vol. ii.

‡ See Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv., for an account of the spurious, or *Ezour Vedam*.

§ "*Their spot is not the spot of his children :* a perverse and crooked generation." —Deut. xxxii. 5.

‖ Letters on the State of Christianity in India. By the Abbé Dubois. P. 5, 69, 70, 130.—Hough's Reply to the Abbé Dubois, p. 62.—History of Christianity in India. By the Rev. J. Hough. Vol. iii. b. v. c. 3, p. 216, 250.

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Church, trained in the same seminaries for the work of the ministry, and acting under the orders of the same spiritual superiors, there would be sufficient grounds, even in the absence of evidence more direct, for presuming that the same expedients, which had been found to be effectual, if not presumed to be indispensable, for the conversion of Hindus in India, would be equally resorted to for the same purpose amongst the Tamils and Buddhists of Ceylon. And in aid of such an inference there is abundance of circumstantial proofs, that such, to some extent at least, was the fact. Baldæus, who repaired to Jaffna in A. D. 1658, immediately on the retirement of the Roman Catholic priests, describes their churches as fitted up with theatres and stages for the exhibition of mysteries and theatrical representations of the great historical events of Christianity.

The archives of the Dutch Government contain records of the punishment of Roman Catholics, who, in defiance of their prohibition, attempted public processions within their territories ;* and, to the present day, the Roman Catholics in the north of the island continue to celebrate their worship with fireworks and drums, and encompass their chapels with processions, conducting decorated cars, bearing idols and garlands, which differ only in name from similar observances and processions of the Hindus.—*Pp.* 14-17, *and* 21-22.

The reference, which Sir James makes to an article, that formerly appeared in this *Review*, and the facts and opinions which he founds upon it, afford us an opportunity (long wished for) of noticing a late work on the Madura Mission, with which we have been favoured by the courtesy of a distinguished Jesuit, now in Southern India, with the view of leading us to re-consider the statements we then advanced. The work is entitled, *La Mission du Maduré, d'après des documents inedits ; par Le P. J. Bertrand, &c. : Paris :* 1847. Only two volumes have reached us; but they include the rise of the Madura Mission, and nearly the whole of the strange and eventful life of Robert De' Nobili, its founder and ruling spirit. We have read these volumes with much curiosity and eager interest; and we have found them, to our sorrow, impressing still more strongly on our minds the conviction, that all the details of that wretched story were strictly according to the truth.

The forbidden practices, and Heathen adaptations; the merchandise—the pretended Veda—the Saniassi's robe—the assumption of Brahmanism—the denial of European extraction—and, in fact, all that makes up the body of that long and marvellous lie, are fully admitted in the work. But Robert De' Nobili was a man of singular powers, and of vast perseverance and ability: and we suppose it is, because his motives were indisputably excellent, and because he equivocated more skilfully, and defended his proceedings with more subtlety and eloquence, than any of his successors, that the work in question has been placed at our disposal. An abler and more devoted Missionary indeed never came to India. His long and

* Records of the Consistory of Colombo, A. D. 1758.

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laborious life was one continued scene of toil, privation, anxiety, and disappointment; and his very success* must have been gall and worm-wood to a mind like his; for his most zealous converts gave him unequivocally to understand, that they never would belong to the faith of the Feringhis: and he knew that discovery was ruin. Yet upon the brink of that discovery he always stood; and he was driven, by the dread of it, to equivocations and oaths, that make the blood run cold.

We have room for but two pictures from the works. They exhibit him in his prosperity, and in his hour of trial; and they leave the same painful impression. The first is the account of his visit to a native Heathen Prince, who received him undoubtingly as a genuine Saniassi and Brahman.

"Father Robert presented himself at the palace of Rama-
'sandra with his usual *suite*. The following is the ceremonial
'of such visits. Converted Brahmans and some of the chief
'Christians surround the Missionary, with a respectful and
'composed mien; one carries his breviary; another, his pa-
'rasol; a third, the tiger's skin, on which he is to seat himself;
'a fourth, a beautifully-wrought vase of holy water; a fifth,
'rose-water to sprinkle the place of his reception. As soon as
'the state-room is reached, a kind of frenzy seems to seize on
'every one, except the Saniassi, who, in the midst of the
'universal hubbub, must preserve an imperturbable calm.
'The Christians and the people of the palace rush hither and
'thither in haste and eagerness. Holy water is presented to
'the Saniassi, who flings some drops of it on the place
'where he is about to sit; rose-water is profusely scattered
'around; three or four men lay hold of the tiger's skin, which
'they spread on the ground with great demonstrations of zeal

* In the letter which accompanied the work, we are supposed to be indebted for part of our materials to the French philosophers. This is a mistake. We were not even aware that the subject had ever engaged their attention.

But we think De' Nobili, who was familiar with the most intellectual society of his time, exhibits not a little of the spirit of the "philosopher" in the following account of a miracle. It appears that the Heathens, on a certain festival, cooked and ate boiled rice and milk, with great solemnity; and that De'Nobili allowed his Christians to keep up the custom, hanging a crucifix over the pot, and he himself, to their great delight, consecrating the rice. In connection with this piece of baptized heathenism, he writes to his Provincial:—"For three years, while one Dada Murti continued a 'Heathen, his rice would not boil. This year, having become a Christian, he hesitated 'awhile, but at last resolved to try again with fear and trembling. It is needless to 'say that he took good care not to forget the cross. Speedily he saw his rice boil 'with large bubbles. The joy was so great, that instantly his children ran to me to 'tell me the good news. Your paternity will laugh at me, and say, this is childishness. 'What would you have? I become a child with the children.—And, besides, these 'bagatelles' are grand affairs for our Hindus: all serves to attach them to religion, 'and to confirm them in the faith."—*Bertrand, Vol. ii. pp. 29-30. Bagatelles* forsooth! —a somewhat sceptical name for a miracle!

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'and devotion. At last the Saniassi, ever grave, ever majestic, 'advances to the carpet; he crosses his legs; he sits down! 'Then the Prince presents himself to salute him, and, placing 'himself by his side, enters into conversation with him. On 'the present occasion, this *curious* ceremonial was punctually 'gone through; only Ramasandra, passing beyond the ordinary 'etiquette, prostrated himself respectfully at the feet of Father 'Robert."—*Vol. ii. pp.* 226-227.

Here the deception was triumphant. Was the deceiver satisfied, when he saw this idolatrous prince prostrate at his feet? It is not permitted to us to read the secrets of the heart.

We turn now to the other side of the medal.

It so happened that a Christian from the coast, either from vanity, anger, or the hope of gain, let out the truth. He informed the neophytes, that "by baptism they had lost caste, 'and were reduced to the level of the Pariahs and Feringhis; 'that the salt, put into their mouths, and the other baptismal 'ceremonies, were the means employed for this purpose; and 'that the Saniassi was a Feringhi himself." This took place in 1610. "This wretch," writes Father Albert Laerzio, Provincial of Malabar, "managed to give his falsehoods (*ses fanssetés*) such an appearance of plausibility, that he con-'vinced the neophytes of their truth." De'Nobili perceived the full extent of the danger, to which "this devilish invention" exposed his beloved Mission. "It was evidently necessary to 'triumph over the calumny, or to leave the country." He accordingly sate down, and made a solemn written declaration, of which a translation, "*à peu prés*," (not very literal, we fear) is given by Laerzio. We quote from it one or two paragraphs. "Some men, who know me not, have published black calumnies 'against me. For fear, that virtuous souls, allowing them-'selves to be deceived, may sin through credulity, I shall an-'swer these in all sincerity *(en toute sincerité!)*. I am not a 'Feringhi: I was not born in the land of the Feringhis, nor do 'I belong to their caste. God is my witness! and, if I tell a 'lie, besides that I make myself a traitor to my God and sub-'ject to the torments of Hell, I offer myself on this earth to 'every punishment. I was born at Rome: my family there 'holds the same rank as the noble rajahs of this country. From 'my youth, I embraced the condition of a Saniassi;"—&c. &c. It will be seen that the equivocation here turns upon the meaning of the word "Feringhi," which he chooses to restrict to the Portuguese, as if it was not applied to Europeans in general; and, as if his being an Italian, made any difference as to the main question—the question of caste. He tells them also that

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he traversed "many realms" to come to Madura; but says not a word of the sea.* Such base and unworthy equivocating is more degrading than a plain honest lie: it is a removing of the land-marks appointed to divide between truth and falsehood; and the solemn appeal to God is utterly revolting. If that highly gifted man, with his prodigious energy and his long and laborious life, had but preached the truth with as much zeal, as he displayed for falsehood, the name of Robert de'Nobili might this day have been second only to those of the Apostles. What gall of spirit, what impatient champing of the bit, which he had fixed so securely in his own mouth, must have been the daily portion of a man, whose constant terror, hanging over him like the sword suspended by the hair, was the fear of "being found out!"

For this digression, into which we have been tempted but too willingly by the example of Sir James, we must crave the indulgence of our readers; for, except in so far as it shows how unscrupulous the Jesuits were in the use of means to propagate their system, the doings in Madura have no connection with the doings in Ceylon. In the one, we saw a few foreigners stealing into an independent country in disguise, afraid openly to profess their faith, and ashamed of, or at least rejecting with professed scorn and abhorrence, their own race and country. In the other, it was precisely the contrary. They gloried in their faith and in their name. They preached with a high hand and a loud voice; and, instead of trembling before their wrath, their foot was on the neck of the Heathen. Most assuredly the priests in Ceylon never deigned to turn themselves into pseudo-Saniassis, or Brahmans; and, according to their light, they spoke and acted the truth.

It is evident enough that the Government made the converts. Probably the Missionaries taught there, as elsewhere, by medals, chaplets, and crucifixes, by a few prayers and forms learned by rote, and, as we have already written, by skilful adaptations from the Heathen faith, by not expecting too much, and by pomp, show, and ceremonial. We may believe also, that they taught something of the morality and doctrines of the Gospel, and of the danger and guilt of sin: although no distinct notice of such teaching has reached us. But, hastening from what is obscure and doubtful, to what stands out in the light of

* This evidently refers to the story, which Norbert relates, that Rome was beyond the Himalaya, and the original seat of the Brahmans. The Christians of Madura knew nothing of Rome. They had heard that they had lost caste, by eating with a foreigner: and this they would have done, just as much, if he had been born at Rome, as if he had been born in Lisbon. There is therefore no room left for doubt, that De'Nobili knowingly and deliberately intended to deceive.—Ed.

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day, we borrow Sir James's summary of the results of their teaching:—

Thus limited to exertion within the bounds of their own territory, the Portuguese clergy appear to have proceeded sedulously in their work of conversion; and no relic of their rule exhibits more clearly the extent, to which their influence had pervaded all ranks and classes, than the fact that, to this day, the most distinguished families among the Singhalese chiefs bear, in addition to their own names, those of the Portuguese officers, which were conferred on their ancestors at their baptism by the Roman Catholic clergy, three centuries ago.* The adhesion of these men, however, and of the great mass of the Singhalese, was the result of political conformity, not of religious conviction; and there is no reason to doubt, that along with the profession of the new faith, the majority of them, like the Singhalese of the present time, cherished with still closer attachment the superstitions of Buddhism.† It is difficult, on any other ground, to account satisfactorily for the readiness with which so many thousands of the Singhalese consented, almost without solicitation, and altogether without conviction or enlightenment, to adopt a religion, which was so utterly new, and whose tenets must have been so entirely unknown to them. It was, in fact, an adoption without a surrender of opinion; and, if any scruples were seriously felt respecting the change, they must have been speedily overcome by the prospect of personal advancement, and by the attractions of a religion, which, in point of pomp and magnificence, surpassed, without materially differing from, the pageantry and processions, with which they were accustomed to celebrate the festivals of their own national faith.—*Pp.* 28-29.

We have now come down to the period, when their "High Mightinesses," the Dutch, became the paramount power in Ceylon. When they entered on the stage, much was naturally to have been expected from them. They had a pure faith; they came to the natives at their own entreaty, as deliverers, to rescue them from Portuguese oppression and insolence; and they were completely successful. They themselves had just thrown off the yoke of tyranny and superstition, and were in the first freshness of their freedom.

There was much therefore in the circumstances and mutual relationship of the two parties, that might have prompted in the one a desire to disseminate the pure word of God in all its freeness and fulness, and in the other, a willingness to receive it with gratitude, and a favourable pre-disposition. The spirit of intolerance, however, and the "*auri sacra fames*"—the accursed thirsting for gold—blasted this fair prospect from the very first. The spirit of the religion of those days looked out upon Heathenism and heresy with the eyes of the law, and not with the eyes of the gospel. The first plea for tolerance was then raising a feeble voice in England, amongst the des-

* *Ernest de Saram* Wijeyesekere Karoonaratne, Maha Modliar of the Governor's Gate; *Johan Louis Pereira* Abeysekere Goonewardene; *Don Andries de Alwis* Amerasiriwardene Goonetilleke; *Don David de Silva* Welaratne Jayetilleke; *Don William Adrian Dias* Banderanayeke; *Gregory de Soyza* Wijeyegooneratne Siriwardene, &c. &c. The first are the baptismal, or Portuguese—the second the patronymic Singhalese names of the respective chiefs.

"† Il avoit fait semblant de se convertir, *comme font tous les Chingulais*, et étoit demeuré idolâtre."—Note of the French Editor of Ribeyro. Paris, 1701. Liv. ii. c. i. p. 200.

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pised sect of the Independents; but, elsewhere, it was the undoubting conviction of all Christendom, Protestant as well as Papal, that heresy was to be put down with the sword. Enlightened public opinion is a work of time and gradual progress; and truly, even in this nineteenth century, to preach the truth in love is by no means a common accomplishment. At all events, the Dutch in Ceylon understood it no better than their Portuguese predecessors: and their policy, political and theological, was almost as much like that of their predecessors as two drops of water. They had learned no other lesson from Alva than that of retaliation; and, instead of coming out of the furnace like tried gold, they came out hard and pitiless as tempered steel. Before the blood was dry, which had been shed so profusely, they faithlessly violated the solemn compact which they had made with the Singalese monarch, and, without reason or excuse, kept for themselves the conquests, which they professed to make for him. Hence the same horrible succession of war, treachery, murder, avarice and oppression, which left such indelible stains on the Portuguese domination.

We can scarcely believe, or understand, the savage ferocity, which characterized that warfare—whose only object was gold. The horrors of "the Black Hole" were gentle mercies to the treatment of the English at Amboyna, or the cruelty inflicted on the Portuguese at Jaffnapatam. Shortly after the surrender of that place (where by the way not less than forty Portuguese ecclesiastics, Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans, were found), in the year 1658, a plot was discovered (or rather the failure of a plot, for it had failed,) to rise upon the Dutch garrison. "Not long after," writes Baldæus, who was an eyewitness of the whole, "most of the traitors having confessed 'their crimes, some were condemned to be hanged, others to 'be beheaded, and some to be broken on the wheel. The three 'chief heads, of this conspiracy, were a certain inhabitant of 'Manaar, one Don Luis, and another Portuguese. These 'three were laid upon the wheel, or a cross; and, after they 'had received a stroke with the axe in the neck and on the 'breast, had their entrails taken out, *and their hearts laid on 'their mouths!* A certain Jesuit, named Caldero, was 'beheaded. This unfortunate person, being prevented by 'sickness from going along with the rest of the Portuguese 'clergymen, had not been concerned in this treacherous design, 'much less given his consent to it: but some of the traitors 'having given notice thereof to him by letters, wherein they 'styled him 'the father of their souls,' he was unwilling to 'betray his countrymen, for which he paid now with his head. 'Eleven more were hanged, and afterwards exposed in the

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'open country on trees; but the heads of the ring-leaders were 'fixed upon poles in the market-place."

It is to be feared that many of our own transactions in India are altogether alien from the spirit and teaching of the faith, which we profess and represent; but nothing more clearly shows the great advance of Christian principle in public opinion, than our treatment of Múlráj and the Sikh Sirdars, as contrasted with the fate, that would have awaited them, only two centuries ago. In the Dutch character and proceedings, as manifested in Ceylon, there was nothing to distinguish them politically from the Portuguese; nothing to elicit any feeling towards Christianity, but those of hatred and abhorrence.

The history of their Missionary system needs not detain us long. They persecuted the Roman Catholics bitterly, and followed slavishly in their footsteps. If their system differed from that of the others, it was chiefly in being less attractive. Its appeal to temporal motives was as coarse;* its persecuting spirit was as unrelenting; and, if it was altogether free from the more vulgar forms of superstition, it was cold, superficial, and ineffective, and wanted that fascinating apparatus of show, and pomp, and gaudy amusements, which chimed in so well with the oriental mind. Besides, the Romish Missionaries were equally zealous, better acquainted with the native languages and modes of thought, and far more numerous than their Dutch contemporaries; and, when to these advantages and 100 years of priority, was added the natural feeling of sympathy enkindled by persecution, it is no wonder that the Portuguese Mission-work, such as it was, has been more deeply rooted, and more abiding than the Dutch. Baldæus himself, a zealous and indefatigable minister of Christ, in many respects in advance of his age, and sincerely and conscientiously desiring to do all the good in his power amongst natives, would have shut up the Muhammadan schools; and praises Mr. Pavilloen, the Governor of Jaffnapatam, "for that he did all that in him lay 'to assist me (at my request) in stopping the progress of 'Pagan superstitions." What this was, and how far he carried it, is but too apparent from the following quotation:—

* "Proclamation was publicly made," writes Sir Emerson (p. 45) "that no native 'could aspire to the rank of Modliar, or even be permitted to farm land, or hold 'office under Government, who had not first undergone the ceremony of baptism, 'become a member of the Protestant Church, and *subscribed to the doctrines contained 'in the Helvetic Confession of Faith!* The operation of this announcement was such 'as may be readily anticipated. Many of the lowland chiefs, who had been recently 'baptized by the Portuguese, and who still bore the family names conferred upon 'them by their Catholic sponsors, came forward to abjure the errors of Rome—and 'even Brahmans of Jaffna and Manaar, unwilling to forego the prospects of dignity 'and emolument, which were attainable upon such easy conditions, made a ready 'profession of Christianity, although they for bore to lay aside the beads and other symbols of Heathenism."

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"It is further to be feared, that in time there may be a 'promiscuous copulation betwixt the Christians and the Pagans, 'which must needs produce direful effects in the Church. It 'may be objected, that severe punishments will put a stop 'to that evil, *some having been already punished with death upon 'that account;* but this does not altogether remove the danger. 'Besides, that it ought to be considered, whether such a sever-'ity be consonant to the word of God, or not."

But the main fury of the Dutch was expended on the Roman Catholics—and (as might have been expected from the nature of the weapons they employed) expended in vain. The following summary, from the pages of Sir J. E. Tennent, shows how fierce and unrelenting that persecution was:—

The same fury against the Church of Rome continued at all times to inspire the policy of the Dutch in Ceylon; and their resistance to its priesthood was even more distinct and emphatic than their condemnation of the Buddhists and Brahmans. In 1658, a proclamation was issued, forbidding, on pain of death, the harbouring or concealing of a Roman Catholic priest;* but such a threat was too iniquitous to be carried into execution; and the priests continued their ministrations in defiance of the law. In 1715, a proclamation was issued, prohibiting public assemblies, or private conventicles of the Roman Catholics, under heavy fines for the first and second offence, and chastisement, at the discretion of the magistrate, for the third.† In the same year, by a plakaat, which was afterwards renewed from time to time, it was forbidden for a Catholic clergyman to administer baptism under any circumstances;‡ and in 1733, the proclamation of 1658 was republished against entertaining or giving lodging to a priest,§ but with no better success; for, twelve years later, the same sanguinary order had to be repeated|| by a fresh plakaat of the Governor. In 1748, it was forbidden to educate a Roman Catholic for the ministry;¶ but within three years it was found necessary to repeat the same prohibition, as well as to renew the proclamation for putting down the celebration of the mass.** Notwithstanding every persecution, however, the Roman Catholic religion retained its influence, and held good its position in Ceylon. It was openly professed by the immediate descendants of the Portuguese, who had remained in the island after its conquest by the Dutch; and in private it was equally adhered to by large bodies of the natives, both Singhalese and Tamils, whom neither corruption nor coercion could induce to abjure it.—*Pp.* 40-42.

Xavier and the Jesuits, and indeed the Roman Catholic Missionaries generally, had perceived the vast importance of education, in preparing the way for Christianity, as well as for giving it a form and abiding lodgment in the national mind; and, accordingly, with very inadequate means, and a miserably low

* Dutch Records. Colombo. Proclamation, dated 19th September, 1658. Renewed by Proclamation, 10th August, 1743.

† Ibid. Proclamation, 11th January, 1715. Renewed 1751, by Proclamation of 31st July, "for prohibiting the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests, and holding private or public meetings, under pain of severe punishment."

‡ Ibid, Proclamation, 8th August, 1715. Renewed 25th February, 1745.

§ Ibid. Proclamation, 25th March, 1733.

|| Ibid. Proclamation, 25th February, 1745.

¶ Dutch Records. Proclamation, 10th August, 1748.

** Ibid. Proclamation, 31st July, 1751.

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standard of what was desirable, they laboured zealously in the work. Baldæus honestly confesses, that he followed their example, teaching however the elements of a purer faith in the churches and schools, from which they had been driven. He says that they (and especially the Paulites, or Jesuits) taught both old and young the first rudiments of the christian religion, as the Ten Commandments, the Creed, Our Father, &c., with indefatigable care and industry; "and I am free to confess," he adds with honesty and candour, "that I have frequently followed their footsteps in reforming the churches and schools in Manaar and Jaffnapatam, as far as they were consistent with our religion, and consonant to the genius of these nations." Unfortunately right views were then unknown; the standard was miserably low; and the system altogether and fundamentally erroneous. This is well pointed out by Sir Emerson:—

> *Education*, in the proceedings of the Dutch clergy, was in almost every instance made available for pioneering the way for the preaching of Christianity. The school-house in each village became the nucleus of a future congregation; and here, whilst the children received elementary instruction, they and the adults were initiated in the first principles of Christianity. Baptism was administered, and marriages solemnized in the village school-houses; and, in order to confer every possible importance on these rural institutions, the schoolmasters appointed by the scholarchal commission had charge of the *thombos*, or registers, of the district, in which these events were recorded, and thus became the depositaries of the evidence on which the rights and succession to property were mainly dependent.
>
> The course of education in the village schools was limited and the instruction gratuitous: but the most remarkable feature in the system was that the attendance of the pupils was *compulsory*, and enforced by the imposition of fines upon the parents. These fines were the cause of continued refractoriness amongst the natives, dishonesty amongst the teachers, and annoyance to the commission; but experience had demonstrated that their rigid enforcement was the only effective expedient for maintaining attendance at the schools.—*Pp.* 46-47.

We have carefully avoided encumbering this sketch of the Portuguese and Dutch Missions by a deceptive and misleading enumeration of the numbers, who nominally joined the Christian Church. The very same moderation of statement, which, as Sir Emerson justly remarks, leads Baldæus and Valentyn to lament that the great majority of the converts were Pagans at heart, and Christians only by baptism and in name, wins credit to their assurance, that there were not a few genuine and enlightened converts among them, whose life and morals and evangelical belief were not behind those of cotemporary European Christians. But the influence of these men died with them. They were the "happy accidents" of a system, which ended in the most signal failure that ecclesiastical history records. We shall borrow Sir Emerson's eloquent and masterly

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account of this catastrophe, and the causes which seem mainly to have brought it about:—

Whatever may have been the instrumentality resorted to by the Portuguese priesthood, and however objectionable the means adopted by them for the extension of their own form of Christianity, one fact is unquestionable, that the natives became speedily attached to their ceremonies and modes of worship, and have adhered to them with remarkable tenacity for upwards of three hundred years; whilst, even in the midst of their own ministrations, the clergy and Missionaries of the reformed Church of Holland were overtaken by discouragement; and it is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the multitudinous baptisms, and the hundreds of thousands of Singhalese, who were enrolled by them as converts, the religion and discipline of the Dutch Presbyterians is now almost extinct amongst the natives of Ceylon. Even in Jaffna, where the reception of these doctrines was all but unanimous by the Tamils, not a single congregation is now in existence of the many planted by Baldæus, and tended by the labours of Valentyn and Schwartz; and, in Colombo and throughout the maritime provinces, there are not at this moment fifty native Singhalese, even amongst the aged and infirm, who still profess the form of religion so authoritatively established and so anxiously propounded by the Dutch.

The causes of this failure, however, are neither few nor obscure. Irrespective of the unsubdued influences of idolatry and caste, the doctrines of Christianity were too feebly developed, and too superficially inculcated, to make any lasting impression on the reluctant or apathetic minds of the natives of Ceylon. The Dutch ministers employed in their dissemination failed to qualify themselves for the task by mastering in the first instance the vernacular tongues of the island;* and the Consistory in vain insisted on the inefficacy of instruction, conveyed through the cold and unsatisfactory medium of interpreters.† In addition to this, their numbers were too few to render effectual aid to the multitude of their hearers; and in 1722, when the returns showed nearly half a million of nominal Christians, there were but fourteen clergymen in all Ceylon. Notwithstanding the clear perception, which the Dutch appear to have had of the salutary influence of elementary and moral instruction, in preparing the mind for rejecting the absurdities of heathenism, and embracing the pure precepts of Christianity, the amount of education, which they communicated in their schools, was infinitesimally small. It seldom went beyond teaching their pupils to read and to write in the language of their district; and even this was discouraged by the supreme authorities at Batavia, who, in communicating with the Missionaries of Ceylon, expressed strongly their opinion that "reading and writing are things not so absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches, as teaching them the fundamentals of religion, which are contained in a very few points; and to pretend to propagate Christianity by reading and writing, would be both tedious and chargeable to the Netherland East India Company."‡ Under a system so superficial and inefficient, the labour actually bestowed was productive of no permanent fruits; it was but seed sown on stony ground; it was scorched by the sun; and, because it had no root, it soon withered away.

Again, the system of political bribery, adopted by the Dutch, to encourage conversion amongst the Singhalese, was eminently calculated to create doubts and contempt in the naturally suspicious minds of the natives; whilst they could not fail to conclude, that there must be something defective or unreal in a religion, which required coercion and persecution to enforce its adoption. Where the former sys-

* Out of a list of 97 clergymen in Ceylon, between 1642 and 1725, as given by Valentyn, only 8 were qualified to preach in the native languages, 4 in Tamil, and 4 in Singhalese. Hough, vol. iii. pp. 75-103.

† The Rev. Mr. Palm's Account, &c., pp. 5-8.

‡ Letter of M. Matzuyker, Governor-General of Batavia, to Baldæus, Sept. 18th, 1662. Baldæus, p. 811.

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tem was apparently successful, it produced in reality but an organized hypocrisy; and, when persecution ensued, its recoil and reaction were destructive of the objects for the furtherance of which it had been unwisely resorted to. And, lastly, the imprudence with which outward professors were indiscriminately welcomed as genuine converts to Christianity, involved the certainty of future discomfiture. The example of apostacy, under similar circumstances, is more dangerous in proportion than the encouragement wrought by adhesion; and thus, the more widely the field was incautiously expanded, the more certain became the danger, and the more frequent the recurrence, of such untoward events. Towards the close of their career, the Dutch clergy had painful experience of this pernicious result; and their lamentations became more frequent over the relapses of their converts, first into the errors of popery, and finally, into the darkness of heathenism.* At length, in apparent despondency, and in painful anticipation of defeat, instead of altering the system, on which they had discovered that they could no longer rely, they merely contracted their Missionary operations to the narrowest possible limits; cast upon others the labour, in which they were no longer hopeful of success; and, at the final close of their ministrations, the clergy of the Church of Holland left behind a superstructure of Christianity, prodigious in its outward dimensions, but so internally unsound, as to be distrusted even by those who had been instrumental in its erection, and so unsubstantial, that it has long since disappeared almost from the memory of the natives of Ceylon.—*Pp.* 67-71.

When we remember also the vices and crimes of the Dutch, their national cruelty, covetousness and oppression, and that the ignorant and ill-taught natives would naturally judge of a faith by its professors, we need not be surprized at the failure of a system, so ill adapted to produce any abiding results.

One thing, that profoundly impressed itself on our mind, while reading the prolix, but deeply interesting, narrative of Baldæus, and the elegant *resumé* of Sir J. E. Tennent, is the utter lifelessness of the story—its want of all personal, or individual, interest. Amidst the countless converts in Ceylon, who figure so imposingly in statistical details, we have searched in vain for the *name* even of one man or one woman, whose life or death was remarkable, or of one incident, that might give spirit and locality to this great work. We read of schools, of churches, and of native Christians by hundreds of thousands; but, in all that multitudinous array, extending over a period of more than two hundred years, we have searched in vain for a living breathing fact, or a single Singalese or Tamil Christian name. It is a dead statistical paper flat, without anecdote, fact, or biography. The history assumes the form of a census, with blank spaces for the figures, to be filled up from time to time, recording that there were so many missionaries, so many converts, so many churches, and so many schools. We have nothing of the moving accident, the picturesque details, the sketches of life and character, and the incidents, which brought the Heathens of Ceylon to the feet of Jesus. What would the

* Ecclesiastical Report of the Galle District. Records of the Colombo Consistory, 1757.

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Acts of the Apostles be without Saul of Tarsus, and the jailor of Philippi, and Cornelius, and Lydia, and the eunuch of Ethiopia, and Stephen, and Apollos, and its incidental sketches of Agrippa, and Festus, and Felix, and Gallio, and its impressive notices of Simon Magus, and Ananias and Sapphira, and the awful end of the arch-betrayer himself? But the reader will search in vain for such details in the acts of the Missionaries of Ceylon. All there is hollow abstract generality.

It may be well, ere we turn to another era, to say a word or two on the result of the Romish Mission, which Sir Emerson, with the noble partiality of a high-minded opponent, seems inclined, in our opinion, to estimate beyond its real worth. It is true that it does survive, and (numerically) in imposing proportions; but, we think, a single quotation from the Roman Catholic authority, to which we have already alluded, will prove that we have to deal with a man of straw, and that Roman Catholic Christianity in Ceylon has made no advance, and is yet on the debateable ground between a low corrupt form of Christianity and Heathenism:—

"For ourselves, in spite of our sympathy towards the clergy 'of Ceylon, we must observe, 1st, that this clergy is a *regular* 'clergy; 2ndly, that it is *indigenous* to Ceylon, only and 'precisely as a colony of Italian priests would be an *indigenous* '*clergy* in a diocese of France, or Belgium; for the clergy 'of Ceylon is entirely composed of persons, who have come 'from Goa, or its neighbourhood (a distance of more than 'three hundred leagues from Ceylon); *it does not contain a* '*single Singalese;* the natives of Ceylon are excluded from 'it altogether, not only in fact, but on principle, whether on 'account of caste, or from other motives." *Bertrand—La Mission du Madure. tom i. p.* 427. A Christianity, which, after 300 years, cannot produce a single priest, or minister, is not to be spoken of in a vein of complacency or boasting.

The British Government now enters on the scene; and, whatever may have been the faults of that Government, its political rule contrasts most favourably with that of the Dutch and Portuguese. The English did not settle on the island, like a swarm of pirates, or plunderers; and the annals of their administration are comparatively free from treachery and blood. But we have neither the wish, nor any just ground, to flatter our countrymen. Their influence on native opinion, as it regarded Christianity, was equally disastrous with that of their predecessors. If the Portuguese and Dutch did harm through an ignorant and mistaken zeal, the English at first did quite as much by their utter disregard and indifference.

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King Log had succeeded king Stork; and the frogs soon found out the difference. The people of Ceylon, says Sir Emerson, "prepared themselves to conform implicitly to whatsoever form 'of Christianity might be prescribed by the new Government." Indeed, for the first year or two, the Protestant converts increased rapidly: but, as soon as they found out that they were not to be paid for apostacy, that the converts were no longer to have a monopoly of Government favour and patronage, and that in point of fact the Government cared very little whether they became Christians or not—then the number of converts decreased with marvellous rapidity. In 1802, there were 136,000 nominal Protestants among the Tamils of Jaffna; in 1806, Buchanan describes "the fine old churches, as in ruins, 'but one Hindu Catechist in the province, and the Pro-'testant religion *extinct*." In 1801, Cordiner estimated the number of Protestants in the Singalese districts at 342,000; in 1810, they had diminished to less than half that number, and many were yearly apostatizing to Buddhu. "So *low*," says Sir Emerson, with a spice of quiet humour, "was the general 'estimation of Christianity amongst the Singalese, that it was 'known to them only as '*the religion of the East India Com-'pany!*"

It must be confessed that we are a strange people. About the time, that the Governor-General was deporting Missionaries from Calcutta, the Secretary of State was engaged in writing a despatch to Sir Thomas Maitland, expressing anxiety and dissatisfaction at the encouragement apparently given to Paganism, and the neglect of the Ceylon Government to provide for the extension and establishment of Christianity among the natives; while John Bull contented himself with a kind of indolent assent to both. At last the Government of Ceylon showed symptoms of energy, and, unfortunately for Christianity, began to act. What they did, and (for ought that appears to the contrary) what they are still doing, appears all but incredible, and is, we feel confident, unknown and unsuspected by the people of England. There could not, however, be a more satisfactory witness than Sir Emerson, and we shall give his testimony in his own words:—

The proponents appointed by Mr. North and Sir Thomas Maitland proceeded to exercise their functions with a zeal, almost untempered by discretion. The administration of baptism was the most prominent, as it appears to have been the most laborious, portion of their duties; and the Singhalese, accustomed for upwards of a century, under the Portuguese and Dutch, to regard baptism as the test and qualification for the enjoyment of numerous civil advantages, still retained the idea that the inheritance of property by their children, as well as other personal privileges, would be contingent on the insertion of their names in the *thombo*, or baptismal register of the district. On the periodical visits of the proponent, the *tom-toms* were

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sounded throughout the villages; the children were brought in crowds to be baptized; and the ceremony was performed, in many instances, by arranging them in rows—the proponent, as he passed along, sprinkling their faces with water, and repeating the formula of the rite. The Singhalese term for this operation was *Christiani-karenewa*, or "Christian making;" but it was far from being regarded as anything solemn or religious. It had been declared *honourable* by the Portuguese to undergo such a ceremony; it had been rendered *profitable* by the Dutch; and, after three hundred years' familiarity with the process, the natives were unable to divest themselves of the belief, that submission to the ceremony was enjoined by orders from the Civil Government. Of baptism itself they had no other conception than some civil distinction which it was supposed to confer; and, to the present day, the Singhalese term for the ceremony bears the literal interpretation of "*admission to rank.*"* If two Buddhists quarrel, it is no unusual term of reproach to apply the epithet of an "*unbaptized wretch*;"† and when a parent upbraids his child in anger, he sometimes threatens to disinherit him, by saying he will "blot out his baptism from the thombo."

Even to the present day, a native child cannot be legally registered without previous baptism by a Christian minister; and the practice of the Missionaries (with the exception of the Baptists) serves to perpetuate the evil, as they refuse to solemnize the marriages of individuals unbaptized. ‡

Prodigious numbers of nominal Christians, who have been thus enrolled, designate themselves "Christian Buddhists," or "Government Christians;" and, with scarcely an exception, they are either heathens or sceptics.§ There are large districts in which it would be difficult to discover an unbaptized Singhalese; and yet, in the midst of these, the religion of Buddhu flourishes, and priests and temples abound. The majority ostensibly profess Christianity, but support all the ceremonies of their own national idolatry; and, more or less openly, frequent the temples, and make votive offerings to the idol. The rest are alternately Christians, or infidels, as occasion may render it expedient to appear; and in point of character and conduct they are notoriously the most abandoned and reckless class of the community. But, in speaking of these classes under the designation of Christians, a wide line of distinction is to be drawn between them and the Missionary converts, whose adhesion to Christianity, however imperfect may be their inward convictions, is at least an act of premeditation, and ensures a certain degree of circumspection in demeanour; whilst no similar obligation is felt to be incumbent upon those, whose nominal addiction to Christianity is merely the result of an accident.

It will readily be imagined that the existence of such a body, at once so numerous and so regardless, must be highly prejudicial to the extension of genuine Christianity; and every individual, who has had personal experience of its effects, has borne his testimony to the fact, that nothing has so effectually deterred the Singhalese in their first approaches to the truth, as the apprehension of being identified by their conversion with a class, whose reputation and whose practice are alike an outrage on the religion, in which they were born, and an insult to that, which they profess to have adopted.—*Pp* 87-90.

If Missionaries have any hankering, as some assert, after Government patronage and interference, we should think that the history of the propagation of Christianity in Ceylon would

* Kula-wadenawa. † To-gintu-gua.

‡ "The dexterity of the natives in overcoming difficulties in this respect is amusing. A man in Malwana, being alarmed during an attack of sickness that he should die before his son and heir could be baptized, sent for his brother, who, instead of carrying the child all the way to Colombo, *borrowed an infant in the town*, and had it baptized and registered by a Wesleyan minister, in the name of the absent child, who was at home. In this way, the same infant has been frequently baptized many times." —*MS. Notes by the Rev. J. Davies, Baptist Missionary, Ceylon.*

§ "When we ask the people their religion, the common reply is, We are of the Government religion."—*Ibid.*

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effectually cure them. Indeed we look upon Sir J. E. Tennent's work as the best and most complete answer to Gibbon, that has yet appeared. No; the work of the Missionary needs no Government patronage; and the only petition they should offer to it, is that of the French merchants to Colbert;—"Let us alone!"

We now come to the era of modern Missions, which may be said to have commenced about the year 1814. The Baptists were the first in the field; but the Americans, the Wesleyans, and the Episcopalians speedily followed them; and, we believe, that, in ability, success, and acquaintance with the native languages, literature, habits, and superstitions, the missionaries in Ceylon may well bear a comparison with any in the world. Mission work with them has, on the whole, chiefly an educational aspect. But it is not our purpose to enter into details of their labours, or to attempt to discuss the great question of the best mode of conducting a mission in our times, at the fag end of an article. For those missionaries, who are not content to follow in the beaten track, or to invent over again what has been tried and found wanting by their predecessors, but who rise to the height of their position, and devote all their powers to the grand and glorious work of winning the nations to Christ, we would recommend Sir Emerson Tennent's book as an invaluable help.

He unites the practical knowledge of the missionary with the philanthropic spirit, the large views, and philosophical habits, of the Christian, the statesman, and the scholar. He discusses, with a thorough mastery of the subject, the principles on which the various Missions are conducted, the experiences of the missionaries themselves, the obstacles in their way, and the means they have used to counteract them, translations, the press, teaching, preaching—in short, nearly all the grand and pregnant questions, which yet await and demand solution: and he discusses them all, in a manner, not only worthy of his acknowledged ability, but with a candour, freshness, and impartiality, which, it is but fair to say, we have never met with elsewhere. The plan of his work appears more than necessarily unconnected and faulty;* there are not a few of his conclusions also, concerning which we hope to break a lance with him on no distant day: but there is something, to us, as rare as it is

* In a second edition, we hope, Sir Emerson will devise some means for avoiding the unnecessary repetition, of which there is very much in the work, and the bewildering effect on the reader, who attempts to follow out the history of any one sect or Mission, and finds it scattered all over the book. It is difficult to suggest a better; but the present arrangement is obviously vicious and faulty.

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delightful, in meeting with a powerful vigorous mind, raised far above the vulgar atmosphere of straining after notoriety, or of doubt, that is fonder of display than research or satisfaction, and turning, with a calm but a kindred spirit, to contemplate and record the labours of those, that seek to carry forward the grandest work that man can engage in, the true panacea for human misery, and the last hope of the world.

The historical sketch, which we have attempted, of the progress of Christianity in Ceylon, would be incomplete, were we to say nothing of the result of the last thirty or forty years. It does not bulk very large; but when we consider the inert and apathetic mass on which they had to work, the deep-seated prejudices and passions engendered by three centuries of misdeeds and mismanagement which they had to overcome, the rough and rudimentary work that was to be done, the shortness of the time, and the small number of the labourers, we must confess that the missionaries of Ceylon are workmen that need not be ashamed. We borrow an account of what they have done from the impartial pages of Sir Emerson—and there is no part of his work that we have read with greater pleasure:—

The results of these efforts to diffuse Christianity throughout Ceylon are less unsatisfactory, than they may outwardly seem to a casual observer, who regards only their ostensible effect; for, however limited may be the first definite gains in the numerical amount of acknowledged converts, the process has commenced, by which these will be hereafter augmented; and living principles have been successfully implanted, as much more precious than the mere visible results, as the tree exceeds in value the first fruits of its earliest growth.

Nor have these fruits themselves been inconsiderable, when we bear in mind the antiquity and strength of the superstitions, which have pre-occupied the soil, the failures of the first efforts of Christianity to supplant them, the peculiar characteristics of the Singhalese people, and the limited means, as well as the circumscribed resources, of the various Christian Missions, which have been engaged in the work.

Not the least important gain has been the access of *experience*, which they themselves have acquired, sufficient not merely to protect them from the delusions by which their predecessors were misled, but to guide them, by their more intimate appreciation of the difficulties to be overcome and of the choice of those instruments, and the better adjustment of the process, by which success is to be compassed.

Above all, the influence of ancient delusions has been undermined, the foundation of national errors has been shattered, and all experience has demonstrated the fact, that, although exploded opinions may be often revived, exploded superstitions never acquire a second vitality. They become shaded by the ignominy of detected imposture; and, though idolatry is too often replaced by infidelity, heathenism itself, once exposed and discredited, can never regain its ascendancy.

The aggregate number of converts in Ceylon is no criterion as to the progress of Christianity; not only because these are not its sole indications, but because the tests on admission, and the discipline afterwards, differ, not only in different churches, but even amongst the different establishments of the same Christian Mission. In addition to which the Missionaries themselves are fully aware of the fact, that amongst their nominal adherents there are numbers, whose life and inward feelings are at variance with their seeming profession, and who, though they may not fall

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under the designation of impostors, are far from being entitled to the denomination of Christians.

But with reference to these, there must be borne in mind the influence of the society from which they have been rescued, and the moral stagnation and impurities of the atmosphere, which they have been accustomed to breathe. Christian life and its characteristics are of infinitely slower growth than belief and Christian profession. Evil habits, alike national and hereditary, and superstitions irreconcilable with the simplicity of truth, may subsist long after the manifestation of deep and genuine conversion. The traces are not yet eradicated in England of the Paganism, which preceded Christianity; and even the pure and exalted mind of Sir Matthew Hale was not proof against the delusion of witchcraft. We have therefore no grounds for alarm, if, in conjunction with the newly-received doctrines of Christianity, the Singhalese converts should exhibit in some instances their long-associated respect for the ancient customs of Buddhism, or still shrink at the remembrance of the terrors of demon worship.

Political changes are usually rapid, and often the offspring of a single cause; but all moral revolutions are of gradual development, and the result of innumerable agencies. Progressive growth is the law and process of Nature in all her grand operations. Philosophy, science, and art, all the moral and intellectual developments of man, are progressive; and, under the influence of Christianity itself, the march of civilization, though controlled and directed by its ascendancy, is regulated by those eternal laws of social progress, which have been ordained by Omnipotence.

The pace may be slow and unequal, but the tendency is onward, and the result may be eventually rapidly developed; and such, it is my firm conviction, will be the effect of what is now in progress, not in Ceylon alone, but throughout the continent of India. A large proportion of the labour hitherto has been prospective: but its effects are already in incipient operation; and, on all ordinary principles, a power once in motion is calculated to gather velocity and momentum by its own career.

When the time shall have arrived for the mighty masses of India to move with a more simultaneous impulse, it is impossible to calculate the effect; but, looking to the magnitude of the operations which have been so long in process, and the vastness of the agencies which have been organized, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the last conquests of Christianity may be achieved with incomparably greater rapidity, than has marked its earlier progress and signalized its first success; and that, in the instance of India, "the ploughman may overtake the reaper, the treader of grapes him that soweth the seed," and the type of the prophet be realized, "that a nation shall be born in a day."

* * * * * *

What has been done, and what is still in progress in Ceylon, are in themselves demonstrative evidences that the idolatry of India is *not impregnable*, and that so far from the Mission of Christianity being exhausted, at no period of our history have its manifestations been so apparent, or the measures taken so successful for ensuring its ultimate triumph.

The human means by which that consummation is to be hastened have already been indicated in the course of the foregoing narrative; *the Scriptural education of the young, the intellectual culture of the adults, and the instrumentality of preaching, and the printing press with all.* The mere elementary teaching of the many, unaccompanied by the profounder instruction of the few, will never succeed in elevating the spiritual character of the people;—the one may assist in weakening the influence of their ancient superstition, but without the aid of the other, the task would prove all but hopeless to elevate Christianity in its stead. For the realization of such a system, the assistance of *native agents* is indispensable; and, for the training of these, education must be carried to the point at which the pupil becomes transformed into the teacher. The pastors, whom the Apostles inducted to watch over the Churches which they planted amongst the heathen, were natives of the country: thus Christianity ceased to be exotic, became an institution of the land, and was cherished and supported as such. None but familiar associates can exhibit to the natives of India in practice the example of that Christian life, which the European

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instructor can only delineate in theory; and none but he can so effectually accommodate his ministrations to the habits of his hearers as to gain upon their confidence, and exert an influence over their opinions and habits of thought.—*Pp.* 324-328, *and* 332-333.

While Christianity was propagated in former days by men of "bloody hands and hearts unclean," by force and falsehood, by policy and cunning, by all the vast but mis-directed influence of Government, and all the alluring pomp and show of superstition, it was choked and smothered by the rank growth of these foul and noisome weeds; and the loving face of the Saviour and the pure star-like light of his doctrines were never suffered to beam upon the benighted people of Ceylon. There is still enough, and more than enough, both from without and from within, to dim its lustre, and retard its progress; but at last the eye of reason, as well as the eye of faith, can look hopefully forward, and already see in the far horizon sure tokens of the coming sun.

We have reviewed Sir Emerson's work under one aspect chiefly; but it would be unjust to conclude without adverting to its claims on the general reader.

The book does not treat exclusively of Missions. It has a slight but popular and interesting sketch of Brahmanism, and a more elaborate and masterly account of Buddhism than any we have seen elsewhere within the same compass. It gives accurate and life-like portraitures of Singalese life and habits; and abounds with notices and illustrations of the antiquities and literature of the island. When we add that it is profusely and tastefully illustrated, and has withal a somewhat lordly air of luxury and elegance, we think that our readers will agree with us in our verdict, that it is a very delightful work—a worthy and fitting employment for the leisure hours of an accomplished Christian gentleman.

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ART. VIII.—*History of the War in Afghanistan; by John William Kaye. 2 vols. 8vo. Bentley. London.* 1851.

THERE are very obvious reasons why we should express no opinion regarding the merits or demerits of this work. But we may give some account of its contents. The value of the book is dependent, less upon the manner of its execution, than on the nature of the materials at the author's command. If these materials are abundant and interesting, scarcely any amount of inefficiency on the part of the author can render the work wholly unacceptable to the Anglo-Indian public, and to such readers, in other parts of the world, as are personally or politically interested in the circumstances of the war.

It may be said, perhaps, that the time for writing, fully and unreservedly, a history of the war in Afghanistan has not yet arrived. We are not insensible of the disadvantages under which the historian labours, who is too near to the scenes that he describes; but we cannot help thinking that there are counterbalancing advantages, which weigh down the scale on the side of cotemporary history. Posterity may bring a calmer judgment to bear upon the calamitous and humiliating events of the war in Afghanistan: and the historian, after the lapse of half a century, might write with more judicial impartiality and unreserve of the chief actors engaged in the stirring scenes that he describes; there may be less fear of his prejudices and predilections, his sympathies and antipathies tainting the pure stream of history: he may be held less in restraint by the kindlier feelings of his heart and speak out the truth in a more fearless tone; but, when we have said this, we have, perhaps, said all that is to be advanced in favour of delay. On the other hand, it is to be considered, that as time advances, the materials of history diminish; that if it be advantageous, in one respect, that the chief actors in the scenes to be described should have ceased to be amongst us, before their actions are narrated, the historian derives immense benefit from his ability to consult, at every stage of his work, some of the surviving actors in the events which he is passing in review before him: to acquire information regarding the minutest point of history; to verify every fact, however seemingly trifling, upon the authority of those most likely to furnish evidence not to be cavilled at, or gainsayed. Not only does this kind of oral testimony, which is so valuable to the historian, disappear altogether under the destroying influence of time, but written materials, somehow or other, manage to disappear too. What

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immense masses of materials for a history of India have gone out of existence altogether. Some people have a taste for destroying papers. If they do not destroy them themselves, or order them to be destroyed after their death, their heirs or executors do the work of destruction. Or heaps of papers, that the historian or biographer would gloat over, are shovelled into old boxes, and stowed away in dark lumber rooms, to be destroyed by damp and white-ants, if in this country, or, if in England, by damp and mice. How frequently is the answer given to the enquiries of the historian or the biographer—"Oh! I had such-and-such papers once; but I do not know what has become of them";—or "I kept them for a long time, and then I thought it best to destroy them";—or "I did not think they were of any value";—or "I lent them to so-and-so, who never returned them, and I do not know where he is to be found." Many valuable documents, letters, and journals perish in this way. Every year diminishes, in some manner or other, the materials of history, and makes it more difficult for the historian to ensure the fullness and accuracy of detail, which give life to the written page. Our histories of India have been written too much from the mere barren residue of the materials once in existence. They present only the outer official side of public events; for they have been written mainly from state-papers, and have the stamp of the bureau upon them. Our historians have, for the most part, seen only the warriors and statesmen, of whom they write, in full dress. The genuine thoughts and opinions of these worthies are hidden beneath the verbiage of official paragraphs. They appear only before the public in the stately sentences of fluent secretaries, through which scarce a glimpse of the real man is to be caught. What a barren affair, for example, would be a history of the war in Afghanistan, written in 1951, from the then existing state-papers!

Taking, therefore, all these things into consideration, it appears to us, that, if the time for writing the history of the war in Afghanistan has not yet come, it has at all events not passed away; and that, if ever the precise time for writing such a history shall arrive—not too near to, and not too remote from, the scenes to be described—and the right historian should be found to take advantage of the right time, the present author will deserve some thanks for having contributed some valuable materials towards the history which he lived half-a-century too soon to write. Indeed, we believe that he himself was better inclined to call his work "Materials for a history of the war in Afghanistan," than to dignify it with the title of

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a history. He has relied, indeed, mainly on his materials; and has laid them profusely before the public in all their original authenticity. It is certain, therefore, that if he has done nothing else, he has mightily assisted the labours of the future historian.

He has put into clear and legible type much that would in all probability have been accessible to no other writer, and has perhaps rescued from the fate, which too often waits on the private materials of history, much which is necessary to the right understanding of the secret history of the war. His materials are mainly original materials—some of a public, some of a private, character. They have been obtained from a great variety of sources; and appear to us to have been singularly profuse. The author speaks with gratitude, in his preface, of the readiness with which every application he made for assistance was responded to by the parties to whom he applied, and the unreserve with which public and private papers were placed at his disposal. Friends and strangers were equally ready to aid him. The materials, which circumstances first brought into his possession, and which induced him to turn his thoughts towards the compilation of a history of the war, were soon swelled by these practical responses or by voluntary offers of aid; and the author found himself surrounded by piles of papers, the greater number of which were of so much interest, that it perplexed him to select those which had the greatest claims to publication, and grieved him to reject much, that would have increased the interest, whilst too greatly extending the dimensions of his book. If, therefore, he has failed to produce a work, that will interest all who are interested in the history of the war in Afghanistan, the fault is simply his own.

The work opens with an introduction of 160 pages, comprising a rapid sketch of Afghan history, and of all the circumstances attending European connexion with the countries lying between India and Russia, since the commencement of the present century. The different British Missions to Persia, Afghanistan, and Sindh, the intrigues of France and Russia in the east, the wars between Persia and the latter state, and the aggressions of Persia on the side of Khorassan and Afghanistan, are succinctly narrated. In the preparation of this introductory portion of his narrative, the author seems to have had access to a very large body of original historical materials belonging to the administration of Lord Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, and Lord Minto, including the unpublished correspondence of Sir John Malcolm. It may be thought, perhaps, that led away by the interest and extent of these

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materials, he has, in some places, entered somewhat too minutely into the history of events, only remotely connected with the origin of the war in Afghanistan. But, when it is considered that he has devoted only 160 pages of a work, extending over more than 1,000, to the incidents of the first 36 or 37 years of the present century, and that, without a right understanding of these incidents, it is not possible for the reader fully to comprehend the motives, which compelled our statesmen to push an army across the Indus, in counter-action of Persian aggression and Russian intrigue, it will hardly appear that these preliminary events have been dwelt upon with too much minuteness.

Having brought, in these preliminary chapters, the history of events in Central Asia down to the commencement of the march of Muhammad Shah's grand army upon Herat, the author commences his second book with a notice of the arrival of Lord Auckland, and a sketch of that statesman's character. He then speaks of the commencement of the Russo-phobia, and, after a rapid notice of previous travellers in Afghanistan, introduces the reader to Alexander Burnes. In the chapter on the "Commercial Mission to Kábul," he has made free use of the privately printed papers of that lamented officer, and seems to have had access to many other letters and papers in the possession of Burnes's family, which have not, we believe, been printed in any shape. The next chapter is devoted to the siege of Herat, of which a lengthy and elaborate account is given. The author has been fortunate enough to obtain possession of Eldred Pottinger's papers, including a long and very minute journal of all the incidents of that memorable siege. After this, the reader is brought back to Simlah, shewn how the war was concocted, and then set fairly on the march with the army of the Indus. All this part of the history is illustrated with a great number of original letters from Macnaghten, Burnes, and others. The correspondence of Macnaghten, especially, is largely quoted, not only with reference to the march to Kandahar and Kábul, but to the subsequent events of the years 1840 and 1841. An immense mass of the Envoy's correspondence with different official and private friends seems to have been placed at the author's disposal—in most cases the autograph letters themselves. These let us with much clearness into the inner history of Macnaghten's policy in Afghanistan, whilst the curtain is withdrawn from and before the Calcutta Council-chamber; and we are shown in what manner the progress of events beyond the Indus, and the results of our unhappy connexion with Shah Súja, were

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regarded by the Governor-General and his associates. Among other materials, which the author has commanded, is the journal of Sir Jasper Nicolls, the extracts from which, whilst very curious and interesting in themselves, demonstrate the correctness of the Commander-in-Chief's views, both of our military and political position in the countries beyond the Indus.

The causes of the outbreak in the early winter of 1841 are enquired into with much minuteness; and the enquiry is illustrated with extracts from the unpublished reports of Pottinger, Macgregor, and others. Then comes an account of the insurrection at Kábul, and of all the humiliating circumstances attending our calamitous defeat. The correspondence between Macnaghten and Elphinstone, throughout the seven bitter weeks preceding the Envoy's death, is here given in its original integrity. The Envoy's letters to Mohun Lal are freely quoted. The unfinished report of the former, found in his writing-desk after the death, is quoted in the text, and given entire in the appendix: whilst the unpublished statements of Brigadier Shelton, Mohun Lal and others, and a very interesting manuscript journal kept by Capt. Johnson, the Shah's paymaster and commissariat officer, are copiously used for purposes of illustration and annotation. For the events succeeding the Envoy's death up to the time of the departure of the forces, the author has relied mainly on Pottinger's unpublished report, with its numerous appendices, including the rough drafts of the treaties whilst in progress (with the remarks of Akbar Khan interpolated), and the ratified treaty itself, bearing the seals of the Afghan Chiefs. The narrative of the retreat and captivity is illustrated with a considerable mass of original materials, including the letters and statements of Major Pottinger, the prison journal of Capt. Johnson, &c.: whilst the events at Kábul, subsequent to the departure of English troops, are set forth in the letters of Shah Súja, Futteh Jung, Mohun Lal, and John Conolly. We think that both the value and interest of the work are greatly increased, by the insertion of numerous translations of Persian letters and documents from the leading actors on the Afghan side. The letters of Shah Súja, written after the departure of the British from Kábul, are very curious and characteristic.

Nor less fortunate has the author been in obtaining authentic and interesting materials for a narrative of events on the side of Kandahar. From a mass of demi-official correspondence between Major Rawlinson, Major Outram, and Lieut. Hammersley, copious extracts are made. To the journals of Major Rawlinson, during the defence of Kandahar and the subsequent movement upon Kábul, the author seems to have had access, as

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well as to letters written by General Nott (some of them very characteristic) throughout this period.

For an account of the operations of Pollock's retributive force, and the negociations for the release of the prisoners, the author has possessed most abundant materials. The correspondence between Sale and Pollock, previous to the advance of the latter upon Jellalabad—written partly in English, and partly in French—is curious and interesting. To the correspondence, after the arrival of Pollock and Nott at Kábul, between the two chiefs relative to the release of the prisoners, we alluded in a former number of this journal. Nott's letter, of which we then gave the substance, is here given at length; as well as some very characteristic annotations on a letter from Khan Sherin Khan, the chief of the Kuzzilbashes, and Gholam Muhammad Khan, the Wuzir, *pro. tem.*—complaining of some alleged excesses committed by Nott's division. The letters both of Pollock and Nott, in reply to the queries of Government concerning the reputed excesses of the troops, are also given. Nott's had been previously published in the newspapers, to the great annoyance of the Court of Directors, who were anything but pleased with its vehement and intemperate tone.

But it is time now, that, having run over, in a cursory manner, our author's table of contents, we should give some specimens of the work. And this we intend to do without much regard for chronological arrangement—giving first some extracts from the illustrative documents, and then from the historian's text. We have selected for the most part those papers and passages, which have an integrity of their own, and require little explanation. With a tolerably extensive gallery of historical personages, from whose writings to make our extracts, we are in some doubt as to the one, towards whom we should first point the finger of citation. But it appears to us on consideration, that we are bound to give the place of honour to the Governor-General; so we now call Lord Ellenborough into court. Captain Grover, in his work on the *Bokhara Victims*, made no little stir about the Governor-General's letter to the Amir of Bokhara, which he said occasioned the death of the "innocent travellers;" but the Captain did not obtain a copy of it, and we believe that it has never seen the light. It is a very characteristic production:—

FROM LORD ELLENBOROUGH, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, TO THE KHAN OF BOKHARA.

Simla, 1st October, 1842.

A. C.

The Queen of England, my royal mistress, has sanctioned my coming to India, to conduct its government, and direct its armies.

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On my arrival I found that a great disaster had befallen those armies, and much injury had been inflicted on my countrymen and the people of India by the treacherous Afghans, under Mahomed Akbar Khan.

In forty days from the time when I directed the British armies, reinforced from India, to move forward, three great victories have been gained over the Afghans; the city and citadel of Ghuzni have been destroyed; and now the Balla Hissar of Caubul is in my power.

Thus, by God's aid, have I afflicted with merited punishment the murderers of their own king and of a British minister. In this I have avenged the cause of all sovereigns and of all nations.

The wife and family of Mahomed Akbar Khan are prisoners, and my soldiers are now conducting them to the sea.

Thus are the wicked punished, even in their wives and families.

I hear that you, too, have gained great successes, at which I rejoice, if you had just ground of complaint against your enemy.

It is in the midst of successes, that clemency most becomes the conqueror, and gives to him an extent of permanent fame, which often does not attend on victory.

I was informed, when I reached India, that you detained in confinement two Englishmen, supposing them to have entertained designs against you. This must have been your reason, for no prince detains an innocent traveller.

I am informed that they are innocent travellers. As individuals, they could not entertain designs against you; and I know they were not employed by their Government in such designs, for their Government is friendly to you.

Send them away towards Persia. It will redound to your honour. They shall never return to give you offence, but be sent back to their own country.

Do this, as you wish to have my friendship.

ELLENBOROUGH.

We may here mention that these volumes contain a very interesting episodical chapter, relative to the imprisonment of Stoddart and Conolly—the author having obtained possession of Conolly's original letters and journals, written from his miserable dungeon in Bokhara.

From the Governor-General, we proceed as in duty bound to the Commander-in-chief. The following minute written by Sir Jasper Nicolls, a few months before the Kábul outbreak, is very creditable to his sagacity:—

MINUTE, 19TH AUGUST, 1841.

When the opinions of the members of Government were last given on the affairs of Afghanistan, I did not offer mine, because there was very little time for doing so, before the despatch of the Mail—and further, because I had partly recorded my sentiments on the 10th of November, 1840, when advising an increase of the army, to meet the demand our new conquest called for. The surrender of Dost Mahomed, a few days before, was given as a proof that no such increase was required; and the serious increase of expense was another ground for setting aside the recommendation. I was well disposed to yield assent to both; but I observe, by the activity with which our reinforcements have since been sent, that there is a conviction at home that our European troops should be kept on a high establishment. I

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cordially join in the Governor-General's opinion now recorded, that we should not advance upon Herat, if it can possibly be avoided. We experience anxiety and difficulty in keeping Shah Sújah upon his throne, without extending his kingdom at the risk of our own power and security. The military base, on which our positions in Afghanistan are now supported, is very objectionable, on account of distance, difficulty of communication, foreign interposition. The seasons control and cramp every movement; and the proceedings and policy of the Sikhs cannot be anticipated. To advance beyond the Helmund would greatly increase our difficulties. A corps at Herat could not be easily reinforced; and, as a bridle upon Persia, Russia, and the Turkomans, it should contain, at least, the power of protracted self-defence. We should be called upon, probably at no distant time, to take the field in its support. To do this safely, we should be strong on our whole line from Caubul to Kelat; for Afghan intrigue would undoubtedly be actively employed to disturb the district from which the troops were drawn. Yar Mahomed is certainly a very insidious enemy, but, if ejected from Herat, he would not be less so. The Douranis and Ghilzies are stimulated by him no doubt, and perhaps other tribes may be so; they do not, however, receive either money or aid from him, and they will tire of advice, which only leads to their discomfiture.

Although Dost Mahomed is now residing amongst us, I do not perceive that the Shah's government is much more at ease, than it was at this time last year; though our military force beyond the Indus has been much increased. The hope of leaving the Shah's dominions to his own force and government seems more distant than it then was.

My former proposal was met by an assertion (a very just one), that the heavy drain upon the finances would not admit an increase of establishment. I was not then aware of the full extent of that drain!—it is now rated so high, as to create a deficit of a million and a quarter annually, and I think we should not venture to send a second army beyond the Indus, to destroy the resources of India; for such a consequence may be apprehended from such a heavy annual exportation of the necessary funds. Again, when our jealous and intriguing neighbours observe our forces spreading to the east and west so far beyond our former limits, and learn that our finances are decreasing annually, will they not be tempted to encourage each other to regain what we have wrested from them, and to excite the turbulent spirits within our provinces to rebellion?

I offer these opinions with hesitation and regret:—but I lost the opportunity of stating them some months since, and am fearful that similar silence at this time might be misconstrued.

J. Nicolls.

In a letter to the Governor-General, Sir Jasper Nicolls thus sums up the causes of our disasters in Afghanistan:—

CONCLUSION OF LETTER DATED SIMLA, 24TH MARCH, 1842.

The causes to which I ascribe our failure in Afghanistan are these:

1st. Making war with a peace establishment.

2nd. Making war without a safe base of operations.

3rd Carrying our native army out of India into a strange and cold climate, where they and we were foreigners, and both considered as infidels.

4th. Invading a poor country, and one unequal to supply our wants, especially our large establishment of cattle.

5th. Giving undue power to political agents.

6th. Want of forethought and undue confidence in the Afghans on the part of Sir William Macnaghten.

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7th. Placing our magazines, even our treasure—in indefensible places.
8th. Great military neglect and mismanagement after the outbreak.

I have the honour, &c.,

J. NICOLLS.

THE LORD ELLENBOROUGH, *Governor-General.*

We must give one more extract from Sir Jasper Nicolls' correspondence. The following letter will, we think, be read with considerable interest by our military readers. It is a letter of explanation, almost of apology, for the appointment of General Pollock to the command of the army in Afghanistan. It will doubtless be surmised, that this appointment gave some offence at the Horse-guards; else the Commander-in-chief would hardly have taken so much trouble to explain why a Queen's officer was not sent in command:—

TO LIEUT-GENERAL LORD FITZROY SOMERSET, K. C. B.

Simlah, 2nd September, 1842.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 18th of June, calling upon me for explanation, on the subject of an appeal, made to the General Commanding-in-Chief, by Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, in consequence of his not being permitted to accompany the regiment, of which he is senior Colonel, on service beyond the Indus.—I beg you will apprise his Lordship, that, in addition to the rule quoted by Sir J. Thackwell, the special appointment of Major-General Pollock prohibited his employment in Afghanistan.

I shall explain the circumstances of that appointment.

In December, 1841, the Governor-General of India in Council instructed me to place Major-General Lumley, of the Company's army, in command of the reinforcements, which passed through the Punjaub in January last; and, in addition to the command of the whole force in Afghanistan, it was his Lordship's intention to place in his hands the political control also.

Major-General Lumley's health was such as to preclude all hope, or even desire, that he should undertake so great a charge; and it became necessary that I should propose another officer for this important duty. Twice I laid before the Governor-General the name of Major-General Sir Edmund Williams; and, as a Light Infantry officer, he seemed most qualified to meet an enemy in a mountainous country: he was active, zealous, and in perfect health. In the command of a division he had shown a clear judgment, and given me satisfaction.

I need not inform Lord Hill that the management of the native army, or of small portions of it, is a matter, at times, of delicacy and difficulty. It will not do to distrust or disparage it, as Colonel Monson did. The Governor-General gave such an unwilling and discouraging reply to my second communication, that I clearly saw the whole onus of the appointment and of its consequences would be mine. This I would not undertake: and, Major-General Pollock being near at hand, and honoured by Lord Auckland's confidence (as I know), I ordered him by dawk to join the 9th Foot and other corps. This done, Government was pleased to confer upon him the political powers intended for Major-General Lumley; without which Sir Edward Williams would have had to act, not from himself, but according to requisitions made by the local political authorities—viz, Brevet.

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Captains Mackeson and M'Gregor. Upon the more abstract question of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, it must be remarked that Sir Edward Williams held that rank in the 9th Foot, which gave *him* no claim to go to Afghanistan, though some officious friend has since asserted it.

I had soon occasion to rejoice that Sir Edward was not appointed to the command on my sole responsibility;—the four sepoy corps, first sent under Brigadier Wild, having been most sadly mismanaged *(at the instance of the political authorities, against my instructions and earnest caution)*. When Major-General Pollock arrived at Peshawur, he found 1800 men of the four regiments in hospital; the sepoys declaring that they would not advance again through the Khybar Pass; the Sikh troops spreading alarm, and in all ways encouraging and screening their desertion, which was considerable. It was well that a cautious, cool officer of the Company's army should have to deal with them in such a temper, 363 miles from our frontier. General Pollock managed them exceedingly well; but he did not venture to enter the Pass till April (two months and a half after Brigadier Wild's failure), when reinforced by the 3rd Dragoons, a regiment of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and other details. Lord Hill will at once perceive that the *morale* must have been low, when *horse artillery and cavalry* were required to induce the General to advance, with confidence, through this formidable Pass. Any precipitancy on the part of a general officer, panting for fame, might have had the worst effect. I must now return to Sir J. Thackwell's appeal. The General Order, quoted very ingenuously by the Major-General, contains a full and complete reply to his complaint. He was senior to Major-General Pollock; and his proceeding with the 3rd Dragoons would have interfered with a divisional command. He certainly did offer to serve under that officer; but I could not recommend the Government to suffer him to do so, all such arrangements being in my opinion most faulty in principle, and (depending chiefly on good temper) dangerous. I have since called up Sir Joseph Thackwell to my head-quarters in order to command the cavalry, had it been necessary (as seemed possible) last winter to collect an army. The Major-General is in error when he states that I intended him to command an army of observation on the Sutlej: that post I retained for myself, aided by Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Arbuthnot. In November next, it is proposed to collect an army of reserve in this vicinity, and Sir J. Thackwell will have the command of the cavalry. I cannot have the smallest objection to the Major-General's bringing himself to Lord Hill's notice, as he has done, except the infraction of a rule in doing so direct. But, if he had remembered that he commanded the cavalry of Lord Keane's army—had been twice named by me for similar duty—has long been a Brigadier commanding a division or station—he would have found little cause to complain of ill fortune, or neglect. I have known many of her Majesty's officers, Colonels and old Lieutenant-Colonels, to reside ten to fifteen years in India, without having had any such opportunities of service and distinction, and further to command divisions without receiving the smallest remuneration.

I have the honour, &c.

J. NICOLLS.

P. S.—I am happy to say that the Governor-General has displaced all the minor political agents in Afghanistan but one, and entrusted the power to the Generals, Pollock and Nott.

J. N.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD FITZROY SOMERSET, *K. C. B.*,

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We believe that, on the whole, Sir Jasper Nicolls was as free from prejudice as any officer that ever commanded in India, and was anxious to do justice in the Company's army. He was not responsible for Elphinstone's fatal appointment to Kábul (which was Lord Auckland's doing); but, if he had his own way in the matter, he would have appointed General Nott to the command.

The correspondence of Sir William Macnaghten is so freely quoted in these volumes, that we scarcely know how to make our selections from it; but as we have, several times, seen allusions in the public prints to the Envoy's official report of the transactions at Kábul in the winter of 1841-42, which was found after his death, in an unfinished state, in his writing-desk, we are tempted to quote it, in spite of its length.

But we must suggest the probability of its disappointing many of our readers. It throws little new light on these melancholy events—and is not, in our estimation, a very interesting or important document:—

FROM SIR WM. MACNAGHTEN, BART., ENVOY AND MINISTER, TO T. H. MADDOCK, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Fort William.

SIR,—1. It is with feelings of the deepest concern that I acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, of my having been compelled to consent to the abandonment of our position in this country.

2. The Major-General commanding in Afghanistan will doubtless detail the military disasters which have led to this direful necessity; and I shall have occasion, therefore, to touch upon them but briefly in the course of this narrative.

3. On the morning of the 2nd ult., I was informed that the town of Caubul was in a state of commotion, and, shortly afterwards, I received a note from Lieutenant-Colonel Sir A. Burnes, to the effect that his house was besieged, and begging for assistance. I immediately went to General Elphinstone, and suggested that Brigadier Shelton's force should proceed to the Balla Hissar, thence to operate as might seem expedient; that the remaining troops should be concentrated; the cantonment placed in a state of defence; and assistance, if possible, sent to Sir A. Burnes.

4. Before Brigadier Shelton could reach the Balla Hissar, the town had attained such a state of ferment, that it was deemed impracticable to penetrate to Sir A. Burnes's residence, which was in the centre of the city. I also sent messages of assurance to His Majesty by my assistant (Captain Lawrence); but so great had become the excitement, that, by noon, the road between the cantonment and the city was hardly passable.

5. His Majesty, on first hearing of the insurrection, had sent out his son, Futteh Sing, and the Minister, with some of the household troops, to repress it; but this party was speedily repulsed with great slaughter; and, in the mean time, I grieve to state, that Sir Alexander Burnes, his

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brother, Lieutenant C. Burnes, and Captain W. Broadfoot, had fallen victims to the fury of the mob.

6. From that time, affairs grew generally worse. The enemy showed great judgment in their work of annoying us. They seized the strongest position between the cantonment and the city, and, what was worse than all, they seized the fort, which contained all our stores and provisions. This step was well-nigh effecting our immediate destruction; and it is chiefly to this, that I attribute our final discomfiture. We had only four or five days' supplies for the cantonment. The Balla Hissar, as well as the cantonment, was in a state of siege. We could not hope for provisions from thence, nor would the place have afforded us either food or shelter, and, in the opinion of the military authorities, to return thither would have been attended with ruin. A disastrous retreat seemed the only alternative: but this necessity was averted by the attack, on the 10th ult., of a neighbouring fort, which had intermediately furnished us with a scanty supply of provisions, but which subsequently espoused the cause of the rebels. The place was carried after a desperate resistance. We lost in the operation no less than sixty men killed and wounded of Her Majesty's 44th regiment alone; but our immediate wants were supplied by the provisions found in the fort. I lament to add, that Colonel Mackrell, Captain M'Crae, and Captain Westmacott, fell on the occasion.

7. On the 6th ult., I received a hurried note from Major Pottinger, to the effect that he was closely besieged at Charekar, and unable to hold out for want of water. Major Pottinger himself, with Lieutenant Haughton, came into cantonments a day or two afterwards, having left the 4th regiment in a disorganised state in the neighbourhood of Istaliff; but, it is melancholy to relate, that no authentic tidings of them have up to this day been received. There is every reason to believe, that the entire corps (officers and men) have been annihilated. Captains Conrington and Rattray and Lieutenant Salisbury were killed, before Major Pottinger left Charekar, and both he and Lieutenant Haughton were severely wounded.

8. I had written to Candahar and to Gundamuck for assistance, immediately on the occurrence of the outbreak: but General Sale's brigade had proceeded to Jellalabad—the whole country between this and that place being in a state of insurrection, and a return to Caubul being deemed impracticable. From Candahar, though I sent cossids with pressing requisitions for assistance almost every day, I could gain no intelligence, the road being entirely occupied by the troops and emissaries of the rebels. We learnt from native reports that Ghuzni was invested by the enemy, and that Captain Woodburn, who was on his way to Caubul from Candahar, had been massacred, with a party of leave-of-absence men, by whom he was accompanied, in a small fort on this side of Ghuzni.

9. We continued, up to the commencement of the present month, to derive a scanty supply, at great pecuniary sacrifices, from the neighbouring villages; but, about that time, the enemy's plans had become so well organized, that our supplies from this source were cut off. The rebels daily made their appearance in great force in the neighbourhood of the cantonment; and I lament to add that their operations were generally attended with success. The details will be communicated by the military authorities. In the midst of their success, Mahomed Akbar Khan arrived from Turkistan—an event, which gave new life to the efforts of the rebels.

10. In the mean time I had received so many distressful accounts, from the General commanding, of the state of our troops and cattle from want

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of provisions, and I had been so repeatedly apprised by him (for reasons which he will himself doubtless explain) of the hopelessness of further resistance, that, on the 24th ultimo, I deemed it my duty to address an official letter to him, a copy of which accompanies, as Appendix A.

The General's reply was dated the same day; a copy accompanies, as Appendix B.

11. Affairs had attained so desperate a state on the 8th instant, that I again addressed to the General a letter, a copy of which accompanies, as Appendix C., and a copy of the General's reply of the same date, signed by three of his principal officers, accompanies, as Appendix D. On the next day, I received another letter from the General; a copy of which is sent, as Appendix E.

At my invitation, deputies were sent from the rebels, who came into cantonment on the 25th ultimo, I having in the mean time received overtures from them of a pacific nature, on the basis of our evacuating the country. I proposed to them the only terms, which, in my opinion, could be accepted with honour; but the temper of the rebels may best be understood when I mention that they returned me a letter of defiance the next morning, to the effect that, unless I consented to surrender our arms, and to abandon His Majesty to his fate, we must prepare for immediate hostilities. To this I replied, that we preferred death to dishonour, and that it would remain with a higher Power to decide between us.

12. I had subsequently a lengthened correspondence with Mahomed Usman Khan Barukzye, the most moderate and sensible man of the chiefs; and, as on the 11th instant we had not one day's provisions left, I held conference with the whole rebel chiefs. The day previous, I had learnt from a letter from Colonel Palmer, at Ghuzni, that there was no hope of reinforcements from Candahar. I had repeatedly kept His Majesty informed of the desperate state of our affairs, and of the probability that we should be compelled to enter into some accommodation with the enemy.

13. The conference with the rebels took place about a mile from cantonments. I was attended by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie; and there were present, on the part of the rebels, the heads nearly of all the chief tribes in the country. I had committed to paper certain propositions, to which I had reason to believe they would have no objection, and I read it to the meeting; a copy accompanies as Appendix F. When I came to the—article, Mahomed Akbar interrupted me, and observed that we did not require supplies, as there was no impediment to our marching the next morning. I mention the above fact to show the impetuous disposition of this youth. He was reproved by the other chiefs; and he himself, except on this one occasion, behaved with courtesy, though evidently elevated by his sudden change of fortune.

15. The next day I was waited upon by a deputation from the chiefs, with a proposition that Shah Sujah-ul-Mulk should be left nominally as king—the Barukzye exercising the functions of minister; but this proposition, owing to the mutual jealousies of the parties concerned, as will appear in the sequel, fell to the ground.

16. From the foregoing review of occurrences, I trust it will be evident that I had no recourse left but that of negotiation; and I had ascertained beyond a doubt that the rebel chiefs were perfectly aware of our helpless situation, and that no terms, short of our quitting Afghanistan, would satisfy them.

17. The whole country, as far as we could learn, had risen in rebellion; our communications on all sides were cut off; almost every public officer,

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whether paid by ourselves, or His Majesty, had declared for the new Governor; and by far th e greater number even of His Majesty's domestic servants had deserted him . We had been fighting for forty days against very superior numbers, under most disadvantageous circumstances, with a deplorable loss of valuable lives; and in a day or two we must have perished from hunger, to say nothing of the advanced season of the year, and the extreme cold, from the effects of which our native troops were suffering severely. I had been repeatedly apprised by the military authorities, that nothing could be done with our troops; and I regret to add that desertions to the enemy were becoming of frequent occurrence amongst our troops. The terms, I secured, were the best obtainable; and the destruction of fifteen thousand human beings would little have benefitted our country, whilst our Government would have been almost compelled to avenge our fate, at whatever cost. We now part with the Afghans as friends, and I feel satisfied that any Government, which may be established hereafter, will always be disposed to cultivate a good understanding with us.

18. A retreat, without terms, would have been impracticable. It is true that, by entering into terms, we were prevented from undertaking the conquest of the entire country—a measure which, from my knowledge of the views of government, I feel convinced would never be resorted to, even were the means at hand. But such a project in the present state of our Indian finances, and the requisitions for troops in various quarters, I knew could not be entertained, if the expense already incurred in a such a case would have been intolerable.

19. I would beg leave to refer to the whole tenor of my former correspondence for the causes, which have produced this insurrection. Independently of the genius of the people, which is prone to rebellion, we, as conquerors and foreigners of a different creed were viewed with particular disfavour by the chiefs, whilst the acts of some of us were particularly calculated to excite the general jealousy of a sensitive nation. The haughty demeanour of his Majesty was not agreeable to the nobles and, above all, the measures of economy, to which it found necessary to resort, were particularly galling.

Throughout this rebellion, I was in constant communication with the Shah, through my assistant, Lieutenant J. B. Conolly, who was in attendance on His Majesty in the Balla Hissar.

On the — inst. it was agreed upon that our troops should evacuate the Balla Hissar, and return to the cantonments; while the Barukzyes should have a conference with His Majesty with a view to his retaining the nominal powers of sovereignty;—they for their own security placing a guard of their own in the upper citadel. No sooner, however, had our troops left the Balla Hissar, than His Majesty, owing to some panic or misunderstanding, ordered the gate to be shut, and the proposed conference was thereby prevented. So offended were the Barukzyes, that they determined never to offer his Majesty the same terms again. In explanation of his conduct, His Majesty states that the party, whom the Barukzyes desired to introduce, was not that party which had been agreed upon.

Many of the Envoy's private letters are much more interesting than this. The main interest, indeed, of the reports, is in the numerous evidences, comprising a portion of the correspondence between Macnaghten and Elphinstone, relative to the negociation with the enemy—a correspondence of the most painful and humiliating kind. These letters, and others be-

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tween the same party, are interpolated in the author's text, whilst the report is given in the appendix. But the letters are too numerous for us to give them in this place.

From the Envoy we may, not inappropriately, turn to the King. Here is one of Shah Súja's letters:—

FROM H. M. SHAH SUJAH TO CAPTAIN MACGREGOR.

Let it be known to Mr. Macgregor, to the General, and to the other gentlemen, that what I did not wish to see, and which never entered into my imagination, it has been my lot to see. What I have already suffered, and am suffering, is known only to God.

Although I frequently remonstrated, they paid no attention to my words. These men have made fraud and deceit their trade. . . . . During the time they were committing these excesses, and would not come in for some days, they continued plundering the shops, and exciting disturbances in the city; and in this business all the Sirdars were concerned, and on this account the lower orders became like hungry dogs: but God shamed them, for they got nothing. What has happened was fated, and was owing to our own neglect. However much I said, "Come up above; the fort is strong; for one year no one can be brought within it; with my servants, and from 500 to 1,000 others, the fort would be strong; and 2,000 or 3,000 others, with guns, sallying out, might collect grain:"—[it was in vain]. However, it has passed—such was our fate. I sent messages to cantonments, begging them not to defer their coming from to-day to to-morrow, from to-morrow to next day—that, please God, all would be right.

I had collected five or six lakhs of rupees in gold-mohurs, knowing that these people, except for money, would not act honestly, even with God I spent three or four lakhs of rupees amongst them. Every tribe made oath, wrote on the Koran, and sealed; but they still said, "The king and the Feringhis are one." However, I have managed to bring them thus far, and given two lakhs more. It is a pity that I have no more money. If I had any more, and could raise 2,000 or 3,000 sowars, and 2,000 foot soldiers of my own, I would defy any one to stir. The foot-soldiers, too, who returned from the army, I collected—300 or 400—that they might be with my regiment. Oh! that God had never let me see this day! Although, if money reaches me, God will prosper every thing. To give money to an enemy to collect troops, and to come and kill you—did ever any one so trust an enemy? Even now have nothing to say to that dog.* This, too, I have said to you, even as I warned you before. I am night and day absorbed in this one thought. It has occurred to my mind that it would be better if the few ladies and gentlemen should be brought here, in order that they might be released from the hands of that dog. This entered my mind; and I consulted with the Sirdars, and brought them to agree; before this, I had sent a paper to this effect to that dog. It struck me, that that dog would not release and send them here. I then decided that it would be judicious that Jubbar Khan should be sent. I hope that he will bring them to this place in safety. By the blessing of God, my mind will be at ease. No one will have power to say anything to them; they will remain in safety. If this is approved of by you, I will take this course; but inform me, if you do not approve of it, and can suggest anything else, that it may be arranged. Now, men of all ranks are flocking to me. . . . . I have asked of God—if some money could be obtained all would go well, by God's assistance. * * * At present, my subjects make petition to

* Muhammad Akbar.

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me to send money, and one of the princes with guns and an army to Candahar. * * * I had sent for Mr. Conolly, and other gentlemen, to consult with them, as they had themselves asked the Sirdar to send for them; but some one said to them, "If you go to the king, he will kill you." It was their (the Sirdars,) intention that the king should kill them. They had sent me word secretly before hand. I replied, that if the world was upset, and every one my enemy, I would not do so. They then said, that it was really true what Jubbar Khan and Usman Khan had said—that the king was not separate from the Feringhis. If he is, they said, give these (English gentlemen) to the king, that he may kill them. I heard this, and gave them answer. They understood their position, and repented of the step they had taken. Since this occurrence, they come and go; and I have re-assured them. They now swear and protest that they will do nothing whatever without my wishes. If you think it can be done, God will shame my enemies.

We come now to the victorious Generals. There is a letter, written partly in English and partly in French by Sir Robert Sale. The enemy having in their camp men capable of reading and interpreting English, our authorities took to corresponding in French, or in an extraordinary melange of French and English. It appears to us that the following is marked by an amount of caution truly Hibernian—the most important part of the letter being blurted out in excellent Queen's English:—

MAJOR GENERAL SIR ROBERT SALE TO MAJOR-GENERAL POLLOCK.

Jellalabad, 14th February, 1842.

My Dear General,—Captain Macgregor's cossids yesterday brought me the information of your arrival at Peshawur, and of full military and political powers in Afghanistan being vested in you. I lose no time in sending such a view of the state of this garrison, as may enable you to form your own opinion on the necessity of moving to its relief. Nous avons des provisionnements pour les soldats Britanniques pour soixante-dix jours; pour les Sipahis et les autres natifs, demi provisionnements pour le même temps; et pour les chevaux de la cavalerie et l'artillerie de large, pour vingt cinq jours. Autant que nous pouvons renvoyer nos parties pour la fourrage, nous ne manquerons cela pour la cavalerie: mais nous serons entièrement privé de cette ressource après le premier jour d'investissement. A présent nous n'avons de fourrage que pour trente jours pour tous les animaux. Les chevaux d'artillerie et les yaboos des sapeurs sont de ce pays, et mangent seulement boozeut kurlise. Nous manquons beaucoup aussi des munitions de guerre, plomb, &c.

When our animals can no longer be sustained by corn or forage only, we must of course destroy them. The hospitals are ill supplied with medicines, and much sickness may be apprehended, when the weather grows hot. At present the health of the garrison is excellent. We have no prospect of adding to our resources above detailed, even if we had money, which we have not. The country possesses abundance of supplies, of which the presence of a force would give us command.

Mahomed Akbar is at Cherbyl, in the Lughman district, and threatens an attack; and we may, in about fifteen days, though I think not sooner, be invested by a large force from Caubul, with a considerable artillery.

Believe me to be, my dear General,
Yours very truly,
Rt. Sale, M.-G.

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P. S —I shall view la perte of my cavalry, should such occur, with much sorrow; as, from their successes against the enemy, they have acquired a confidence in themselves and contempt for their enemies, which feeling is equally participated in by the rest of the troops. As I cannot now get an opportunity to send you a return, I give a memorandum :—Cavalry, effective, deux cents quarante-un; malade, vingt-un. Artillerie, effective, uncent soixante onze; malade, quarante-onze. Sapeurs, effective, trois cents quatre; malade, quarante-cinq. Infanterie Britannique, effective, sept cents dix-neuf; malade, trente. Sipahis, effective, huit cents trente-huit; malade, quarante-huit.

February 16. Hier Mahomed Akbar a passé la rivière, et a pris position sur ce côté, près de dix milles de cette ville. On dit qu'il a des soldats de tous armes, et quatre pièces de canon. On peut voir son camp d'ici.

Rt. Sale.

February 16. I have received this morning yours of the 9th instant. S'ils n'envoyent pas des canons de siège de Caubul, *peut être* je puis maintenir ma position dans cette ville, pour le temps que vous avez écrit; mais si une force avec les pièces (que nous avons perdu) arriveront ici, ce sera impossible; et avant cette époque nos chevaux moureront de faim. Il sera bien difficile et incertain de vous donner avis de mon intention de retirer, parce qu'à ce moment Mahomed Akbar est près, avec une force de deux milles hommes (qui s'augmente jour par jour), et à présent ses patrouilles et videttes parcourent tout le paya.

Rt. Sale, M. G.

Sale was too straight-forward and single-minded a man to be very clever at managing a disguise. He has certainly cloaked his ideas indifferently well in the above. Here is a characteristic letter from Nott to Pollock, written cordially under feelings of strong irritation :—

GENERAL NOTT TO GENERAL POLLOCK.

Candahar, 29th April, 1842.

My Dear General,—My last news from your side was of the 5th instant. I regret I am not on my way to Ghuzni. I am tied to this place. My troops have had no pay since December, 1841. I am in want of almost everything. I have not carriage even for three regiments; and I have not a rupee to buy or to hire cattle. For five months I have been calling for aid from Sindh—none whatever has been sent. At last Major-General England moved with money and stores, but received a check in Pishin, and then retired to Shawl! I have now been obliged to send the best part of my force to the Kojuk Pass, in hopes of getting the treasure and stores I have so long been expecting, and without which my small force is paralysed. It is dreadful to think of all this. I ought to have been on my way to extend my hand to you from Ghuzni; instead of which I am obliged to make a movement on the Kojuk. I have felt the want of cavalry. I have the Shah's first regiment, but I have never been able to *get them to charge*. My sepoys have behaved nobly, and have licked the Afghans in every affair, even when five times their number. The moment my brigade returns from the Kojuk, I move on Kelat i-Ghilzie and Ghuzni, in hopes of saving some of our officers and men at the latter place. Instead of sending me cavalry, money, &c., the authority in Sindh coolly says, "When you retire bodily, I hope to render you some assistance." I believe I shall go mad! I have much to say, but am confined to a slip of paper.

Yours sincerely,

W. Nott.

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We may as well append to this the letter relative to the despatch of the brigade to Bamian:—

GENERAL NOTT TO GENERAL POLLOCK.

Camp, 17th September, 1842.

My Dear General,—I have been favoured with your note of this date, in which you express a wish that I should detach a brigade towards Bamian. Before you decide on sending it, I would beg to state as follows:—

1st. The troops under my command have just made a long and very difficult march of upwards of 300 miles; and they have been continually marching about for the last six months, and most certainly require rest for a day or two;—the same with my camels and other cattle. I lost twenty-nine camels yesterday, and expect to-day's report will be double that number.

2nd. I am getting short of supplies for Europeans and natives; and I can see but little probability of getting a quantity equal to my daily consumption at this place. I have little or no money.

3rd. I have so many sick and wounded, that I fear I shall have the greatest inconvenience and difficulty in carrying them; and, should any unnecessary operations add to their number, they must be left to perish. If I remain here many days, I shall expect to lose half my cattle, which will render retirement very difficult.

4th. I sincerely think, that sending a small detachment will and must be followed by deep disaster. No doubt Mahomed Akbar, Shumshudin, and the other chiefs, are uniting their forces; and I hourly expect to hear that Sir R. Shakespear is added to the number of British prisoners. In my last affair with Shumshudin and Sultan Jan, they had 12,000 men; and my information is that two days ago they set out for Bamian.

5th. After much experience in this country, my opinion is that, if the system of sending out detachments should be adopted, disaster and ruin will follow.

6th. After bringing these things to your notice, showing that my men require rest for a day or two, that my camels are dying fast, and that my supplies are nearly expended, if you should order my force to be divided, I have nothing to do but implicitly to obey your orders; but, my dear General, I feel assured you will excuse me, when I most respectfully venture to protest against it under the circumstances above noted. I could have wished to have stated this in person to you, but I have been so very unwell for the last two months, that I am sure you will kindly excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

Wm. Nott.

From Pollock's correspondence we select the following letter to the Adjutant-General, relative to the reputed excesses committed by the troops. It refers to one addressed to the Governor-General, quoted in the work before us:—

FROM GENERAL POLLOCK TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

Dinapore, 18th April, 1843.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 29th ult., which awaited my arrival here. I regret that I was not sooner in possession of your letter, as I fear this will be too late for the purpose required. Nearly all the information it is in my power to give is contained in the accompanying copies of letters, which I have addressed to the Right Honorable the Governor General, in reply to a reference His Lordship was pleased to make to me. With respect to the extent of injury,

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done by the brigade under Brigadier Monteath, I am unable to give any detailed account. The provisions, grain, &c, and materials for building, were taken from those of the inhabitants, who were openly opposed to our troops; but, in both cases, the cost of things taken was carried to the account of Government. I have already, in my letters to His Lordship, stated that I am not aware of any Afghans having been killed, when unresisting, or from any feeling of revenge on the part of the troops. Torabuz Khan, the chief of Lollpora, and the governor of Jellalabad, accompanied the brigade to point out what property should be respected. With regard to the violation of women, I heard of no instance of the kind; and I am quite sure, that Brigadier Monteath would have done his utmost to prevent such excesses. I have stated to His Lordship what occurred at Mamu Kail; and I know most positively that no Afghan was killed on that occasion except in fair fighting. The families had, I believe, gone the day before the place was taken. I cannot say when, or by whom, the fort or adjoining houses were set fire to. I passed through with the right column in pursuit of the enemy, and did not return till the afternoon, when I had determined to encamp there. On my return I found Brigadier Tulloch with his column (the left) occupying the gardens. The fort and adjacent houses were still burning. On the return of the whole of the troops, it was necessary for their security to take advantage of the gardens surrounded by walls; and the men were accordingly encamped there. The destruction of the vines was a necessary consequence; as every one must know, who has seen how grapes are cultivated in Afghanistan. There were very few trees cut down; but the bark of a number of them was taken for about two or three inches. With reference to the third paragraph of your letter, I beg to state, that from the date of my arrival at Caubul on the 15th of September, the inhabitants commenced returning to their houses. They had assurances from me of protection; and, with the exception of the covered bazaar, I did my utmost to protect both the inhabitants and their dwellings from injury. I have already stated to His Lordship, why I considered that particular spot (the bazaar) should suffer; and, on the 9th of October, the engineer commenced his operations. I believe I am quite justified in stating that no lives were lost; the private property had been removed; and I had both cavalry and infantry on duty in the city to prevent plundering. Some injury was no doubt sustained by the city; but the damage done, even when we left it, was partial and comparatively trivial. I consider it mere justice to the troops, who proceeded under my command to Caubul, and who passed over scenes, which were particularly calculated to cause great excitement among them, to state that their conduct on proceeding to the Balla-Hissar (passing through a part of the city) was quite unexceptionable; and the good effect resulting therefrom was immediately felt: confidence was restored; in proof of which I may state that supplies, both of grain and forage, were brought in abundantly, everything being paid for. I have no memorandum from which to quote the exact quantities of grain which came into camp, but my recollection of the quantities in round numbers is as follows:—The first day 500 maunds; second day 1,000 maunds; third day 1,600 maunds; fourth day 2,000 maunds; fifth day 1,000 maunds. The falling off of the supplies on the fifth day was the consequence, I was told, of the men of General Nott's force having plundered those who were bringing in supplies. I wrote to General Nott on the subject; but from that period the supplies never came in so freely as before, and I am sorry to add that many complaints were made. I have hitherto been silent on this subject, and should have continued so, for reasons which it is perhaps unnecessary to explain; but, as the third paragraph of your letter calls

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for a more particular report, than I have hitherto made, I reluctantly forward the accompanying documents, upon which it is unnecessary for me to make any comments.

I beg, however, to state distinctly, that, until plundering commenced, supplies of every description were abundant, and the people were fast returning to the city. In reply to that part of the third paragraph, in which I am directed to state what injury, I understood, had been committed by the Candahar force after my march, I have merely to observe, that, from all I had heard, I thought it advisable that the whole force should move from Caubul the same day; and this precaution, I have reason to believe, prevented some excess.

In reply to the fourth paragraph, I believe I may with great truth state that no Afghans were destroyed in cold blood, either before or after reaching Caubul No women were either dishonoured, or murdered, that I am aware of. With regard to the destruction of that particular part of the Caubul bazaar, where the envoy's remains were treated with indignity, and brutally dragged through, to be there dishonoured and spit upon by every Mussulman, I admit that I considered it the most suitable place, in which to leave decided proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity.

I have, as directed by you, forwarded a copy of this letter and the original documents to Colonel Stewart, for the information of the Governor General.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.,

GEO. POLLOCK.

We append with great pleasure the following gratifying tribute to the forbearance and general good conduct of the troops, on entering Kábul, in September 1842:—

FROM GENERAL POLLOCK TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

Ghazipore, 10th April, 1843.

MY LORD,—Since I had the honour to address your Lordship on the 2nd instant, in reply to your Lordship's letter, dated the 23rd ultimo, it has occurred to me that I could not produce better proof of the forbearance of the troops under my command, than by a reference to their conduct on the morning of the 16th of September last. I have already officially detailed the number of troops, which accompanied me on the occasion of planting the colours in the Balla-Hissar. It was deemed advisable on that occasion to go through a part of the city. Although the troops had arrived only the day before from a march, which was abundantly calculated to irritate and exasperate them, they so fully and literally obeyed the orders I had previously given, that not a house or an individual was injured, either in going, or returning, from the Balla-Hissar. The destruction of the residence of Khoda Bux, the chief of Tízín, may perhaps have been considered an excess; I will therefore explain, that, during the time the army remained in advance of Tízín, the chief of that place was the cause of our communication being cut off. He was repeatedly warned what the consequences would be, when an opportunity offered, if he persisted in such a course; but I beg to add that the injury to the chief, in the destruction of his residence, entailed no loss on others that I am aware of, as the injury done was confined almost entirely to the fortified dwelling. Forage was found there, and brought to camp, but not an individual was injured.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

GEO. POLLOCK.

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Before we leave these military chiefs altogether, we must quote from these volumes an unpublished document from the pen of the greatest military chief of the age. It is a memorandum written by the Duke of Wellington, on reading Sir William Macnaghten's report on the commencement of the Ghilzie outbreak. The document has considerable *dramatic* interest; but we need scarcely say that its contents are more amusing, than they are important:—

COPY OF A MEMORANDUM BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, ON SIR W. MACNAGHTEN'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 26, 1841.

January 29th, 1842. *At night.*

It is impossible to read the letter from Mr. Macnaghten to the Secretary to the Government in India, without being sensible of the precarious and dangerous position of our affairs in Central Asia.

Mr. Macnaghten complains of reports against the King Shah Súja Khan and his government, as libels.

Of these we can know nothing; but I am convinced that no complaints or libels can be so strong, as the facts stated by Mr. Macnaghten in this letter.

It appears that when Mr. Macnaghten heard of the first symptoms and first acts of this rebellion, he prevailed upon the king to send a message to the rebels, inviting them to return to their allegiance.

The selection of the person sent is curious—Humza Khan, the Governor of Caubul. His mission failed, of course, says Mr. Macnaghten, because Humza Khan was the chief instigator of the rebellion!

We know in this country something of the customs of those countries—of the meaning of some of the native expressions in this letter. It appears that there are four thanahs, or posts, between Caubul and Gundamuck. A thanah is either a permanent or a temporary post, to guard a road or district of importance. We have seen who was the person selected to induce the rebels to submit; let us now see who were the persons appointed to take charge of these thanahs or posts in the disturbed country—those named in the subsequent part of the despatch, as the very men who were the leaders in the rebellion, in the attack, and destruction, and murder, of the East India Company's officers and troops!

No libels can state facts against the Afghan Government stronger than these.

But Mr. Macnaghten has discovered that the Company's troops are not sufficiently active personally, nor are they sufficiently well armed for the warfare in Afghanistan. Very possibly an Afghan will run over his native hills faster than an Englishman or a Hindu. But we have carried on war in hill countries, as well in Hindostan and the Deccan, as in the Spanish Peninsula; and I never heard that our troops were not equal, as well in personal activity as by their arms, to contend with and overcome any natives of any hills whatever. Mr. Macnaghten ought to have learnt by this time, that hill countries are not conquered, and their inhabitants kept in subjection, solely by running up the hills, and firing at long distances. The whole of a hill country, of which it is necessary to keep possession, particularly for the communications of the army, should be occupied by sufficient bodies of troops, well supplied, and capable of maintaining themselves; and not only, not a Ghilzye or insurgent should be able to run up and down hills, but not a cat or a goat, except under the fire of those occupying the hills. This is the mode of carrying on the war, and not by hiring Afghans with long matchlocks to protect and defend the communications of the British army.

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Shah Súja Khan may have in his service any troops that he and Mr. Macnaghten please. But if the troops in the service of the East India Company are not able, armed and equipped as they are, to perform the service required of them in Central Asia, I protest against their being left in Afghanistan. It will not do to raise, pay, and discipline matchlock-men, in order to protect the British troops and their communications, discovered by Mr. Macnaghten to be no longer able to protect themselves.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Having given these extracts from the illustrative documents in the work before us—extracts, however, which very imperfectly represent the documentary interest of the history of the war in Afghanistan (much of the most striking illustrative matter being so dove-tailed into the work itself as to be inseparable from the context), we now proceed to give a few extracts from the original matter. From the Introductory Book, we take the following, relative to—

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE'S MISSION.

The mission proceeded through Bekanier, Bahwulpore,* and Múltan; and, ever as they went, the most marked civility was shown to the British ambassadors. But one thing was wanting to render the feeling towards them a pervading sentiment of universal respect. They had not long crossed the frontier, before they discovered that a more liberal display of the facial characteristics of manhood would elevate them greatly in the eyes of a people, who are uniformly bearded and moustached.† Our officers

* It is worthy of remarki n this place, that Mr. Strachey, who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone's mission in the capacity of secretary, and who, on this, as on other occasions, evinced the possession of a high order of intellect, drew up a very able memorandum on the advantages of forming a connexion with Bahwul Khan. In this paper there occurs the following prescient passage :—"Bahwul Khan might also be induced, in the event of actual hostilities, to invade the territories of Runjeet Singh at any point we might suggest, and thereby form an important diversion, whilst the British army would be advancing from another quarter of the Sikh territory."—*MS. Records.*

† It is said that Mr. Elphinstone's mission received this hint from an European deserter, named Pensley, who had been entertained, in a military capacity, by Shah Súja. They might have learnt the lesson from Mr. Forster, who, twenty years before, had travelled in Afghanistan. That enterprising gentleman, a civil servant of the Company, found his beard of the greatest service. He suffered it to grow for fifteen months, and had reason to regret that, before he had wholly shaken off Eastern associations, he suffered the razor to profane it. Putting himself on board a Russian frigate in the Caspian, he thought that he might reduce his face to its old European aspect; but he tells us that "The Ghilan envoy, then proceeding on the frigate, expressed surprise to see me, whom he thought a Mahomedan, eating at the same board with the Russian gentlemen; but when he saw a barber commencing an operation on my beard, which I took the opportunity of having shaved, he evinced great amazement and indignation, nor did he, until repeatedly informed of my real character, cease his reprehension of the act; during the process of which he threw on me many a look of contempt. When the barber began to cut off the mustachios, he several times, in a peremptory manner, required him to desist, and, seeing them gone, 'Now', said he, 'of whatever country or sect you may be, your disgrace is complete, and you look like a woman.' Thus, after a growth of fifteen months fell my beard, which in that period had increased to a great magnitude, both in length and breadth, though it had been somewhat shrivelled by the severity of the late winters. When you advert to the general inportance of an Asiatic beard, to the essential services which mine had rendered, and to our long and intimate association, I trust that this brief introduction of it to your notice will not be deemed impertinent. This operation of cutting it ought, however, to have been postponed till my arrival at Astracan."

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have ever since carefully abstained from incurring this reproach; and it may be doubted whether, ever again, any hint will be required to stimulate them to encourage an Asiatic development of hair on the lower part of the face.

I do not intend to trace the progress of the mission. The story has been told with historical fidelity and graphic distinctness, in a book which is still, after the lapse of nearly forty years, the delight of Anglo-Indian readers, and which future generations of writers and cadets will turn to with undiminished interest. On the 25th of February, the Mission entered Peshawur. Crowds of wondering inhabitants came out to gaze at the representatives of the nation, which had reduced the Great Mogul to a shadow, and seated itself on the throne of Tippú. Pushing forward, with the outstretched neck of eager curiosity, they blocked up the public ways. The royal body-guards rode among the foot-passengers, lashed at them with their whips, tilted with their lances at grave spectators sitting quietly in their own balconies, and cleared the way as best they could But, fast as they dispersed the thronging multitude, it closed again around the novel cavalcade. Through this motley crowd of excited inhabitants, the British mission was with difficulty conducted to a house prepared for them by royal mandate. Seated on rich carpets, fed with sweetmeats, and regaled with sherbet, every attention was paid to the European strangers. The hospitality of the king was profuse. His fortunes were then at a low ebb; but he sent provisions to the mission for two thousand men, with food for beasts of burden in proportion, and was with difficulty persuaded to adopt a less costly method of testifying his regal cordiality and respect.

Some dispute about forms of presentation delayed the reception of the English ambassadors But in a few days everything was arranged for the grand ceremonial to take place on the 5th of March. When the eventful day arrived, they found the king, with that love of outward pomp which clung to him to the last, sitting on a gilded throne, crowned, plumed, and arrayed in costly apparel. The royal person was a blaze of jewellery, conspicuous among which the Koh-i-núr, destined in after days to undergo such romantic vicissitudes, glittered in a gorgeous bracelet upon the arm of the Shah. Welcoming the English gentlemen with a graceful cordiality, he expressed a hope that the King of England and all the English nation were well, presented the officers of the embassy with dresses of honour, and then, dismissing all but Mr. Elphinstone and his secretary, proceeded to the business of the interview. Listening attentively to all that was advanced by the British envoy, he professed himself eager to accede to his proposals, and declared that England and Caubul were designed by the Creator to be united by bonds of everlasting friendship. The presents, which Mr. Elphinstone had taken with him to Afghanistan, were curious and costly; and, now that they were exposed to the view of the Shah, he turned upon them a face scintillating with pleasure, and eagerly expressed his delight. His attendants, with a cupidity that there was no attempt to conceal, laid their rapacious hands upon everything that came in their way, and scrambled for the articles, which were not especially appropriated by their royal master. Thirty years afterwards, the memory of these splendid gifts raised longing expectations in the minds of the courtiers of Caubul, and caused bitter disappointment and disgust, when Captain Burnes appeared with his pins and needles and little articles of hardware, such as would have disgraced the wallet of a pedlar of low repute.*

* It was the very costliness of these presents, and the lavish expenditure of the entire Mission, that gave the death-blow to the system of diplomatic extravagance, which had

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At subsequent interviews, the impression made by the Shah upon the minds of the English diplomatists was of a description very favourable to the character of the Afghan ruler. Mr. Elphinstone was surprised to find that the Douranee monarch had so much of the "manners of a gentleman," and that he could be affable and dignified at the same time. But he had much domestic care to distract him at this epoch, and could not fix his mind intently on foreign politics. His country was in a most unsettled condition. His throne seemed to totter under him. He was endeavouring to collect an army, and was projecting a great military expedition. He hoped to see more of the English gentlemen, he said, in more prosperous times. At present, the best advice that he could give them was that they should retire beyond the frontier. So, on the 14th of June, the Mission turned its back upon Peshawur, and set out for the provinces of Hindostan.

From the chapter on Dost Muhammad and the Barukzyes, some portion of which has appeared in a rougher shape in these pages, we take some remarks on the influence of the Dourani tribes upon the government of the day, and the efforts made by the Barukzye Sirdars to keep them under controul:—

DOST MUHAMMAD AND THE DOURANIS.

Upon one particular phase of Barukzye policy, it is necessary to speak more in detail. Under the Suddozye kings, pampered and privileged, the Dourani tribes had waxed arrogant and overbearing, and had in time erected themselves into a power capable of shaping the destinies of the empire. With one hand they held down the people, and with the other menaced the throne. Their sudden change of fortune seems to have unhinged and excited them. Bearing their new honours with little meekness, and exercising their new powers with little moderation, they revenged their past sufferings on the unhappy people whom they supplanted; and, partly by fraud, partly by extortion, stripped the native cultivators of the last remnant of property left to them on the new allocation of the lands. In the revolutions, which had rent the country throughout the early years of the century, it had been the weight of Dourani influence, which had ever turned the scale. They held, indeed, the crown at their disposal, and, seeking their own aggrandisement, were sure to array themselves on the side of the prince, who was most liberal of his promises to the tribes. The danger of nourishing such a power as this was not overlooked by the sagacious minds of the Barukzyes. They saw clearly the policy of treading down the Douranis, and soon began to execute it.

In the revolution, which had overthrown the Suddozye dynasty, the tribes had taken no active part, and the Barukzye Sirdars had risen to power, neither by their aid, nor in spite of their opposition. A long succession of sanguinary civil wars, which had deprived them, one by one, of the leaders to whom they looked for guidance and support, had so enfeebled

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been favoured by the Elphinstones and Malcolms. When the accounts of the Afghan and Persian missions came before the Governor-General in Council, Lord Minto stood aghast at the enormous expenditure, and, in a stringent minute, recorded "his deliberate opinion, that the actual expenditure has far exceeded the necessity of the occasion—that the personal expenses of the Envoys might have been limited with respect both to the nature and extent of the items composing them—and that the provision of articles for presents, to an extent so enormous as that exhibited in the accounts of these missions, has been regulated by a principle of distribution unnecessarily profuse."—*MS. Records.*

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and prostrated them, that but a remnant of their former power was left. No immediate apprehension of danger from such a source darkened the dawn of the Barukzye brethren's career. But to be cast down was not to be broken—to be enfeebled was not to be extinct. There were too much elasticity and vitality in the order for such accidents as this to subject it to more than temporary decline. The Douranis were still a privileged class; still were they fattening upon the immunities granted them by the Suddozye kings. To curtail these privileges and immunities, would be to strike at the source of their dominant influence and commanding strength; and the Barukzye Sirdars, less chivalrous than wise, determined to strike the blow, whilst, crippled and exhausted, the Douranis had little power to resist the attack. Even then they did not venture openly and directly to assail the privileges of the tribes by imposing an assessment of their lands, in lieu of the obligation to supply horsemen for the service of the state—an obligation which had for some time past been practically relaxed—but they began cautiously and insidiously to introduce "the small end of the wedge," by taxing the Ryots or Humsayehs of the Douranis, whose various services, not only as cultivators, but as artificers, had rendered them, in the estimation of their powerful masters, a valuable kind of property, to be protected from foreign tyranny that they might better bear their burdens at home. These taxes were enforced with a rigour intended to offend the Dourani chiefs; but the trials, to which they were then subjected, but faintly fore-shadowed the greatest trials to come.

Little by little, the Barukzye Sirdars began to attach such vexatious conditions to the privileges of the Douranis—so to make them run the gauntlet to all kinds of exactions, short of the direct assessment of their lands—that, in time, harassed, oppressed, impoverished by these more irregular imposts, and anticipating every day the development of some new form of tyranny and extortion, they were glad to exchange them for an assessment of a more fixed and definite character. From a minute detail of the measures adopted by the Barukzye Sirdars, with the double object of raising revenue and breaking down the remaining strength of the Douranis, the reader would turn away with weariness and impatience; but this matter of Dourani taxation has too much to do with the after-history of the war in Afghanistan, for me to pass it by in this place, without at least a slight recognition of its importance.

The chapter on the "Commercial Mission to Caubul," which opens the second book, affords us the following on—

LORD AUCKLAND AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RUSSO-PHOBIA.

Nor did the early days of his government disappoint the expectations of those who had looked for a pains-taking, laborious administrator, zealous in the prosecution of measures calculated to develop the resources of the country, and to advance the happiness of the people. It appeared, indeed, that with something less of the uncompromising energy and self-denying honesty of Lord William Bentinck, but with an equal purity of benevolence, he was treading in the footsteps of his predecessor. The promotion of native education, and the expansion of the industrial resources of the country, were pursuits far more congenial to his nature than the assembling of armies and the invasion of empires. He had no taste for the din and confusion of the camp; no appetite for foreign conquest. Quiet and unobtrusive in his manners, of a somewhat cold and impassive temperament, and altogether of a reserved and retiring nature, he was not one to court excitement, or to desire notoriety. He would fain have passed his allotted years of office in the prosecution of those small measures of domestic reform, which, individually,

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attract little attention, but, in the aggregate, affect mightily the happiness of the people. He belonged, indeed, to that respectable class of governors, whose merits are not sufficiently prominent to demand ample recognition by his contemporaries, but whose noiseless unapplauded achievements entitle them to the praise of the historian and the gratitude of after-ages.

It was not possible, however intently his mind might have been fixed upon the details of internal administration, that he should have wholly disregarded the aggressive designs of Persia, and the obvious intrigues of the Russian Government. The letters from time to time by the British minister at the Persian Court were read at first, in the Calcutta Council-Chamber, with a vague interest, rather than with any excited apprehensions. It was little anticipated that a British army would soon be encamped before the fortresses of Afghanistan; but it was plain that events were taking shape in Central Asia, over which the British-Indian Government could not afford to slumber. At all events, it was necessary in such a conjuncture to get together some little body of facts, and to acquire some historical and geographical information relating to the countries lying between the Indian frontier and the eastern boundaries of the Russian Empire. Secretaries then began to write "notes," and members of Council to study them. Summaries of political events, genealogical trees, tables of routes and distances, were all in great requisition during the first years of Lord Auckland's administration. The printed works of Elphinstone, Conolly, and Burnes, of Malcolm and Fraser, were to be seen on the breakfast-tables of our Indian statesmen, or in their hands, as they were driven to Council. Then came Sir John M'Neill's startling pamphlet on the Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East. M'Neill, Urquhart, and others, were writing up the Eastern question at home; reviewers and pamphleteers of smaller note were rushing into the field with their small collections of facts and arguments. It was demonstrated past contradiction, that, if Russia were not herself advancing by stealthy steps towards India, she was pushing Persia forward in the same easterly direction. If all this was not very alarming, it was, at least, worth thinking about. It was plainly the duty of Indian statesmen to acquaint themselves with the politics of Central Asia, and the geography of the countries through which the invasion of India must be attempted. It was only right that they should have been seen tracing on incorrect maps the march of a Russian army from St. Petersburg to Calcutta, by every possible and impossible route, now floundering among the inhospitable steppes, now parching on the desert of Merve. The Russian army might not come at last; but it was clearly the duty of an Indian statesman to know how it would endeavour to come.

A long chapter is devoted to a detailed account of the siege of Herat. Perhaps the chapter is a little out of proportion to the general dimensions of the work; but it is to be remembered that the siege lasted nearly a year, and was the origin of the war in Afghanistan. The details, too, are altogether novel. Hitherto, we have seen the siege of Herat, as it has been somewhat dimly represented by spectators in the Persian camp. We now see it from the Herat side, and learn for the first time particulars of the defence. Here we catch a glimpse of Yar Mahomed's

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF HERAT.

Matters now began to wear a more alarming aspect. Cursing with his whole heart the cowardice or treachery of his brother, who, almost without

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a struggle, had shamefully surrendered his charge,* Yar Mahomed, with increased vigour, addressed himself to the defence of the city. The gates were closed against all egress. The people poured into Herat in floods from the surrounding country. In every house were huddled together the members of five or six families. The very ruins were thickly tenanted. But still the streets were alive with throngs of people seeking habitations in the city. Everywhere excitement and alarm were visible in the countenances and the gestures of the Heratis. It was a strange and fearful conjuncture, and no man felt himself secure. A fiat had gone forth for the apprehension of all persons of doubtful loyalty. Many, suspected of infidelity, were seized, their persons imprisoned, and their property confiscated; whilst others, in whom the spirit of rebellion had been more clearly evidenced, were plunged, with all their family and dependents, into one great sea of ruin. When it was known that Shumsud-din Khan,† an Afghan chief of note, had thrown off his allegiance to Herat, all his Persian dependents were seized and stripped of all they possessed. Some were tortured, some were sent into slavery, and some were condemned to death. The women and children were sold or given away. Those of the Afghan tribes were more mercifully treated; but few escaped imprisonment and fine. Nor were even the priesthood spared. The Múllahs of the Shiah sect were arrested and confined, lest they should stir up intrigue and disaffection among the people.

Whilst these precautions against internal revolt were taken by the Shah and his unscrupulous minister, actively and unceasingly they laboured to defend the city against the enemy advancing from without. The fortifications now began to bristle with armed soldiers. The hammer of the artificer rang upon the guns in the embrasures. The spade of the workman was busy upon the ramparts. Eager for the foray, the trooper mounted his horse, and scoured the country to cut off stragglers. But still the Persian army moved forward in that compact and well-ordered mass, which had baffled the efforts, and kindled the indignation of marauders, along their whole line of march. Soon the contest actually commenced. On the 22nd of November, the advanced guard of the Persian army took up its position on the plain to the north-west of the city. Watching its opportunity, the Afghan horse charged the enemy's cavalry with success, and then fell upon an infantry regiment, which stood firm, and repulsed the attack. The Persian field artillery opened briskly upon the Afghan force. A couple of guns in the city replied to them: whilst a party of Afghan horsemen, dismounted, crept under cover, and with their long rifle-barrelled matchlocks, fired on the Persian gunners. Upon this, skirmishers were sent out by the Persians, who turned the flank of the Afghans, and forced them back to the position

* This was Yar Mahomed's first angry view of the case; but it may be doubted whether Shere Mahomed Khan was fairly to be censured for the loss of Ghorian. Of small dimensions, and unfurnished with bomb-proofs, the place was ill calculated to sustain the heavy vertical fire of shot and shell, which the Persian artillery poured into it. A magazine and store-house took fire; and, at the time of its surrender, Colonel Stoddart pronounced it to be quite untenable.

† Shums-ud-din Khan of Herat was a Populzye nobleman of very good family, and in great favour with Shah Kamran, before the commencement of the siege of Herat. His sister was the Shah's favourite wife; and he was entirely in his Majesty's confidence. A position of so much power, however, made Yar Mahomed his enemy; and it was to escape the minister's persecution, that he deserted to the Persian camp on the approach of the invading army. Had he remained in the city, he would certainly have been imprisoned, or assassinated; for the Shah was powerless to protect him. It was surmised, indeed, that his Majesty counselled, or at any rate connived at, his flight, as his only means of escape.

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which they had taken up before. No advantage was gained by either party. But the contest was now fairly commenced.

The siege was soon in operation; but at first it did not proceed with much vigour. For the first time, the two contending forces were brought vigorously together, on the 20th of January—more than ten months after the commencement of the siege. We may as well quote the following account of an

ACTION BEFORE HERAT.

It was a fine bright morning. The whole city was in an unusual state of excitement Partly impelled by curiosity, partly moved by a more laudable ambition to fill the places of those whose services were required beyond the walls, the citizens flocked to the ramparts. Along the whole eastern face of the fortifications, the parapets and towers were alive with men. "The old Afghans and relatives of the military," writes Pottinger, "in like manner crowded the fausse-braie. I do not think that less than 7,000 men were assembled on one side in view of the enemy." The scene on which they looked down was a most exciting one. It stirred the hearts of that eager multitude as the heart of one man. The Afghan cavalry, on issuing from the city, had spread themselves over the open country to the east, and the foot-men had taken possession of a neighbouring village and its surrounding gardens. The Persian videttes had fallen back; the trenches and batteries had been manned; and the reserves had stood to their arms, when, looking down from the ramparts, the excited Heratis saw the Persian Sirdar, Mahomed Khan., with a large body of troops, prepare himself for an offensive movement, and push onward to the attack. At the head of the column was the Persian cavalry. As soon as they appeared in sight, the Afghan horse streamed across the plain, and poured itself full upon the enemy.

The charge of the Afghans was a gallant and a successful one. Whilst the ramparts of Herat rang with the excited acclamations of "*Shabash! Shabash! Chuh Rustum-any!*" (Bravo! Bravo! conduct worthy of Rustum himself!"), the Persian column gave way before its impetuous assailants, and retreated amongst the buildings from which it had debouched. For a short time the progress of the struggle was lost sight of by the gazers on the ramparts; but the sharp, quick rattle of the musketry, the loud booming of the guns, and the columns of dust that rose against the clear sky, told that the infantry and artillery had covered the retreat of the Persian horsemen. The tide of victory now turned against the Afghan force The Heratis, who before had driven back the Persian cavalry, were now in turn driven back by the enemy. The squadrons in the rear, instead of closing up, wheeled about; and the whole column was soon in flight. Recovering themselves, however, for a short time, the struggle was briefly renewed on the plain; but, the Persian horse, being well supported by the infantry planted in the gardens on both sides, whilst the rear of the Afghan cavalry afforded no support to the troops in front, the flight of the Heratis was renewed, and a gun was brought to bear upon their retreating columns. With varying success the battle was continued throughout the day. Towards evening, the Afghans regained the advantage which they had lost at an earlier period of the engagement; and, as the shades of evening fell over the scene, the Persians evacuated the posts they had occupied, and the Afghans were left in possession of the field. The engagement, though a long, was not a sanguinary one. The loss on the side

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of the Afghans was not estimated at more than twenty-five or thirty killed. The Heratis, of course, claimed the victory; but the Sheah inhabitants, who had made their way to the walls of the city, and were among the spectators of the fight, could not repress their inclination to sneer at a success of so dubious a character.* To the young English officer, who had watched the events of the day, it was very clear that neither army was of a very formidable character. The Afghan cavalry made a better show than that of the enemy; but in the infantry branch the advantage was greatly on the side of the Persians. The whole affair was nothing better than a series of skirmishes, now resulting in favour of one party, now of another. But the crafty Wuzir boasted of it as a great triumph; and, on the following morning, went round to all those parts of the works, from which the scene below could not be observed, rendering a highly embellished account of the events of that memorable day. "Though so changed," says Pottinger, "that scarcely any one could recognise it, those who had been present in the fight, finding themselves such heroes, commenced swelling and vapouring. The soldiery gathered round in the greatest excitement, and their opinion of their own superiority to the Persians was greatly increased. Many of them would say, "If we had but guns!" Others, evidently disliking the Persian cannon, would improve on this, and say, "Ah! if the infidels had no guns, we would soon send them away."

Far more interesting, however, than this, is the account of the great Russian-directed assault of the Persians, in the summer of that year, when Yar Mahomed's courage for the first time gave way, and, only by Pottinger's vigorous exertions, was he brought to make a last gallant effort for the repulse of the stormers. Some vague accounts of this incident have already appeared in print. We now have it before us, for the first time, in an authentic shape, and one differing considerably from that in which it has hitherto appeared.

Our extracts have extended to such a length, that we must now proceed *per saltum* to the second of the volumes before us and throw ourselves at once into the midst of the Kábul insurrection. Here is an account of the

DEATH OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

The houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnson, the paymaster of the Shah's troops, were contiguous to each other in the city. On the preceding night, Captain Johnson had slept in cantonments. The expectant Resident was at home. Beneath his roof was his brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, and Lieutenant William Broadfoot, an officer of rare merit, who had been selected to fill the office of military secretary to the new minister, and had just come in from Charekar to enter upon

* Contending emotions of sympathy, now with their co-religionists, and now with their fellow-citizens, agitated the breasts of the Heratis. "I went," writes Pottinger, on the 2nd of February, "to see a Shiah: he was grieving over the fate which hung over him; one moment cursing Mahomed Shah's pusillanimity—the next, the Afghan tyranny. But, through the whole of his discontent, I observed he felt a sort of pride and satisfaction in being the countryman of those, who set the Persians at defiance. But he appeared fully impressed with the idea that the city must fall: whilst the Afghans, I had just left, were talking of plundering Teheran with the aid of our artillery and infantry."

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his new duties It was now the anniversary of the day on which his brother had been slain by Dost Mahomed's troopers, in the disastrous affair of Purwundurrah; and it must have been with some melancholy recollections of the past, and some dismal forebodings of the future, that he now looked down from the upper gallery of Burnes's house, upon the angry crowd that was gathering beneath it.

Before daylight on that disastrous morning, an Afghan friend sought admittance to Burnes's house, eager to warn him of the danger, with which he was encompassed. A plot had been hatched on the preceding night; and one of its first objects was said to be the assassination of the new Resident. But Burnes had nothing but incredulity to return to such friendly warnings. The man went. The insurgents were gathering. Then came Usman Khan, the Wuzir, crossing Burnes's threshold, with the same ominous story on his lips.* It was no longer permitted to the English officer to wrap himself up in an impenetrable cloak of scepticism. Already was there a stir in the streets. Already was an excited populace assembling beneath his windows. Earnestly the Afghan minister spoke of the danger, and implored Burnes to leave his house—to accompany him to the Balla Hissar, or to seek safety in cantonments. The Englishman, deaf to these appeals, confident that he could quell the tumult, and scorn-

* "Before daylight a well-wisher of Burnes came to report to him that a plan had been hatched during the night, which had for its chief object his murder. Unfortunately Sir Alexander could not be convinced that the man was telling the truth, and paid no heed to what he said. Shortly after, the Wuzir, Usman Khan, arrived (by this time the mob was assembling). The Wuzir urged him to leave his house, and proceed to cantonments. Sir Alexander scorned the idea of quitting his house, as he had every hope of quelling the disturbance; and, let the worst come to the worst, he felt too well assured that neither the Envoy nor General would permit him to be sacrificed, whilst in the performance of his public duty, so long as there were 6,000 men within two miles of him."—[*Captain Johnson's Journal. MS. Records*] "The King's ministers went to Burnes early in the morning of the 2nd, and warned him of what was about to happen—of the danger of remaining in his house—and requested him to accompany him to the Balla Hissar; but he was deaf to all entreaties, incredulous and persevered in disbelief that any outbreak was intended; yet I am told he wrote into cantonments for a military force to protect him."—[*Letter of Brigadier Shelton. MS. Records.*] The statement of Captain Johnson to the effect that a native friend warned Burnes early in the morning of the 2nd of November, that his life was in danger, is confirmed by Lieutenant Eyre, who says that the man's name was Taj Mahomed. But Bhow Singh, Burnes's chuprassie, the only surviving witness of what passed in that officer's house upon the fatal morning, says that his master did not wake before the arrival of the Wuzir; and that the man (Wulli Mahomed by name), who had called to warn Burnes of his danger, was not admitted, nor was his message ever delivered. "On the day of the murder," says this witness, "as early as three o'clock in the morning, a Cossid (Wulli Mahomed) came to me. I was on duty outside; he said, 'Go, and inform your master immediately that there is a tumult in the city, and that the merchants are removing their goods and valuables from the shops.' I knew what my master had said on the subject the day before; so I did not like awaking him, but put on my chuprass and went to the Char Chouk. Here I met the Wuzir, Nizam-ud-Dowlah, going towards my master's house. I immediately turned with him, and on my arrival awoke my master, who dressed quickly, and went to the Wuzir, and talked to him some time." As this man speaks of what he saw, and what he did on the morning of the 2nd of November, I conceive that his evidence is the best that is now obtainable. He states that "Sir Alexander Burnes was duly informed by his Afghan servants, the day previous to his murder, that there was a stir in the city, and that, if he remained in it, his life would be in danger: they told him he had better go to the cantonments; this he declined doing, giving as his reason that the Afghans never received any injury from him, but, on the contrary, he had done much for them, and that he was quite sure they would never injure him." The visit of Taj Mahomed must have been paid on the day before the outbreak.

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ing the idea of quitting his post, rejected the friendly counsel of the Wuzír, and remained to face the fury of the mob.

But even to Alexander Burnes, incredulous of imminent danger as he was, it seemed necessary to do something. He wrote to the Envoy, calling for support. And he sent messengers to Abdúllah Khan. Two chuprassies were despatched to the Achetzkye chief, assuring him that, if he would restrain the populace from violence, every effort would be made to adjust the grievances complained of by the people and the chiefs. One only of the messengers returned. He brought back nothing but wounds. The message had cost the other his life.

In the mean while, from a gallery in the upper part of his house, Burnes was haranguing the mob. Beside him were his brother and his friend. The crowd before his house increased in number and in fury. Some were thirsting for blood; others were greedy only for plunder. He might as well have addressed himself to a herd of savage beasts. Angry voices were lifted up in reply, clamouring for the lives of the English officers. And too surely did they gain the object of their desires. Broadfoot, who sold his life dearly, was the first to fall. A ball struck him on the chest; and the dogs of the city devoured his remains.

It was obvious now that nothing was to be done by expostulation—nothing by forbearance. The violence of the mob was increasing. That, which at first had been an insignificant crowd, had now become a great multitude. The treasury of the Shah's paymaster was before them; and hundreds, who had no wrongs to redress and no political animosity to vent, rushed to the spot, hungering after the spoil which lay so temptingly at hand. The streets were waving with a sea of heads; and the opposite houses were alive with people. It was no longer possible to look unappalled upon that fearful assemblage. A party of the insurgents had set fire to Burnes's stables;* had forced their way into his garden; and were calling to him to come down. His heart now sank within him. He saw clearly the danger that beset him—saw that the looked-for aid from cantonment had failed him in the hour of his need. Nothing now was left to him, but to appeal to the avarice of his assailants. He offered them large sums of money, if they would only spare his own and his brother's life. Their answer was a repetition of the summons to "come down to the garden." Charles Burnes and a party of chuprassies were, at this time, firing on the mob. A Mussulman Cashmerian, who had entered the house, swore by the Koran that, if they would cease firing upon the insurgents, he would convey Burnes and his brother through the garden in safety to the Kuzzilbash Fort. Disguising himself in some articles of native attire, Burnes accompanied the man to the door. He had stepped but a few paces into the garden, when his conductor called out with a loud voice, "This is Sekunder Burnes!" The infuriated mob fell upon him with frantic energy. A frenzied mullah dealt the first murderous blow; and in a minute the work was complete. The brothers were cut to pieces by the Afghan knives. Naib Sheriff, true to the last, buried their mutilated remains.

From this painful scene we turn to something still more painful:—

GENERAL ELPHINSTONE.

The officers who served under General Elphinstone throughout this

* Hadji Khan, who had been Kutwal of the city, and had been removed through Burnes's instrumentality, is said to have brought fuel for the purpose from some contiguous *hummams*, or baths.

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unhappy crisis have invariably spoken of him with tenderness and respect. He was an honourable gentleman—a kind-hearted man—and he had once been a good soldier. His personal courage has never been questioned. Regardless of danger, and patient under trial, he exposed himself without reserve, and bore his sufferings without complaining. But disease had broken down his physical strength, and enfeebled his understanding. He had almost lost the use of his limbs. He could not walk; he could hardly ride. The gout had crippled him in a manner, that it was painful to contemplate. You could not see him engaged in the most ordinary concerns of peaceful life without an emotion of lively compassion. He was fit only for the invalid establishment on the day of his arrival in India. It was a mockery to talk of his commanding a division of the army in the quietest district of Hindostan. But he was selected by Lord Auckland, against the advice of the Commander-in-Chief and the remonstrances of the Agra Governor, to assume the command of that division of the army, which, of all others, was most likely to be actively employed, and which demanded, therefore, the greatest amount of energy and activity in its commander. Among the general officers of the Indian army were many able and energetic men, with active limbs and clear understandings. There was one—a cripple, whose mental vigour much suffering had enfeebled; and *he* was selected by the Governor-General to command the army in Afghanistan.

Ever since his arrival at the head-quarters, Caubul, he had been, in his own words, "unlucky in the state of his health." From the beginning of May to the beginning of October he had been suffering, with little intermission, from fever and rheumatic gout. Sometimes he had been confined wholly to his couch; at others he was enabled to go abroad in a palanquin. During one or two brief intervals he had sufficiently recovered his strength to trust himself on the back of a horse. He was in the enjoyment of one of these intervals—but expecting every day to relinquish a burden, which he was so ill able to bear*—when, on the 2nd of November, whilst inspecting the Guards, he "had a very severe fall—the horse falling upon him;"† and he was compelled to return to his quarters. From that time, though he never spared himself, it was painfully obvious that the Caubul army was without a chief. The General was perplexed—bewildered. He was utterly without resources of his own. A crisis had come upon him, demanding all the energies of a robust constitution and a vigorous understanding; and it had found him, with a frame almost paralysed by disease, and a mind quite clouded by suffering. He had little knowledge of the political condition of Afghanistan; of the feelings of the people; of the language they spoke; or the country they inhabited. He was compelled, therefore, to rely upon the information of others, and to seek the advice of those, with whom he was associated. So circumstanced, the ablest and most confident general would have been guided by the counsels of the British envoy. But General Elphinstone was guided by every man's counsels—generally by the last speaker's—by captains and subalterns, by any one who had a plan to propose, or any kind of advice to offer. He was, therefore, in a constant state of oscillation; now inclining to one opinion, now to another; now determining upon a course of action, now abandoning it; the resolutions of one hour giving way before the doubts of its successor, until, in the midst of

* He had sent in a medical certificate some time before, and received permission to return to Hindostan. He was to have accompanied the Envoy.

† Memorandum found among the effects of the late Major-General Elphinstone, C. B., in his own hand-writing.

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these vacillations, the time to strike passed away for ever, and the loss was not to be retrieved.

In such a conjuncture, there could have been no greater calamity than the feeble indecision of the military commander. Promptitude of action was the one thing demanded by the exigencies of the occasion; but, instead of promptitude of action, there was nothing but hesitation and incertitude—long delays and small doings, worse than nothing—paltry demonstrations, looking as though they were expressly designed as revelations either of lamentable weakness, or folly more lamentable still. To the Envoy all this was miserably apparent. It was apparent to the whole garrison. It was not possible altogether to supersede the General. He was willing, with all his incompetency, to serve his country, and there was no authority in Afghanistan to remove him from his command. But something, it was thought, might be done by associating with him, in the command of the cantonment force, an officer of a more robust frame and more energetic character. Brigadier Shelton was known to be an active and a gallant soldier. Macnaghten counselled his recall from the Balla Hissar, and the General believing, or perhaps only hoping, that he would find a willing coadjutor in the Brigadier, despatched a note to him with instructions to come into cantonment.

We have taken these passages at random, and seriously think that they give a very fair idea of the character of the work before us; but the most interesting portions of the book are so inseparably mixed up with their contexts, that we have found it difficult, if not impossible, to extract them. The chief value of the work resides in its undoubted authenticity. Almost every assertion is supported by authority, quoted either in the text, the margin, or the *appendix;* and the authorities so quoted are mostly original authorities. We are precluded from expressing any opinion regarding the literary merits of the work; but we may express our belief that it has been undertaken and carried out in good faith, and that the author at least has a strong conviction that it contains nothing at variance with the truth.

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ART. IX.—*Sketch of Mairwara; giving a brief account of the origin and habits of the Mairs; their subjugation by a British force; their civilization, and conversion into an industrious peasantry. With descriptions of various works of irrigation in Mairwara and Ajmir, constructed to facilitate the operations of agriculture, and guard the district against drought and famine. Illustrated with Maps, Plans and Views. By Lieut.-Colonel C. G. Dixon, Bengal Artillery, Superintendent Ajmir and Mairwara, and Commandant Mairwara Local Battalion. London.* 1850.

WHERE is Mairwara? What kind of a country is it? Why should a quarto-book be published about it rather than about hundreds of other districts? Whosoever wishes a full and complete answer to these questions will find it in the volume before us. For those who will be satisfied with less than a full and complete answer, but yet seek somewhat more information than is furnished by Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, we shall endeavour to make provision in the present article. But our object will not be fully attained, unless we can convert some of the seekers of a little information into seekers of full information; unless our readers be so pleased with the pre-gustation we intend to furnish them withal, that they will proceed with a whetted appetite to the perusal of Colonel Dixon's volume.

Having mentioned Hamilton, we may as well extract all that he tells us about the district in question: we shall have an opportunity in the sequel of examining the accuracy of the information that he affords.

"MARWAR *(Marawa)*—A large and ancient division of the 'Ajmir province, situated principally between the 26th and 28th 'degrees of N. latitude: but in modern times better known 'as the Raja of Joudpur's territories. In former times the word 'Marwar, as including the town and fortress of Ajmir, became 'almost synonymous with the name of the province. The word 'Marawa signifies any dry desert soil, possibly from maru, 'desert, and stholi, dry land, a region where one dies. The 'table-land or plateau of Marwar (if so irregularly mountainous 'a country deserve such an appellation) rises towards the South, 'the Marwar range being probably 1,000 feet above Mewar, and 'some of the mountainous peaks 2,000 feet above that plain and 'the valley of the Nerbudda. The most elevated of the Abu 'mountains, as indicated by the barometer, has been estimated 'at 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, the summit producing 'European fruits and shrubs. This division of Rajputana has

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'been possessed by the Rhatore tribe for many ages, and con-
'tains many forts and strong-holds, now mostly subject to
'Joudpúr. On investigation, the Missionaries found that the
'Lord's Prayer in the Marwar language contained twenty-eight
'of the thirty-two words particularized in the Bengalese and
'Hindustani specimens.

'Besides the regular Hindu and Muhammadan population, this
'district is partly occupied by savage and predatory races, who
'frequently require the active interference of the British troops
'stationed at Nussirabad. One of these, Mhairs (a race resem-
'bling the Bhils,) inhabit the Marwar hills, named Mhairwara,
'and have given much trouble, both to their neighbours and to
'the British functionaries in Rajputana. Their religion does
'not seem clearly ascertained; but the Brahminical and Mussul-
'man influence is probably by this time diffused among them.
'In 1820, it became necessary to march a detachment against them,
'which captured Hallún, their principal fortress, and routed
'them from many of their strong-holds. Another turbulent and
'thievish race are the Minas, but in what they differ from
'Mhairs, and from low-caste Hindus and Muhammadans, Bhils,
'Gonds, Kulis, Katties and other wild and predatory hill races,
'has never been properly investigated. In 1819 they also were
'driven out of their fortresses, and the whole country scoured, un-
'til they submitted to the amicable arrangements dictated by the
'British Government. It is certainly desirable to ascertain what
'peculiar circumstances have led to the superior barbarity of the
'Mhairs and Minas scattered over the hill country of Sarowy,
'Joudpur, and Jeypur: but it is likely they were as much sin-
'ned against by the neighbouring powers as they themselves sin-
'ned; for, on British protection being notified to them in 1821,
'many Bhils and Minas left their haunts among the hills and
'settled in their former villages, and disciplined corps of these
'robbers were established to enforce honesty among their neigh-
'bours.

'In 1811, the annual fall of rain, never abundant, failed in
'Marwar, which, in addition to the desolation caused by clouds
'of locusts, drove the inhabitants of that unfortunate country
'for subsistence into the centre of Gujerat. Misery still pursued
'them, for in 1812 Gujerat also experienced a failure of rain,
'and consequent scarcity, which soon reduced the already half-
'starved emigrants to a most deplorable condition; yet they
'most unaccountably declined employment when tendered, even
'with the prospect of death as the consequence of their refusal.
'The vicinity of every large town in Gujerat was then crowded
'with these wretched creatures, infirm, dying, dead, and half

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'eaten by dogs, who acquired an unnatural degree of ferocity 'from having so long fed on human bodies. Even the distinction 'of caste was at length forgotten, and the Brahmin was seen selling 'his wife for two or three rupees to such as would receive her; 'at Baroda, the Guicowar's capital, the weekly return of Mair-'wara burials exceeded 500 bodies. Much was done by native 'charity; large subscriptions were raised, aided by a liberal sum 'from the Baroda Government; but all was unavailing; the ex-'tent of the calamity exceeded the human power of efficient 'alleviation. In the mean time the unfortunate emigrants spread 'themselves over the Gujerat province, from the Gulph of Cutch 'to Surat, and in many instances to Bombay; and there is reason 'to believe, that of the whole mass, not one in an hundred 'ever returned within the limits of his native province.—*Publish-'ed MS. Documents, Major Carnac, &c.*

The Mairwara of Colonel Dixon, however, is not co-extensive with the Marwara of Hamilton. The former is but the eastern portion of the latter, as is evident from the first sentence of the work before us:—"The tract of country known by the name of Mairwara forms a portion of the Arabala chain of hills, running from Gujerat to within a few miles of Delhi. It is bounded by Ajmir to the north, and separates Meywar on the east from Marwar on the west: to the south are the hill possessions of Meywar." The district is about 100 miles long, and its breadth varies from three or four to about twenty-five miles. Such is the country where one of the most interesting experiments of modern times has been tried—the experiment of converting a race of marauding barbarians into an industrious peasantry. That this experiment has been to a very great degree successful, we think there can be no reasonable doubt, although some may be inclined to suppose that the *couleur-de-rose* tinge that Colonel Dixon throws over the picture is partly reflected from his own kindly feelings towards a people for whom he has done so much, and a country which it has been his high honour so signally to benefit.

It cannot be uninteresting to any of our readers to be made acquainted with the process, by which the conversion has been effected of a people from barbarism to civilization, and of a country from a virtual desert into a fertile land; and our purpose is to lay before our readers so much of Colonel Dixon's narrative in a condensed form as may suffice to give them a general idea of the methods by which so salutary a reform has been effected. Up to thirty years ago, the Mairs were neither more nor less than a large community of free-booters. They consisted mainly of fugitives from justice, or from religious persecution, or

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political jealousy, in the neighbouring states, and of the descendants of such fugitives. As in the case of old Rome, "eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit;" and as in the case of Rome also, this race was more distinguished by a love of bold adventure than by a taste for the peaceful pursuits of pastoral or agricultural life. Our author institutes a comparison between the Mairs and the Highlanders of Scotland, in the days when they were in the habit of "lifting" the cattle and goods of their lowland neighbours in a gentlemanly way;—and in some respects, no doubt, the parallel holds good; the Highlanders "lifted" and the Mairs "lifted;" but we do not know that the Scotch Highlanders ever acted in this matter in a national capacity. Clan went to war with clan, in consequence of some feud, and the victorious clan plundered the vanquished; yea, it is not improbable that the desire of booty might occasionally be a concomitant inducement to undertake a war; but we do not think that it generally, or ever, constituted the professed *casus belli*. The men who habitually robbed, and levied black mail upon their lowland neighbours, were probably under the protection of the chieftains; but we are not aware that robbing was ever followed as a profession by chieftains and their clans as such. Whereas all this seems to have been the case with the Mairs. They were merely a band of robbers. The tie that bound them together was purely a predatorial one; they were associated for no other purpose than that of plundering. And they plundered merely and confessedly for the sake of plundering; they did not go to war on points of honour or national concern, and then take, as a not ungrateful accident, the booty that might fall into their hands; but they went forth to rob for their livelihood wherever they could find it; "but they never had recourse to arms, except in cases of resistance and dire necessity." Our readers may differ in their estimate of the distinction that we have endeavoured to point out; but we think that a real difference did exist, and that it was but fair to state it.

The different nations and tribes of Rajputs could not be expected to surrender themselves quietly as the victims of these depredations; and accordingly they made frequent incursions into their territories, both with the view of inflicting vengeance on account of depredations committed, and of reclaiming criminals who had fled to this asylum. But the Mairs in their mountain fastnesses laughed their invaders to scorn; and although a village might now and then be burnt and a few of the weakest might be killed, yet they never suffered any material injury or permanent subjugation; and it seemed

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that they might have taken up the language of the Scottish clans, to whom we have endeavoured to shew that they did *not* bear so striking a resemblance as our author supposes;—

> Let them hunt us with hounds, and pursue us with beagles,
> Give our roofs to the flames and our flesh to the eagles;
> While there's leaves in the forest or foam on the river,
> Macgregor despite them shall flourish for ever.

And so, in all human probability, it would have been, had not other antagonists been brought into the field against them than the neighbouring Rajput tribes. In contending with these tribes, it was bravery against bravery. The Mairs were as brave as their opponents, and had the inestimable advantage of situation on their side. They could not therefore have been subdued. It was a different case altogether, when British discipline was arrayed against them.

It was about 1819 or 1820, that the spread of our conquests brought us into close neighbourhood with the Mairs; and we did not more than half like their ways. Various little expeditions were sent against them; some of their villages were burnt, and some of their forts were levelled. A treaty was entered into, the breach of which gave us good reason for setting in earnest about the subjugation of the province. The expedition, under the command of Colonel Maxwell, was crowned with complete success; in the course of three months, the marauders were entirely subdued, and, during the thirty years that have elapsed since 1821, they have given no disturbance to their neighbours, but have been the more or less willing subjects of that experiment, which it is the object of the work before us to detail.

The experiment in question was commenced under the auspices of Colonel Hall, who seems to have succeeded very soon in breaking the neck of some of the more glaringly barbarous customs that had prevailed amongst the Mairs. This will appear from the following extract from a report by that officer, of date the 31st July, 1827:—

Para. 5.—It is most satisfactory to be able to report the complete and voluntary abolition of the two revolting customs—female infanticide and the sale of women. Both crimes were closely connected, having had their origin in the heavy expense attending marriage contracts. The sums were payable by the male side, were unalterable, equal for the rich and poor, without any abatement whatever in favour of the latter. What first established the payment is unknown; but it was so sacred, inviolable, and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessitous of the tribe would not incur the imputation.

6. Hence arose as decided a right over the persons of women as over cattle or other property. They were inherited and disposed of accordingly, to the extent even of sons selling their own mothers.

7. Hence also arose infanticide. The sums payable were beyond the means of so many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after maturity, entailed im-

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moral [immortal ?] disgrace, and thus entailed a necessity for all female progeny becoming victims to their family honour.

8. On the establishment of British rule, both evils gradually diminished. Females were not allowed to be transferred except for conjugal purposes; their consent was to be obtained, and their choice consulted; kind, humane treatment was enforced, and the whole system of considering them as mere cattle was discouraged, without any indication however of interference with the right of property so long existing.

9. Female infanticide was at once prohibited; and though many, no doubt, still fell secret sacrifices, from the great facility of undetected destruction, yet the danger, aided by improved feeling, encreased the survivors so considerably, as to force upon the Mairs a dire sense of the root of the evil, and a general wish for its removal, by a reduction of the regulated sum of contract; but they were averse, indeed declared their inability, to alter the long-established sacred custom themselves, and earnestly entreated it might be effected by an order of authority, binding all to obedience by heavy penalties. This was promised in a general way, in case of necessity; but as there were many points to be settled, and it was desirable to ascertain the general feeling with accuracy, as well as to avoid interference, if possible, a general panchayat was strongly urged, either to decide the matter, or, at all events, aid in the framing of appropriate regulations.

10. After the lapse of a few months allowed for consideration, the whole was settled in public panchayat, and its resolutions were confirmed, without the slightest alteration; so that the proceedings originated with, and have been carried through by, the inhabitants themselves; nor has there been a single petition against it, either pending, or subsequent to, adjustment.

11. They have lowered the sum payable on marriage contracts, abolished all right of subsequent sale, and fixed a year's imprisonment, or 200 rupees fine, with exclusion from caste, as the punishment for deviation.

If we did not feel the necessity of hurrying on, we should gladly loiter for a little space, and moralize over this extract. We do not remember to have met with so consistent a carrying out of the principle involved in the purchase of wives, as is implied in the vesting of the property thus acquired in the son, as the natural heir of his father, and the consequent right inherent in the son to sell his own mother! We see also the innate and apparently ineradicable tendency of the Asiatic mind to look to and lean upon the Government in all things. Perhaps this feeling attains its culminating point in Bengal; but it exists all over the East. The idea never seems to have struck these Mairs, who a few years before had no Government at all, that they could do any thing in the matter, unless the Government compelled them. The result of the measure furnishes a good illustration of the demand and supply principle, or at least of a very moderate "protection." Formerly, when wives were subject to a prohibitory duty, the great majority of the people could not indulge in the luxury, and consequently the article was a drug in the market, and had to be destroyed:—now, however, when the price is lowered to 153 rupees, the "consuming class" is so greatly extended, that the demand is equal to the supply: it is found to be a good thing to have a large stock of this once unmarketable commodity. Small profits and a ready sale are found to

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be, in this case as in others, the soul of business. After all, this whole matter does not furnish a very exalted view of the dignity of our nature; such things could scarcely have been done, had humanity been precisely such as some choose to represent it. Our pages have already been the vehicle of a full discussion of the whole question of female infanticide, its causes, and the manner in which its abolition has been effected by British influence and authority judiciously applied. We shall not therefore enter upon the matter here, but content ourselves with the expression of the feeling of gratitude and honest pride, that must be shared by every Briton, in contemplation of the fact, that, wherever the influence of our nation extends, infanticide and other such barbarities give way before it.

One very important instrumentality in effecting the civilization of this district was the formation of a local corps. Perhaps Colonel Dixon somewhat over-estimates the influence of this step; but there can be no doubt that its influence has been very considerable. The good effects that are considered to have resulted are thus briefly summed up by Colonel Hall:—"The corps has contributed materially towards 'reforming the Mair population. The regularity of conduct, 'punctual discharge of duty, cleanliness and unqualified 'submission required; the good faith observed in all transactions; the congenial subsistence offered to many; the full 'confidence reposed, and the kind treatment shewn, could not 'fail of conciliatory effect; besides, on the other hand, its being 'a body for coercion, which, the population must have been 'well convinced, was fully qualified, from bravery, fidelity and 'local knowledge, to inflict ample punishment, should the 'necessity be imposed."

We fear many of our readers will be astonished at the idea of improving young men by converting them into soldiers, and of improving the inhabitants of a district by stationing soldiers among them. We fear it is a fact that this is not the result of converting our English peasantry into soldiers, or the effect of quartering an English regiment in the midst of an English district. Is this because the standard of military *morale* is below that of the English peasantry, and above that of the Mairs, so that the former must be depressed, and the latter elevated, in order to reach it? This would be a comparatively satisfactory view of the matter; but we fear that it is not admissible to such an extent as to account for the whole phenomena. But if it were so, it would only shew that there is no reason why the *morale* of the ranks of an army should be lower than that of the people; and the fact, that in the ranks of the British army it

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is admitted to be lower than in the ranks of the British people, indicates that there is something greatly wrong in the method of enlistment and in the discipline of the British army. It is very far from our wish to deny that there are, in all ranks of that army, men possessed of every good and noble quality; but it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that far greater numbers are possessed of no good quality at all *as men*. Doubtless a considerable improvement has been effected since the days when Cowper described the influence of militia-soldiering on an agricultural population; but we fear that the picture which he draws is but too like to what occurs in numberless cases every year;—

> The clown, the child of nature, without guile,
> Blessed with an infant's ignorance of all,
> But his own simple pleasures; now and then
> A wrestling match, a foot-race, or a fair;
> Is ballotted, and trembles at the news:
> Sheepish he doffs his hat, and mumbling swears
> A bible-oath to be whate'er they please,
> To do he knows not what. The task performed,
> That instant he becomes the sergeant's care,
> His pupil, and his torment and his jest.
> His awkward gait, his introverted toes,
> Bent knees, round shoulders, and dejected looks,
> Procure him many a curse. By slow degrees,
> Unapt to learn and formed of stubborn stuff,
> He yet, by slow degrees, puts off himself,
> Grows conscious of a change, and likes it well:
> He stands erect; his slouch becomes a walk;
> He steps right onward, martial in his air,
> His form and movement; is as smart above
> As meal and larded locks can make him; wears
> His hat, or his plumed helmet, with a grace;
> And, his three years of soldiership expired,
> Returns indignant to the slighted plough.
> He hates the field in which no fife or drum
> Attends him; drives his cattle to a march;
> And sighs for the smart comrades he has left.
> 'Twere well if his exterior change were all;—
> But, with his clumsy port, the wretch has lost
> His ignorance and harmless manners too.
> To swear, to game, to drink; to shew at home
> By lewdness, idleness, and sabbath-breach,
> The great proficiency he made abroad;
> To astonish and to grieve his gazing friends;
> To break some maiden's and his mother's heart;
> To be a pest where he was useful once,—
> Are his sole aim, and all his glory, now.

This, we fear, is but too faithful a picture even of things as they are to this day in our regular army. And grievously is it to be lamented that such a state of things should continue. Now it is different with our sepoy regiments in India. These men, on becoming soldiers, do not cease to be men. They retain, to a far greater extent than our British soldiers do, their con-

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nexion with their families and with their native districts, and are less thrown loose from the social restraints of family and neighbourhood. Surely something might be done to raise our army in public estimation, to make employment in it the object of desire to respectable industrious men, instead of its being the last resource of the idle and the dissipated, the last step in the downward career of profligacy and dissipation. We should be more glad than we can express, could we be convinced that the idea, we entertain on this point, is not correct; but if it be correct, surely it behoves the nation to set resolutely about the device and the application of a remedy. It is not impossible that good hints might be derived from the history of our Indian native army, and of the irregular local battalions, that constitute no unimportant element of that army. There can be no doubt that the Mairwara battalion has proved a school in which the Mairs have learned industry and regularity; and that the discharged soldiers have returned to their villages to set an example to their neighbours, and to diffuse such a feeling of respect for the service, as to secure the enlistment of the most active and respectable of the people. Nor have the direct services of the corps been of little avail in preserving the peace, and in breaking up bands of depredators.

The principal steps, however, that have been achieved in the march of civilization, relate to the administration of justice, and the improvement of agriculture. The transition from

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That he shall take who has the power,
> While they shall keep who can"—

to the regular administration of even-handed justice, and the protection, by the power of the whole, of the right of each individual, may be regarded as the most important step in the progress of a people from barbarism to humanity. We believe it might be demonstrated that no nation ever yet effected this substitution of law, the force of the whole, for violence, the force of the few, by the mere development of principles *ab intra;* external aid has ever been necessary; and that aid has generally, though not always, been afforded by conquerors to the vanquished. The usual crimes that prevailed amongst this people before their subjugation, and their rude attempts at the administration of justice, were similar to the crimes and the punishments that have prevailed among all nations in a like state of advancement. These are briefly but clearly described in the following passage:—

Before entering on a detail of the agricultural improvements, which for some years past have been progressing so rapidly and systematically throughout the Mairwara tract, it is proper to take a cursory review of the mode in which justice was

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administered by this wild people. * * * Prior to their subjugation, the sword too frequently decided disputes and repaid injuries. Every man stood on his own strength, or that of his kindred. The most prolific course of quarrel was the abduction of women of one clan by people belonging to another, or on account of a breach of promise of marriage. In the former case, the whole clan, and all that were on friendly terms with it, would espouse the quarrel as their own. Serious encounters would occasionally take place, and, as loss of life ensued, feuds were generated, which were handed down to posterity as an heir-loom. Another mode in adoption with them, where the sword was not chosen as the arbiter, was recourse to "Dij," a species of ordeal to which the culprit was submitted. This consisted in thrusting the naked hand into a vessel filled with boiling oil, or in taking up a red-hot shot with the hand. Superstition, with its false philosophy, had taught them that innocence would protect the culprit from injury from scalding oil, or from burning-hot iron. That this ordeal was ever put to trial, no proof exists; although the people have frequently been pressed to shew one solitary instance of its use. Still, in the virtue of this remedy, as a test for guilt or innocence, all hold a firm belief. Although they have been told of the fallacy of this doctrine, and that neither innocence nor any human agency can prevent flesh from burning when brought into contact with fire, still they cling to the belief of their forefathers, and consider the Dij the only true and impartial mode of arbitrament. This superstition, like that of witchcraft, will lose its hold on the minds of the people, as education spreads its influence, and they commence thinking for themselves.

Another mode of observance, in view to satisfy claimants, was to place money or property within a temple, or other holy spot, where the individual concerned would help himself as far as his conscience sanctioned. On some occasions the dispute was decided by one or other party taking an oath, under the provision that, were the swearing party to suffer any misfortune, by death in his family, or loss of cattle or property, within a stated number of days, his oath was null and void, and his case lost. These were the common modes observed in the administration of justice. Panchayat may, on some occasions, have been employed; but it was rarely resorted to, from the circumstance of there being no means, in the person of superior authority, to enforce its decision.

It is not surprising that the religious instinct, without the enlightenment and guidance which revelation alone supplies in sufficient measure, should have led all nations to believe in ordeals.

> If there's a power above us—(and that there is, all nature cries aloud
> Through all her works)—he must delight in virtue;
> And that which he delights in must be happy.

It is the natural and sound conclusion, which men in all ages and in all countries, have arrived at; and it is not surprising that in their ignorance they should have imagined that the supreme power must indicate his delight in virtue, and confer happiness upon the virtuous and punishment upon the vicious, in some definite form of man's prescription, as by rendering the one insensible to pain, and leaving the other susceptible of its utmost intensity. It required a Divine teacher to unfold that sublime philosophy, in virtue of which, as Lord Bacon tersely expresses it, "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament," as of an inferior and comparatively carnal dispensation, "but adversity is the blessing of the New." It is therefore not at all surprising, that the trial by ordeal should have found a place in the cri-

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minal code of every nation at a certain stage of its progress;* but it certainly does excite wonder, that in respect of one particular crime, the ordinary form of ordeal should have been completely reversed, as it seems to have been, by every nation on the earth, excepting that one which received its laws direct from heaven. The idea of the ordeal in ordinary cases is, that the innocent will escape, and the guilty be at once detected and punished. But in the case of witchcraft, it seems to have been uniformly the practice of men to subject the accused to an ordeal, whose idea was, that the guilty should be detected by his freedom from punishment, and the innocent vindicated by his *suffering the punishment in its full force.* In our own country this was done in many ways, but, especially, by throwing the suspected person into a pool of water, with the conviction that if she were innocent, she would be drowned, and that, if she were guilty, she would float, and be brought out for punishment. The same principle was adopted by the Mairs. "The Mairs" (says our author) "were wont to entertain the fullest belief in witchcraft. A woman suspected of exercising this power was submitted to the ordeal of having red pepper applied to her eyes. On this application exciting acute pain, she was considered as guiltless of the accusation, otherwise she was a witch."

We must give at length the account of the introduction of trial by Panchayat, as it contains many points of peculiar interest:—

With ourselves, a recourse to this expedient (the Panchayat), has been attended with the most satisfactory results. In all cases having reference to the abduction of women, breach of promise of marriage, claim to land, settlement of boundary disputes, minor cases of foujdaree;—in a word, in all matters of complaints of wrong sustained or injury done, with exception of higher cases of crime, the Panchayat is the chief instrument employed in the distribution of justice among this primitive people.

* It may be deemed by some to be not a little remarkable that the ordeal was allowed in the Jewish code in only one special case. (See Numb. V.) Into that code it was introduced by Divine appointment, and therefore was altogether free from the objection to which it is liable in every other case. The objection to it in these cases is simply, that God has never *said* that He will make manifest the innocent and the guilty respectively by the different effects that the ordeal shall produce upon them; and therefore men have no right to dictate to Him, and assume that he will do so. Under the Jewish dispensation, however, he did promise that he would thus distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. The commentators on the laws of Moses do not appear to have noticed a distinction, that seems to us very worthy of notice, between the ordeal as employed by the Gentile nations, and the ordeal prescribed to the Jews. The former seem to have invariably consisted in subjecting the suspected person to trials, the *natural* effect of which would be death or other severe injury, on the assumption that innocence would be manifested by a special interposition of the deity. The "water of jealousy", on the other hand, was *naturally* harmless, and only made harmful by a special interposition of the deity for the detection of the guilty. This strikes us as a very remarkable indication of the comparatively mild genius of the Mosaic code, which we believe can only be accounted for by reference to its divine origin. Granting that either system would equally inspire the guilty with terror, it is unnecessary to point out with how much confidence the one system, and with how much natural fear the other, must have inspired the innocent.

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The following is the ordinary course of procedure :—the complainant presents a written petition in Urdu, in which is [are] embodied the particulars of his grievance. At the close of his complaint, he expresses his willingness, or otherwise, to have his case settled by Panchayat. An order is then passed for the attendance of the defendant. On his appearing, the complaint is explained to him, when he delivers in a counter statement, signifying, at the same time, by what mode he wishes to be tried. Should each party desire a Panchayat, each names his respective arbitrators ; the number of whom is alone limited by the pleasure of the contending parties. Sometimes the jury consists of twelve members on each side. Generally speaking, on the score of economy, each side restricts its quota to three or four members. Objections to members, on account of nearness of kin, or on other reasonable grounds, are allowed, and substitutes are named to supply the place of those challenged and rejected. The complainant and defendant then enter into engagements to abide by the decision of the Panchayat, except in case of disapproval, by paying a stated fine to the Government, where a new trial is allowed. In like manner the arbitrators bind themselves by engagements to do strict and impartial justice in the case submitted to their decision ; in failure thereof, a stated sum is forfeited. All preliminaries having been arranged, the case comes under investigation. Each party finds its arbitrators in food, which varies in quality according to the means of the parties. On the decision of the case, the expense devolves on the losing side. As the Elders are chiefly selected, from their respectability and inferred knowledge of right, for this duty, delay in coming to a decision is not unusual ; influenced, perhaps, by the circumstance, that they are found in food whilst engaged in such investigations. Feelings of pride, and the imagined honor of their clan, more frequently induce delay, where matters between two opposite septs are under discussion. Panchayats have taken a month or five weeks to consider the questions at issue. Having at length come to a decision, their opinion, recorded in writing, is read and explained to the complainant and defendant, who approve or disapprove of the decree of the Punch, according as their feelings prompt them. The decision, generally speaking, is unanimous. When otherwise, the opinion of three-fourths of the members is necessary to make their decree binding. Although dissentients are at liberty, on paying the stipulated fine, regulated with reference to the largeness of the case at issue, to demand a fresh trial, this privilege is rarely claimed. The Mairs, when allowed time for consideration, are open to reason ; and they well know, when there is a large majority opposed to them, cogent reasons exist for this decision ; the more particularly as their own arbitrators, or a portion of them, have so decided the case. The superintendent will generally know where the decision of a Punch is not consonant with the usages of the people. His explanation is received willingly by the arbitrators, when any deviation from common usage is pointed out to them. In this way, by observing temperate conciliatory turn towards the jury, a slight modification of their decree, not unfrequently, has the desirable effect of bringing round a Razinamah on both sides.

By constituting the Panchayat the tribunal to which complaints are submitted for enquiry and decision, several important advantages are attained. The defendants are tried by their own peers ; and thus the administration of justice is virtually placed in the hands of the elders, subject, of course, to modification and improvement by the superintendent. Parties, who are dissatisfied, are aware, their cases have been decided by their friends and clansmen, and that, amongst themselves, there is no tribunal whose decree is more to be respected or more binding, than that of their own brethren in caste. Against the ruling authorities no grounds of displeasure can exist ; for all they have to do in the case is to satisfy themselves that matters are conducted with regularity, temper, and justice. It is a strong argument in favor of this system of dispensing justice, that, during the last twenty-six years, the period of our rule in Mairwara, no appeal has been made beyond the superintendent of the district.

A critical eye, and especially a lawyer's, will see at a glance that the system thus detailed is far from being theoretically perfect; but it is admirably adapted to the condition of the people among whom it is established; and its working shews

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that a better system could not have been devised. And although some may be in horror at the idea of a people, who have no counsel, no retainers, no demurrers, no rules Nisi, no chancery cases or suits in equity, dragging their slow length through tedious years of harrowing uncertainty and accumulating fees—we think, for our own part, it may be possible for people, who have not yet attained a taste for the luxuries of litigation, to exist in a country, where a lawsuit is never protracted beyond a month or five weeks. Their pleasures may be less exquisite than those of their more refined neighbours, but they are suited to their capacities.

At the risk of being charged with a Gothic disregard of time-honored institutions, and with setting at nought "the wisdom of our ancestors," we must be allowed to express our cordial approval of that part of the system which does not make absolute unanimity in the Panchayat essential to the pronouncing of a verdict. Independently of the heresy of not preferring things as they are to things as they might by any possibility be, we are aware, that in stating the opinion, that the system adopted in the Mairwara code is better than that of the English system, we run counter to the opinion of some very high authorities, who vindicate the latter system on abstract principles, as the best system in itself, without reference to its being or not being the rule existing in any particular country. Of those authorities, one of the highest is M. Arago, who some years ago made use of an argument on this subject which we may be allowed to quote, as the subject, though incidentally introduced at present, is so important as to warrant a digression. "If a verdict is 'resolved on" (says M. Arago) "by ten men out of twelve, there 'is a greater probability that it will be a correct verdict, than 'if it had been pronounced by seven out of twelve. The degree 'of certainty of a judgment is in direct proportion to the 'number of judges who have delivered it. If you take the 'hypothesis that the verdict of a jury be decided by a ma-'jority of seven against five, as this bill proposes, you will 'find the result of your calculation to be a fearful one—*the 'chances of error, in such a case, are in the proportion of one to 'four.* I cannot go through all the calculations before you; 'but I assure you they were formed in the most conscientious 'manner, on mathematical principles, and they are supported by 'the authority of Condorcet, Condillac, Laplace, and all who 'are versed in the science of calculating probabilities. But 'let us admit that the jury's error may be as often in favour of 'the prisoner as against him, so that instead of the proportion 'of one to four, let us suppose that the probability of error to

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'his prejudice, if the absolute majority be seven against five, 'is one to eight, or even one to ten. We shall then have it 'rigorously and mathematically demonstrated, that, *among the 'men led to execution, there is one in ten who is innocent.*"

We shrink from the idea of dissenting, in a mathematical question, from the decision of M. Arago, even although he were not backed, as he says he is, by Condorcet, Condillac, Laplace, and all other investigators of the doctrines of probability. But indeed the mathematical part is all right enough. It is the assumption, on which the mathematics are brought to bear, that we believe to be erroneous. The assumption is that each member of the jury is equally likely to form a right or a wrong judgment. This granted, it will follow, just as M. Arago says, that the chances are as one to four, that a judgment pronounced by seven votes against five will be erroneous. But this, we venture to assert, no one will be disposed to grant, who considers that it is not upon opinions, but upon facts, that juries are required to pronounce. The question being put to a body of intelligent men, whether this man did this thing, we cannot hesitate to say that the probabilities are vastly in favour of their giving a correct answer when clear evidence is brought before them. Now suppose the probability of each man being in error to be one in 10, then the chance of an erroneous verdict, delivered by 7 votes against 5, will be only one in 100, and the chance of a man being unjustly condemned will be one in 200. "Tell me," (says Dr. Lardner, in reference to this 'very question), "how many times per cent. a given man will be 'wrong in his judgment, and I can tell you exactly, positively, 'and mathematically, how much more likely a unanimous jury '(not starved) is to have arrived at a true decision, than another 'in which the voices are 8 to 4. But that does not put me one 'step nearer to ascertaining what *is* the per-centage of erroneous 'conclusions in the judgments of a single individual." Clearly not;—and we are convinced that we are far nearer the mark in assuming 10 per cent. than M. Arago in assuming 50 per-cent., as the proportion of erroneous conclusions by individuals of ordinary intelligence as to matters of fact. But the glaring fallacy of M. Arago's argument consists in his tacitly assuming that a jury, which *can* arrive at a verdict where seven of its members are of one opinion and the other five of the contrary opinion, *will* always return its verdicts on such a bare majority.*

* Since this was written, we have consulted the elaborate article on Probability by Mr. Galloway, in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and are glad to find that the result of calculation founded on the best data does not—very widely differ from the supposition that we have made. The general result is, that "out of 119 verdicts, respecting which we know nothing else than that seven at least of the jury concurred in finding the accused guilty, we may expect *one* to be wrong; or that one person out of 119, so condemned, will be innocent."

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The detective and punitive systems adopted in Mairwara seem equally simple and judicious with the judicial system. Every man is his own thief-detector.

A person having lost his bullocks or buffaloes, proceeds from village to village in quest of information, having slung a "hunali," that is, a collar of silver, about his neck. As this ornament is only worn by women, the fact of its being slung round the neck of a man indicates at once that he has lost some property, and has come in search of information regarding it; he then proceeds to offer the hunali, or a pecuniary reward, to any one who will discover the offender, and point out the cattle or property. Travelling thus from village to village, his trouble is at length repaid by some of the acquaintances of the culprit, or occasionally one of the culprits, coming forward as an informer. The owner goes to the place indicated, and, in the instance of cattle, he strokes them down the back, in virtue [token ?] of recognition; or, in the case of other property, he makes known his right to it to the head of the village. Provided with full information, he proceeds to the nearest Thana, and has the particulars of the story embodied in a petition to be sent up to the authorities. In the meantime the police proceed to the apprehension of the delinquents, who, with the stolen cattle or property and plantiff, are at once forwarded to the superintendent. The informer is rarely or ever [never] confronted with the delinquent: nor is this requisite; for he knows the particulars of the robbery have been fully disclosed, and that denial, involving the trouble of proof, would enhance his punishment. Hence he finds it more to his advantage to confess to what he has done. Through this system of purchasing information, many robberies are brought to light, which, in its absence, would remain secret. The offenders are made to bear the whole expense incurred in bringing the robbery home to them.

The system of punishment adopted seems to be a happy combination of fine and imprisonment. The prisoners are required to work. An account current is opened with them, in which all their food, clothes and blankets are entered to their debit, and they are obliged to enter into engagements to defray the charge, as well as to make restitution of the value of the property stolen, by payments from year to year after their release from durance. Altogether, the system seems well adapted to the state and condition of the people, and therefore good. It would be altogether inapplicable to a different state of society; and will, doubtless, require modifications as the people, amongst whom it is established, advance in refinement, and the crimes committed by them become more complicated, and the interests to be protected more involved.

It is evidently to the plough, however, that Colonel Dixon looks as the great civilizer. It appears that the jurisprudence was mainly the work of his predecessor, Colonel Hall. Colonel Dixon, however, is entitled to a degree of credit merely inferior to that belonging to the originator of a good system; forasmuch as he has not innovated upon the system introduced by his predecessor. He found it with many theoretical defects, which, although he gives no hint to that effect, we doubt not he must have perceived. Still he found that, *if well administered*, it was capable of working well; and instead of setting himself to alter and destroy, he lent himself cordially to the administration. We know not whether the man who

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thus acts, does not even deserve more credit than he who originates the system. But the agricultural improvement is entirely our author's own; and we fully sympathize with the enthusiasm with which he describes it. Cold and soul-less critics, who have never done any good themselves, will charge our author with egotism and self-glorification; but no one, who knows the feelings of the man who has been enabled to do any good, will take up with such a censure. We cannot follow our author through the details of his operation. They are very interesting, even to those who have no special connexion with agricultural affairs; and will be invaluable to all, who may at any future period have occasion to conduct similar operations. The great desideratum was a system of water-works, which should make cultivation possible. Till a few years ago the cultivation was so difficult and the result so precarious, that the people cared not for the ownership of the land. But now by means of tanks, wells, and embankments, a large tract of country has been reclaimed from jungle, and a large population has been converted from professional robbers into industrious farmers. This has been effected by the people themselves, stimulated by a judicious system of Government advances. We repeat that the whole details of this experiment, from its beginning to its result, are in the highest degree interesting; and it is only because we could not but do injustice to them by such an abridgment of them as alone our space would admit of, that we do not attempt any account of them. If a blessing is attached to the making of two blades of grass to spring up where only one sprang up before, surely all future generations of the Mairs will venerate and bless the name of Colonel Dixon, who is—in the expressive idiom of the land in which we sojourn—emphatically the *Kartá* of their country.

We shall not enter into the financial results of those operations; but shall content ourselves with stating, in the words of our author, that "during the last eleven years, the sums 'expended on works of irrigation amount to 2,41,112 *Rs.* '7 *As.* 11¾ *Pie;* while, during that period, the excess of 'revenue beyond the Jumma of the first year of the present 'incumbent's superintendence in 1835-36, is 6,41,234 *Rs.* '5 *As.* 6¼ *Pie.* After reimbursing ourselves for the outlay 'on public works, there is a surplus given of 4,00,121 *Rs.* 13 '*As.* 6¾ *Pie.* This large amount is our gain in a pecuniary 'point of view. As far as affects the moral improvement of 'the people, the advantages are beyond calculation."

We have called Colonel Dixon the "maker" of the country of Mairwara, and although we have high authority for placing the maker of a country infinitely above the maker of a town, it is well to state that he did not disdain this inferior em-

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ployment. He soon found that various advantages would result from the establishment of a city in the midst of his Arcadia. And a city he determined to erect. Having obtained the Government sanction, he invited *mahajans*, or merchants, from the neighbouring states; and his character, and that of the Government which he represented, were now so well established, that the invitation was frankly accepted. The town was regularly planned out. Houses were built with stones and lime (abundance of which was found in the district), and roofed with slabs of gneiss. In the course of a very few months the town was built, and occupied by a busy population. Nor was it built in a straggling or "miscellaneous" manner. Every house was set down according to order, and the city of Nya Naggar will stand the test of comparison with any city in the world for neatness and taste. It has of course no fine buildings—no palace—no cathedral—no university—no theatres—no galleries,—no monumental columns;—but it has broad clean streets; it has well-placed and well-built houses; if it has no palace, it has no gin-palaces—if it has no cathedral, it has no gambling-houses—if it has no university, it has no brothels. The poet, in describing the golden age, tells us that in those days

Nondum præcipites cingebant oppida fossæ.

We will not stop to enquire whether this means that there were no towns in those days, or that the towns existed, but were not surrounded by deep ditches. We might introduce a very pretty piece of criticism on this point, but we forbear. Suffice it to say that Nya Naggar, not being built on the Saturnian model, and being built moreover by an Artillery officer, is surrounded, not indeed by a deep ditch, but by a high substantial pucka wall. The reasons that induced this erection are stated as follows: "The construction of a wall of masonry round the town 'would be attended with many advantages. Its presence 'would impart confidence to the residents. It would protect 'the inhabitants from any sudden attack on the part of dacoits, 'and it would prevent the abstraction of cattle on the part 'of the Mairs, or that of the Boarís, a class of hereditary 'thieves, who resided in the border towns and villages, and 'received protection from the chiefs by paying them one-'fourth of their earnings. All circumstances advocated the 'measure." The wall was erected at a cost of about Rupees 24,000. It consists of "a rampart with parapet defended by 'thirty-two massive bastions. The rampart has a breadth of 'six, and the bastions of twelve feet. The parapet rises in 'height above the rampart seven feet, having a thickness of 'from two to three feet. The curtain walls, exclusive of 'foundation, have an elevation above the terre-plein of the

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'country of seventeen feet, while the bastions are twenty-'one feet in height." It is built of stone and mud internally, and with stone and lime externally, and covered with a coating of marble chunam. "The work is strong, and is calcu-'lated to last, with common attention, through an indefinite 'number of years"—or until, as we anticipate will be the fact, it be superseded by one of enlarged circuit. Within this wall there reside 1,955 families, who carry on various commercial and manufacturing operations.

We have thus briefly sketched the main operations that have been going on in Mairwara. When so much good has been done, it might seem ungracious to allude to what has not been done. But we must express our conviction that the educational department has not received that amount of attention to which its importance entitles it. That so enlightened a man as Col. Dixon should be indifferent to this object is impossible; and under his auspices, at the special recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, a beginning has been made. But when we state that the city of Nya Naggar only furnishes 118 scholars out of its 1,955 families, and that these scholars are scattered over 12 schools —which must, therefore, of necessity, be of very inferior quality—it will be admitted, we think, that we have good grounds for entertaining the belief, that the same amount of energy has not been brought to bear upon this part of the experiment that has produced such noble results in the other departments. If we were to impute any blame to Colonel Dixon on this score, he might well adopt the Themistoclean defence; *I cannot fiddle, but I can convert a small state into a great nation.* And the plea is a good one. But although it were folly to expect that Colonel Dixon can do more for an educational scheme than aid it by his countenance and his advice, we are convinced that his work will not be complete until a vigorous effort be made for the introduction of such a scheme on an adequate scale, and under the superintendence of a man capable of doing justice to the experiment. It will not do to say that the time has not come for this. In fact the time never comes for any good work, until the man rises up to accomplish it; and when the man comes, he makes the time for his own purpose. The time had just as little come for cultivating the fields of Mairwara, as it had come for cultivating the minds of the cultivators. Had Colonel Dixon waited until the time came, he would have waited for ever. *Now* is the time, the proper time for every good work. Even if we were to admit, which we by no means do, that the time had not come a few years ago, we must maintain that now at least the period has arrived, when a vigorous effort could not fail to be crowned with success.

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Without entering upon the much-agitated question as to the duty of the Government to instruct their subjects in the doctrines and principles of true religion, we must be allowed to express our conviction, that, amongst a people whose own religion sits so lightly upon them as that of the Mairs evidently sits on them, there could be no reasonable objection to the introduction of a Christian system of education, similar to that which obtains in the lower class of Missionary schools in this country; and that this is the system most suited to the wants and the circumstances of the people. If such a system were introduced, under the direction of a man of good sense and tireless zeal—an educational Colonel Dixon—we are persuaded that in a very short time these mountain glens would participate in a still richer blessing than that which has already lighted upon them. Even the operations of agriculture would then be carried on with double alacrity, for they would be carried on by men of expanded minds and humanized hearts.

And now, in bringing this imperfect notice of a very interesting book to a close, we must express our gratification at the results of the operations detailed in it. The Government of the East India Company has many faults; but it has in it capabilities of producing great good to those whom Providence has subjected to its sway. Fully are we persuaded that it has been a great blessing to the Mairs—and, although not so visibly, yet not less really, to the people of this country generally—that they have been subjected to British rule, and brought under the influence of British sentiments, and led on in the path of improvement by British example. In proportion as this rule is administered with justice, and these sentiments are diffused with liberality, and this example is attractively set before the people, our connexion with the people of India will be a blessing to them and to ourselves.

One word more, and we have done. And that word shall be, we will not say in compliment to, but in well-merited commendation of, that distinguished body of men to whom Colonel Dixon belongs. It is a great fact that our Indian army is ever ready to supply men capable of carrying out every good measure that is ever projected. It seems as if it had within itself unlimited resources, a fund of undiscovered talent, which only requires a fair field in order to its development. It were not just to Colonel Dixon to suppose that he is no more than an average specimen of the Indian officers; but it were not just to the army to withhold the fact, that multitudes have been drawn from the ranks of that army and put into positions of great difficulty, and that they have almost invariably carried out the measures entrusted to their execution in such a way as fully to justify the wisdom of their selection.

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ART. X.—*Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, during four-and-twenty years in the East, with Revelations of Life in the Zenána. By Fanny Parks. Illustrated with sketches from nature.* 2 *vols., large* 8*vo. London. Pelham Richardson.* 1850.

MRS. FANNY PARKS has written a very charming work on India. She is not one of those, who can "travel from Dan to Beersheba, and find all barren." Her journal extends over the long period of twenty-four years, and her travels very rarely deviate from the beaten track; yet the liveliness and freshness of the narrative are kept up to the last page; and after reading her two ponderous volumes, without skipping or any other compromise with our conscience, our relish remains unabated, and we are quite ready to enter upon a couple of volumes more. For, in the first place, it is a very pretty book; and where is the critic, who has not an amiable weakness for a luxurious type, a broad margin, sketches faithful to nature, or rich with gorgeous colouring, and covers flaming with scarlet and gold? But it is not merely a pretty book to grace the drawing-room or the boudoir, and to have its pages turned over by idle gentlemen or idler ladies, when they are at a loss for any thing better to do. Mrs. Parks is a very clever, and a very eccentric (and we have no doubt a very pretty) lady; and her entertaining pages call up before one the scenes or the people she describes, with all the truth and fidelity of the Daguerreotype. Much of her book too, even to Indian readers, is as novel as it is life-like; and gives us glimpses into the highest classes of native female society, and into scenes for the most part strictly *tabooed* to the foot of the European. We have need therefore for "robur et æs triplex circa pectus," when we commence by finding fault—grave fault, and not slightly to be passed over—with this very lively and entertaining work.

The journal of Mrs. Parks has many points of resemblance with the famous letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; and we cannot help fancying that our "fair lady" was not altogether unaware of the fact, and has ingrafted upon her own, not a few of the more objectionable eccentricities of her witty, but not over-strait-laced, predecessor. Mrs. Parks, however, is neither a wit, nor a genius: her descriptions are truth itself; but, when she steps out of her own natural and better self for the poor affectation of displaying her familiarity with the proverbs and superstitions of the natives, or of

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repeating stories that other women would shrink from, her levity becomes profane, and her Amazonian tone coarse and indelicate. We would be fully justified in using harsher words than these: but we write these even with regret and reluctance.

The book commences with a touching and beautiful dedication to the memory of her mother; which is immediately followed by an invocation to the Hindu idol, Ganesha, in the worst possible taste, and in a style that owes all its humour to its singularity. She affects a partiality for Krishna, and makes frequent allusions to the filthy stories of Radha and the Gopís; she boasts of saluting the Hindu gods in their temples to the great admiration of the Brahmans; and has rice and flowers offered to an idol in her own boat. It is a very poor excuse that no harm was intended—that it was done out of good nature, and recorded from a little of the ordinary vanity of author-ship. Idol-worship is a foul and hateful thing, and the curse and bane of this country; and no Christian—and a lady least of all—has any more right to amuse himself or herself with playing at idolatry, than with playing at theft, or drunkenness, or murder, or any other deadly sin.

The flippancy and levity, also, with which she refers to her own faith, savour more of the cock-pit than the boudoir, and will, we trust, be all expunged from a second edition.

The most difficult part of our task yet remains, and we scarcely know how to set about it. Honesty, however, is the best policy; so we shall speak plainly and give our reasons for so doing. The "Wanderings" are better adapted than any book we know to be a hand-book for this side of India. They are singularly attractive and elegant in appearance; and, being written by a lady of acknowledged ability, and of name and standing in society, there is no book more likely to be selected as a gift for a sister, or a wife, or a daughter, or any other female friend or relative, on her first arrival in this country. Truth compels us to say, that, in its present state, and until it shall have passed through the hands of some judicious Bowdler, it is altogether unfit for such a purpose. She tells us of certain Hindustani songs, fortunately all but unintelligible to herself, which made the native gentleman, beside whom she was seated, look "very red in the face;" and, there are stories, dialogues, and allusions in her own book, covered by no disguise, but in plain broad English, which would make any English gentleman—even her friend of the 16th Lancers—look "very red in the face," were he to be compelled to read them aloud in his own family circle. The "pilgrim" has lived so long away from her own land, that she appears to have forgotten the

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dignity and delicacy of a woman in any grade of respectable English Society; for we cannot suppose that the kind of notoriety, won by such coarse and questionable expedients, could have any charm for a mind so gifted and accomplished.

In future editions (and there are likely to be many), we trust to see every thing undeniably indecent or profane carefully expunged from the work; and we shall then have no hesitation in recommending it as the most pleasant, truthful, and delightfully gossiping book, that has ever been written about India.

Having thus discharged ourselves of a very painful and disagreeable duty, we proceed, without further comment, to gratify our readers with a few of the lady's pen-and-ink sketches and revelations. It was a happy idea to bring out her work, as it was written, in the form of a journal. No other vehicle would have been so suitable to the light and sketchy touch of the "pilgrim;" and no other arrangement would have given so much of life, freshness, and never-ending variety.

We begin with a page or two from the more common-place details of her journal, as a specimen of the lively, dashing, discursive staple of the book. The year is 1830:—

2nd.—A friend just returned from the hills, brought down with him some forty Cashmere goats; the shawl goats, such as are found in the hills: they die very fast on quitting the cold regions; he has lost all but three females, which he has given to me; they will scarcely live in this burning Cawnpore.

Report says the Governor-General has put off his journey for a month longer; it is supposed he will, if possible, avoid this large military station; the soldiers are in so discontented a state, he may perchance receive a bullet on parade. The Privates here have several times attempted the lives of their officers, by shooting and cutting them down, sometimes upon the slightest cause of complaint, and often without having any to provoke such conduct.

7th.—I have just returned from calling on a friend of mine, and overheard the remarks of a gentleman, who was speaking of her to another; they amused me;

"Really that is a noble creature, she has a neck like an Arab, her head is so well set on!"

Buffaloes from Cawnpore swim off in the early morning in herds to the bank in the centre of the river, where they feed; they return in the evening of their own accord. The other evening I thought a shoal of porpoises were beneath the verandah—but they were buffaloes trying to find a landing-place; they swim so deeply, their black heads are only partly visible, and at a little distance they may easily be mistaken for porpoises.

Sometimes I see a native drive his cow into the river; when he wishes to cross it, he takes hold of the animal by the tail, and holding on, easily crosses over with her; sometimes he aids the cow by using one hand in swimming.

"What is that going down the river?" exclaimed a gentleman. On applying a telescope, we found fifty or sixty buffaloes all in a heap were

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coming down with the stream, whilst ten natives swimming with them kept thrashing them with long bambus to make them exert themselves, and keep all together: the natives shouting and urging on the animals, and the buffaloes bellowing, at every blow they received. At what a rate they come down! the stream flows with such rapidity during the rains! This is the first time I have seen such a large herd driven in this curious fashion.

Methodism is gaining ground very fast in Cawnpore; young ladies sometimes profess to believe it highly incorrect to go to balls, plays, races, or to any party where it is possible there may be a quadrille. A number of the officers also profess these opinions, and set themselves up as New Lights.

9th.—I was remarking to an officer to-day, I thought it very unlikely any one would attempt the life of the Governor-General. He replied, "The danger is to be feared from the discharged sipahis, who are in a most turbulent and discontented state. Squadrons of them are gone over to Runjit Singh, who is most happy to receive well-disciplined troops into his service."

I have just learned how to tell the age of a stud-bred horse. All stud horses are marked on the flank, when they are one year old, with the first letter of the stud and the last figure of the year. Our little mare, Lachhmi, is marked K 0, therefore she was foaled at Kharuntadee in 1819 and marked in 1820—making her age now eleven years.

The Governor-General, here alluded to, was Lord William Bentinck, then in the very zenith, or rather in the very nadir, of unpopularity; but he managed to live it down; and, whatever may have been the feelings of the army towards him, no British ruler has higher claims on the gratitude and affection of the natives of Hindustan. They have reason to venerate his memory for many things; and for one—not the least—that such scenes, as the following, will never be witnessed again:—

THE SUTTEE.

A rich buniya, a corn chandler, whose house was near the gate of our grounds, departed this life. He was a Hindu. On the 7th of November, the natives in the bazar were making a great noise with their tom-toms, drums, and other discordant musical instruments, rejoicing that his widow had determined to perform sutti, *i. e.* to burn on his funeral-pile.

The magistrate sent for the woman, used every argument to dissuade her, and offered her money. Her only answer was, dashing her head on the floor, and saying, "If you will not let me burn with my husband, I will hang myself in your court of justice." The Shastras say, "The prayers and imprecations of a sutti are never uttered in vain; the great gods themselves cannot listen to them unmoved."

If a widow touch either food or water from the time her husband expires until she ascend the pile, she cannot, by Hindu law, be burned with the body; therefore the magistrate kept the corpse *forty-eight* hours, in the hope that hunger would compel the woman to eat. Guards were set over her, but she never touched any thing. My husband accompanied the magistrate to see the sutti: about 5,000 people were collected together on the banks of the Ganges: the pile was then built, and the putrid body placed upon it; the magistrate stationed guards to prevent the people from approaching it. After having bathed in the river, the widow lighted a brand, walking round the pile, set it on fire, and then mounted cheerfully: the flame caught

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and blazed up instantly; she sat down, placing the head of the corpse on her lap, and repeated several times the usual form, "Ram Ram, sutti; Ram, Ram, sutti;" *i. e.* "God, God, I am chaste."

As the wind drove the fierce fire upon her, she shook her arms and limbs as if in agony; at length she started up and approached the side to escape.

A Hindu, one of the police, who had been placed near the pile to see she had fair play and should not be burned by force, raised his sword to strike her; and the poor wretch shrank back into the flames. The magistrate seized and committed him to prison. The woman again approached the side of the blazing pile, sprang fairly out, and ran into the Ganges, which was within a few yards. When the crowd and the brothers of the dead man saw this, they called out, "Cut her down, knock her on the head with a bambu; tie her hands and feet, and throw her in again;" and rushed down to execute their murderous intentions, when the gentlemen and the police drove them back.

The woman drank some water, and, having extinguished the fire on her red garment, said she would mount the pile again and be burned.

The magistrate placed his hand on her shoulder (which rendered her impure), and said, "By your own law, having once quitted the pile you cannot ascend again; I forbid it. You are now an out-cast from the Hindus; but I will take charge of you, the Company will protect you, and you shall never want food or clothing."

He then sent her, in a palanquin, under a guard, to the hospital. The crowd made way, shrinking from her with signs of horror, but returned peaceably to their homes; the Hindus annoyed at her escape, and the Mussulmans saying, "It was better that she should escape; but it was a pity we should have lost the *tamasha* (amusement) of seeing her burnt to death."

Had not the magistrate and the English gentlemen been present, the Hindus would have cut her down when she attempted to quit the fire; or had she leapt out, would have thrown her in again, and have said, "She performed sutti of *her own accord;* how could *we* make her? it was the will of God." As a specimen of their religion, the woman said, "I have transmigrated six times, and have been burned six times with six different husbands; if I do not burn the seventh time, it will prove unlucky for me!" "What good will burning do you?" asked a by-stander. She replied, "The women of my husband's family have all been suttis: why should I bring disgrace upon them? I shall go to heaven, and afterwards re-appear on earth, and be married to a very rich man." She was about twenty or twenty-five years of age, and possessed of some property, for the sake of which her relatives wished to put her out of the world.

If every sutti were conducted in this way, very few would take place in India. The woman was not much burned, with the exception of some parts on her arms and legs. Had she performed sutti, they would have raised a little cenotaph, or a mound of earth by the side of the river, and every Hindu, who passed the place returning from bathing, would have made salaam to it; a high honour to the family! While we were in Calcutta, many suttis took place; but as they were generally on the other side of the river, we only heard of them after they had occurred. Here the people passed in procession, flags flying, and drums beating, close by our door. I saw them from the verandah: the widow, dressed in a red garment, was walking in the midst. My servants all ran to me, begging to be allowed to go and see the tamasha (fun, sport), and having obtained permission, they all started off, except one man who was pulling the punkha; and he looked greatly vexed at being obliged to remain. The sahib said, the woman appeared

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so perfectly determined, he did not think she would have quitted the fire. Having performed sutti according to her own account six times before, one would have thought from her miraculous incombustibility, she had become asbestos, only purified and not consumed by fire. I was glad the poor creature was not murdered; but she will be an out-cast; no Hindu will eat with her, enter her house, or give her assistance; and, when she appears, they will point at her and give her abuse. Her own, and her husband's family would lose caste if they were to speak to her: but, as an example, it will prevent a number of women from becoming suttis, and do infinite good: fortunately, she has no children. And these are the people called in Europe the "mild inoffensive Hindus!"

The woman was mistress of a good house and about 800 rupees; the brothers of her deceased husband would, after her destruction, have inherited the property.

Thankful that this is the record of a barbarous superstition, which has received its death-blow, we turn from it with relief to accompany the lively lady to the fair at Allahabad. Here is a list of Indian articles, that might be transferred with great advantage to the illustrated catalogue of the "Crystal Palace" Exhibition:—

THE GREAT FAIR AT ALLAHABAD.

1833, *Jan.*—The bura mela at Praya, or the great fair at Allahabad, is held annually on the sands of the Ganges below the ramparts of the Fort, extending from the Mahratta Bund to the extreme point of the sacred junction of the rivers. The booths extend the whole distance, composed of mud walls, covered with mats, or thatched. This fair lasts about two months, and attracts merchants from all parts of India,—Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow, Jeypore, &c. Very good diamonds, pearls, coral, shawls, cloth, woollens, China furs, &c., are to be purchased. Numerous booths display brass and copper vessels, glittering in the sun, with many brazen idols: others are filled with Benares toys for children. Bows and arrows are displayed; also native caps made of sable, the crowns of which are of the richest gold and silver embroidery.

The pearl merchants offer long strings of large pearls for sale, amongst which some few are fine, round, and of a good colour. The natives value size, but are not very particular as to colour; they do not care to have them perfectly round, and do not object to an uneven surface. They will allow a purchaser to select the best at pleasure from long strings.

The deep red coral is valued by the natives much more than the pink. I bought some very fine pink coral at the fair: the beads were immense; the price of the largest, eleven rupees per tola; *i. e.* eleven rupees for one rupee weight of coral. The smallest, six or four rupees per tola; it was remarkably fine. Some years afterwards, the Brija Bai, a Mahratta lady, a friend of mine, called on me; she observed the long string of fine pink coral around my neck, and said, "I am astonished a Mem-sahiba should wear coral; we only decorate our horses with it; that is pink coral, the colour is not good; look at my horse." I went to the verandah; her horse was adorned with a necklace of fine deep red coral. She was quite right, and I made over mine to my grey steed.

Some of the prettiest things sold at the mela are the tikas, an ornament for the forehead for native women. The tika is of different sizes and patterns: in gold and silver for the wealthy, tinsel for the poorer classes; and of various shapes. The prettiest are of silver, a little hollow cup like

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a dew-drop cut in halves; the ornament is stuck with an adhesive mixture on the forehead, just in the centre between the eyebrows. Some tikas are larger, resembling the *ferroniere* worn by European ladies.

The Allahabad hukaks are famous for their imitation in glass of precious stones. I purchased a number of native ornaments in imitation of the jewellery worn by native ladies, which were remarkably well made, and cost only a few rupees. I also bought strings of mock pearls brought from China, that are scarcely to be distinguished from real pearls, either in colour or weight.

The toys the rich natives give their children, consisting of imitations of all sorts of animals, are remarkably pretty; they are made in silver, and enamelled; others are made of ivory very beautifully carved; and for the poorer classes they are of pewter, moulded into the most marvellous shapes.

From the motley throng, that flocked to the holy fair, we select a portrait, the faithfulness of which (not without a touch of the characteristic handling of the artist) will be recognized by every Indian reader:—

RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.

The most remarkable people at this mela are the religious mendicants: they assemble by hundreds, and live within enclosures fenced off by sticks, a little distance from the booths. These people are the monks of the East; there are two orders of them; the Gosains, or followers of Shivu, and the Byragies, disciples of Vishnu. Any Mahomedan may become a fakir, and a Hindu of any caste, a religious mendicant. The ashes of cow-dung are considered purifying: these people are often rubbed over from head to foot with an ashen mixture, and have a strange dirty white, or rather blue appearance. Ganges mud, cow-dung, and ashes of cow dung, form, I believe, the delectable mixture.

The sectarial marks, or symbols, are painted on their faces according to their caste, with a red, yellow, white, or brown pigment, also on their breasts and arms Their only covering is a bit of rag passed between the legs and tied round the waist by a cord or rope.

One man whom I saw this day at the mela was remarkably picturesque, and attracted my admiration. He was a religious mendicant, a disciple of Shivu. In stature he was short, and dreadfully lean, almost a skeleton. His long black hair, matted with cow-dung, was twisted like a turban round his head,—a filthy juta!* On his forehead three horizontal lines were drawn with ashes, and a circlet beneath them marked in red *sander*—his sectarial mark. If possible, they obtain the ashes from the hearth, on which a consecrated fire has been lighted. His left arm he had held erect so long, that the skin and flesh had withered, and clung round the bones most frightfully; the nails of the hand, which had been kept immoveably clenched, had pierced through the palm, and grew out at the back of the hand like the long claws of a bird of prey. His horrible and skeleton-like arm was encircled by a twisted stick, the stem, perhaps, of a thick creeper, the end of which was cut into the shape of the head of the cobra de capella, with its hood displayed, and the twisted withy looked like the body of the reptile wreathed around his horrible arm. His only garment, the skin of a tiger, thrown over his shoulders, and a bit of rag and rope at his waist. He was of a dirty-white or dirty-ashen colour from mud and paint; perhaps in imitation of Shivu, who, when he appeared on earth as a naked mendi-

* Braided locks.

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cant of an ashy colour, was recognized as Mahadeo, the great god. This man was considered a very holy person. His right hand contained an empty gourd and a small rosary, and two long rosaries were around his neck of the rough beads called *mundrasi*. His flag hung from the top of a bambu, stuck in the ground by the side of a trident, the symbol of his caste, to which hung a sort of drum used by the mendicants. A very small and most beautifully formed little gyni (a dwarf cow) was with the man. She was decorated with crimson cloth, embroidered with cowrie shells, and a plume of peacock's feathers, as a jika, rose from the top of her head. A brass bell was on her neck, and around her legs were anklets of the same metal. Numbers of fakirs come to the sacred junction, each leading one of these little dwarf cows decorated with shells, cowries, coloured worsted tassels, peacock's feathers, and bells. Some are very small; about the size of a large European sheep, very fat and sleek, and are considered so sacred that they will not sell them.

Acts of severity towards the body, practised by religious mendicants, are not done as penances for sin, but as works of extraordinary merit, promising large rewards in the future state. The Byragi is not a penitent, but a proud ascetic. These people bear the character of being thieves and rascals.

Although the Hindus keep their women *parda-nishán*, that is, veiled and secluded behind the curtain, the fakirs have the privilege of entering any house they please, and even of going into the zenana; and so great is their influence over the natives, that if a religious mendicant enter a habitation, leaving his slippers at the door, the husband may not enter his own house. They have the character of being great libertines.

We shall now change the scene to Lucknow, and have a peep at the "barbaric" shows, redolent of the Coliseum and the Cæsars, which the King of Oude exhibited for the entertainment of Lord and Lady William Bentinck in 1831. Our "Haji" enjoys the scene, and especially the scamper of the crowd from the charge of the rhinoceros. "This," she says, "was beautiful:"—

WILD BEAST FIGHTS.

The river Gumti runs in front of the verandah; and on the opposite side were collected a number of elephants paired for the combat. The animals exhibited at first no inclination to fight, although urged on by their respective mahawats, and we began to imagine this native sport would prove a failure.

At length two elephants, equally matched, were guided by the mahawats on their backs to some distance from each other, and a female elephant was placed midway. As soon as the elephants turned and saw the female they became angry, and set off at a long swinging trot to meet each other; they attacked with their long tusks, and appeared to be pressing against each other with all their might. One elephant caught the leg of the other in his trunk, and strove to throw his adversary or break his fore-leg. But the most dangerous part appeared to be when they seized one another by their long trunks and interlaced them; then the combat began in good earnest. When they grew very fierce, and there was danger of their injuring themselves, fireworks were thrown in their faces, which alarmed and separated them, and small rockets were also let off for that purpose.

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The situation of a mahawat during the fight is one of danger. The year before, the shock of the combat having thrown the mahawat to the ground, the elephant opposed to him took a step to one side, and, putting his great foot upon him, quietly crushed the man to death!

Sometimes the elephant will put up his trunk to seize his opponent's mahawat, and pull him off: skill and activity are requisite to avoid the danger.

The second pair of elephants that were brought in front of the verandah hung back, as if unwilling to fight, for some time; several natives, both on horseback and on foot, touched them up every now and then with long spears to rouse their anger. One of the elephants was a long time ere he could be induced to combat—but, when once excited, he fought bravely; he was a powerful animal, too much for his adversary—for, having placed his tusks against the flank of his opponent, he drove him before him step-by-step across the plain to the edge of the river, and fairly rolled him over into the Gumti. Sometimes a defeated elephant will take to the water, and his adversary will pursue him across the river.

The animals are rendered furious by giving them balls to eat made of the wax of the human ear, which the barbers collect for that purpose!

The hair on the tail of an elephant is reckoned of such importance, that the price of the animal rises or falls according to the quantity and length of the hair on the tail. It is sometimes made into bracelets for English ladies.

A great number of elephants fought in pairs during the morning; but, to have a good view of the combat, one ought to be on the plain on the other side the river, nearer to the combatants; the verandah from which we viewed the scene is rather too distant.

When the elephant-fights were over, two rhinoceroses were brought before us, and an amusing fight took place between them; they fought like pigs.

The plain was covered by natives in thousands, on foot or on horseback. When the rhinoceroses grew fierce, they charged the crowd; and it was beautiful to see the mass of people flying before them!

On the Gumti, in front of the verandah, a large pleasure-boat belonging to His Majesty was sailing up and down: the boat was made in the shape of a fish, and the golden scales glittered in the sun.

The scene was picturesque, animated, and full of novelty.

In an inclosed court, the walls of which we overlooked, seven or eight fine wild buffaloes were confined: two tigers, one hyena, and three bears were turned loose upon them. I expected to see the tigers spring upon the buffaloes, instead of which they slunk round and round the walls of the court, apparently only anxious to escape. The tigers had not a fair chance, and were sadly injured, being thrown into the air by the buffaloes, and were received again, when falling, on their enormous horns. The buffaloes attacked them three or four together, advancing in line with their heads to the ground. I observed that when the buffaloes came up to the tiger, who was generally lying on the ground, and presented their horns close to him—if the animal raised his paw and struck one of them, he was tossed in a moment; if he remained quiet, they sometimes retreated without molesting him.

The bears fought well, but in a most laughable style. The scene was a cruel one, and I was glad when it was over. None of the animals, however, were killed.

A fight was to have taken place between a country horse and two tigers, but Lady William Bentinck broke up the party and retired. I was anxious to see the animal, he is such a vicious beast; the other day he killed two tigers that were turned loose upon him.

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Combats also took place between rams: the creatures attacked each other fiercely—the jar and the noise was surprising as head met head in full tilt. Well might they be called battering rams!

One day the lady got among the slave girls of Colonel Gardner's Zenána, and amused herself by playing a Hindustani air to them on the *sitar*, while they were at dinner. Up started the girls, merry, fat and happy, "with their food in their hands and their mouths full," and set to dancing with all their might. "They eat custards, rice, and milk, and more fluid food with 'their hand, sucking the fingers to clean them, and afterwards 'wipe them dry with a chapati." Sub-division of labour is carried to an extent among them so "truly oriental" as to leave far behind our rude European notions of luxury. Did ever any of our readers hear of—

MULLING THE EYEBROWS?

A pretty slave girl was sitting by my bedside; I held out my hand and desired her to shampoo it: the girl's countenance became clouded, and she did not offer to do it—her name was Tara (the Star). "Why do you not mull my hand, Tara, ?" said I. "Oh," she replied, "I never mull the hand; the other girls do that; I only mull the Colonel Sahib's eye-brows. I can take the pain from them, when he is ill;—that is my duty. I will not shampoo the hand." I laughed at her description of the work that fell to her lot as a slave, and said, "Well, Tara, mull my eye-brows; my head aches;" with the greatest good-humour she complied, and certainly charmed away the pain. It is the great luxury of the East.

But the fair pilgrim was not always so condescending; and she amused herself occasionally after a different fashion. Here is an instance. She was in a boat on the river *alone*, and she wished to have some *tamasha* (fun):—

HOW THE LADY ASTONISHED THE NATIVES.

The other day I was on deck in a green velvet travelling cap, with an Indian shawl, put on after the fashion of the men, amusing myself with firing with a pellet-bow at some cotton boats *en passant* for tamasha. Some natives came on board to make salaam, and looked much surprised at seeing a ghulel (a pellet-bow) in feminine hands. The cotton boats would not get out of the way, therefore I pelted the manjhis, (masters, or steersmen) of the vessels, to hasten the movements of the great unwieldy lubberly craft. Of whom can I talk but of myself in this my solitude on the Jumna-ji?

The lady's activity is prodigious; it is portentous. She does every thing, and with all her heart, and well. She rides; she sails; she climbs precipices; she makes designs and models for cabinet work and furniture; she plays on all sorts of instruments, visits all sorts of people, has all sorts of pets; she takes fits of mythology, botany, entomology, confectionery and cookery; she has a passion for visiting every remarkable place; and she gratifies it, regardless of comfort or peril. If she prides herself upon any thing, it is upon "dressing a camel;" and she dresses her-

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self in all kinds of out-of-the-way fashions. She seems to know (we are afraid to say how) many languages—Latin among the rest; and she handles, with equal skill, the pencil, the pellet-bow, and the grey goose-quill.

It is said of "that famed wizard, Michael Scott," that he once raised a spirit of such irrepressible and inexhaustible activity, that he could only keep him quiet at last by setting him "to make ropes of sand." We have our doubts whether even that task would have been too hard for the "Haji." She is never contented with a superficial knowledge of her "Cynthia of the moment;" she will hunt out, and know, and tell us all about it. She takes for instance to making tables and chairs; and—*voila!* another Exhibition catalogue of

INDIAN WOODS FOR FURNITURE.

Nov.—The cold season is a busy time. Having procured a quantity of teak timber and toon wood, we established a Board of Works in the verandah, consisting of five carpenters, two sawyers, two turners, six iron-smiths, one stone-cutter, and one harness-maker. Most excellent and very handsome were the dining-tables, side-board, horse-shoe-table, wardrobes, &c., and a Stanhope, made by these men, from our own designs.

The carpenters carve wood extremely well. On my return to England, I saw and admired a round table in a friend's drawing-room; "Do you not remember," said she with surprise, "you made up that table yourself?" On looking at it, I recognized the pedestal and claw carved with broad leaves, copied from a model I made for my carpenter of Ganges mud.

The furniture was of various kinds of wood, as follows:

Teak sagun (tectona grandis), or Indian oak—a fine heavy timber, in colour resembling oak; strong and good wood. The teak I made use of came from Ava, and was brought up from the salt-water lake near Calcutta; good sagun was also to be purchased at Cawnpore.

The finest is brought from Java and Ava. I saw *one plank* of Java teak, which, even when made up, measured five feet six inches in diameter. It was the top of an oval table. It bears a good polish, and is suited for tables, wardrobes and the beds of billiard-tables. In the up-country the usual price is one rupee per foot, when the plank is one inch in thickness; in Calcutta, the same price when the plank is four inches in thickness. The *general* size of the timber brought from Ava is eighteen inches in breadth.

Sal, sankho, or sakoo (shorea robusta)—a heavy strong wood, from the up-country; fit for beams of houses, wardrobes, frames, window-frames, kitchen-tables, &c. Price, when thirty feet in length by seventeen inches in breadth, twenty-six rupees; when twenty-one feet in length by twenty-two in breadth, thirty-two rupees. It is sold cheap at Cawnpore in September and October.

Shisham, sissú, or sesu (dalbergia sissoo)—from the up-country; fit for tables, chairs, carriage-wheels and bodies; very heavy, takes a good polish, fine grained. Price, eighteen feet in length by fourteen in breadth, thirteen rupees; good for bullock-collars; cheap in September.

Toon—a light soft-grained wood, very much resembling mahogany; fit for tables, chairs, billiard-table frames, book-cases, &c.; reasonable at Cawnpore.

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Sundri—comes from Calcutta; the best wood for shafts and carriage-wheels.

Arnoose, or bastard ebony, also called tinu—a common timber found on the banks of the Jumna; used for fire-wood; three or four mans per rupee. In the centre of the wood the ebony is found, which is lighter, both in colour and weight, than the ebony from the hills (abnoos), which is very heavy, hard, and difficult to cut; also of a good blackness; useful for handles of seals, chess-men, &c.

Cocoanut tree, naryul—from Calcutta; also one of the best for shafts; the bark is curious; when petrified and polished, it is made into ornaments, brooches, &c.

Sutsaul—something like rose-wood; comes from the Nepaul Terai.

Tindoa—hard, tough, and very good for turning.

Rouswood (rous) from the hills; extremely delicate and fine grained; turns beautifully;—colour light. I procured rouswood fit for turning in the jungles near Allahabad.

Nim or nimb (melia azadirachta)—extremely heavy and tough; colour light—almost white; turns well.

Korieah—Benares toys are made of this wood: it is beautifully white, fine grained, and delicate; it turns delightfully, and is very light. The toys are lacquered on the lathe by applying sealing-wax to them; the friction warms the sealing-wax, and it adheres. See Appendix, No. 11.

Mango-wood, amra, (spondias mangifera)—fit for common work, out-house doors and beams, kitchen-tables, &c.

Babul—a very heavy and extremely hard wood (acacia Arabica).

Patang—a red wood, used in colouring cloths.

Lall chundun—a cedar.

Chucrassy—also walnut-wood from the hills.

The great charm of the book is that it is so delightfully prosaic. She never philosophizes, eschews sentiment, and, with the exception of one little flight about the Himalaya, never attempts to be poetical. She is wonderfully honest and truthful; but we suspect that in two or three instances she has been victimized, or has been a little too credulous. The following scene, dashed off with a broad and coarse pencil, made us draw breath for more than one reason. We have never seen or heard of any such ceremony; but the lady says, she saw it with her own eyes, and heard it with her own ears:—

DRIVING AWAY THE CHOLERA.

"Every country hath its own fashions." The Hindu women, in the most curious manner, propitiate the goddess who brings all this illness into the bazar: they go out in the evening about 7 P. M., sometimes two or three hundred at a time, carrying each a lota, or brass vessel, filled with sugar, water, cloves, &c. In the first place they make puja; then, stripping off their chadars, and binding their sole petticoat around their waists, as high above the knee as it can be pulled up, they perform a most frantic sort of dance, forming themselves into a circle, whilst in the centre of the circle about five or six women dance entirely naked, beating their hands together, over their heads, and then applying them behind with a great smack, that keeps time with the music, and with the song they scream out

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all the time, accompanied by native instruments, played by men, who stand at a distance, to the sound of which these women dance and sing, looking like frantic creatures. Last night, returning from a drive, passing the Fort, I saw five or six women dancing and whipping themselves after this fashion; fortunately, my companion did not comprehend what they were about. The Hindu women alone practise this curious method of driving away diseases from the bazar; the Musselmanis never. The men avoid the spot where the ceremony takes place; but here and there, one or two men may be seen looking on, whose presence does not appear to molest the nut-brown dancers in the least; they shriek, and sing, and smack, and scream, most marvellously.

Our next selection shall be a charming sketch from nature, worthy of Knapp, or White of Selborne:—

THE BYA BIRD AND THE BABUL TREE.

On a babul-tree in the grounds are twelve or fifteen beautiful nests pendant from the extremity of slender twigs—the habitations of a little community of Bya birds. I took down three of the nests; they contained two, three, and four little white eggs; the parent birds made a sad lament when the nests were taken. If you take a nest with the young birds in it, the parent bird will follow and feed them. The natives consider it highly improper to shoot the Bya birds; they are sacred, and so tame. One of my servants has brought me a young bird; it flies to my hand when I call it. There is a pretty fable which says, "The old birds put a fire-fly into their nests every night to act as a lamp." Perhaps they sometimes feed their young on fire-flies, which may be the origin of the story. It is pleasing to imagine the sacred birds swinging in their pretty nests pendant from the extreme end of a branch, the interior lighted by a fire-fly lamp. The Bya bird is the Indian yellow-hammer; the nests I speak of are almost within reach of my hand, and close to the house. For the shape of the nests, see the sketch entitled "The Spring Bow." They are of grass beautifully woven together, and suspended by a long thin tapering end, the entrance hanging downwards. In the nests containing the young, there is no division; the swelling on the side is the part in which the young ones nestle together. Some of the nests appear as if they were cut short off: these are purposely built so, and contain two apartments, which are, I suppose, the place, where the parent birds sit and confabulate on the aspect of affairs in general. The birds are very fond of hanging their nests from slender twigs over a pool of water, as in the sketch, the young birds thus being in greater safety.

The wood of the babul (acacia Arabica) is extremely hard, and is used by the Brahmans to kindle their sacred fire, by rubbing two pieces of it together, when it is of a proper age, and sufficiently dried. It produces the Indian gum Arabic. The gold ear-rings made in imitation of the flower of the babul, worn by Indian women, and by some men also, are beautiful.

From the fair pilgrim's numerous escapes and *escapades*, by field and flood and mountain, we select her close interview with a chita, or hunting leopard:—

THE LADY AND THE CHITA.

We arrived at the estate of a native gentleman, called Petumber, where, on the plain, we saw a herd of about three hundred antelopes, bounding,

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running, and playing in the sunshine; and a severe sun it was, enough to give one a brain fever, in spite of the leather hood of the buggy. The antelopes are so timid, they will not allow a buggy to come very near the herd; therefore, being determined to see the hunt, we got out of the carriage, and mounted upon the hackery (cart), on which the chita was carried, without even an umbrella, lest it should frighten the deer. The chita had a hood over his eyes and a rope round his loins, and two natives, his keepers, were with him.

I sat down by accident on the animal's tail:—O-o-o-wh, growled the chita. I did not wait for another growl, but released his tail instantly. The bullock hackery was driven into the midst of the herd. The bandage was removed from the eyes of the chita, and the cord from his body: he dropped from the cart and bounded, with the most surprising bounds, towards an immense black buck, seized him by the throat, flung him on the ground, and held him there. The keepers went up, they cut the buck's throat, and then they cut off the haunch of the hind leg, and, dipping a wooden spoon into the cavity, offered it full of blood to the chita. Nothing but this would have induced the chita to quit the throat of the buck. He followed the men to the cart, jumped upon it, drank the blood, and the men then put his bandage over his eyes. The haunch was put into the back of the cart, the reward for the animal when the hunting was over. The herd had passed on; we followed, taking care the wind did not betray our approach. The chita was leaning against me in the hackery, and we proceeded very sociably. Another herd of antelopes went bounding near us, the chita's eyes were unbound again, and the rope removed from his loins; a fine buck passed, we expected he would instantly pursue it as usual, but the animal turned sulky, and, instead of dropping down from the hackery, he put both his fore-paws on my lap and stood there two or three seconds with his face and whiskers touching my cheek. O-o-o-wh—O-o-o-wh, growled the chita!—my heart beat faster, but I sat perfectly quiet, as you may well imagine, whilst I thought to myself, "If he seize my throat, he will never leave it, until they cut off my hind-quarter, and give him a bowl of blood!" His paws were as light on my lap as those of a cat. How long the few seconds appeared whilst I eyed him askance! Nor was I slightly glad when the chita dropped to the ground, where he crouched down sulkily and would not hunt. He was a very fine-tempered animal, but they are all uncertain. I did not like his being quite so near when he was unfastened and *sulky*.

The next time I took care to get off the cart before the creature was freed from restraint.

As a pendant, here is her reminiscence of a more agreeable companion:—

THE PET SQUIRREL.

Let me record the death of little Jack Bunce, my pet squirrel. On our arrival at Prag, I went into the stable to see a sick horse, and, hearing a chirping noise, looked up, and saw a young squirrel, which, having escaped from its nest, was in great perplexity on its first expedition from home. I caught it. Its eyes were open; but it could not run very fast. For the first week it lived either in my husband's pocket, or on my shoulder; if alarmed, it took refuge with him. It became very tame, and never ran away. A gay house with two rooms was built for it. At first it drank milk and ate sweetmeats (pera); as it grew older it had bread, grain, milk, and whatever it pleased during meals, at which time it would quit my shoulder

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for the table. We caught several young ones, and put them into Jack's cage; he was pleased, and tended them like a little old nurse; but they grew very wild, and we let them go, with the exception of one little female, whom Jack reared as his helpmate, and appeared very fond of her; she was very wild, and would not allow me to touch her. They went with me to Lucknow. One night I heard Jack and his wife quarrelling violently—she bit off his beautiful long tail, and Jack killed her for it: the wretches also ate their young one. Jack returned with me, and, to complete his education, I took him to the holy city of Benares, that he might gain absolution for his little improprieties. Never was there so travelled a squirrel! He lived with us three years, always fat, sleek, and merry; and very fond of us, chirping and running to us when we called him; at last he fell ill, and died quickly. Sometimes he would run off into the garden, but when I called him would return, run up my gown to my shoulder, and give a shrill peculiar whistle; he was the largest of the kind I ever saw, and the three streaks down his back were beautiful. Poor little Jack! you were a nice and sensible little animal! The males are more courageous, and more easily tamed, than the females.

Among the strange persons, places, and things, encountered by the lady in her pilgrimage, there was one only, whose wanderings and eccentricities were more than a match for her own. Human nature is weak; and even Mrs. Parks, notwithstanding her "*fureur*" for every thing out of the way, shows symptoms of uneasiness, and does scant justice to the merits of her rival. Need we say that this could be none other than the celebrated Joseph Wolff?—Yet the lady shows good fight; her quiet hit at the condition of Joseph's Bible, and her parting present of an idol to the wandering Padre, are, in their way, first-rate. We quote what she says of him:—

JOSEPH WOLFF.

My husband accompanied me to hear Mr. Wolff. He is a strange and most curious-looking man; in stature short and thin; and his weak frame appears very unfit to bear the trials and hardships to which he has been, and will be, exposed in his travels. His face is very flat, deeply marked with small-pox; his complexion that of dough, and his hair flaxen. His grey eyes roll and start, and fix themselves, at times, most fearfully; they have a cast in them, which renders their expression still wilder. Being a German, and by birth a Jew, his pronunciation of English is very remarkable; at times it is difficult to understand him: however, his foreign accent only gives originality to his lectures, aided occasionally by vehement gesticulation. His voice is deep and impressive; at times, having given way to great and deep enthusiasm, and having arrested the attention of his hearers, he sinks at once down into some common-place remark, his voice becoming a most curious treble, the effect of which is so startling, one can scarcely refrain from laughter. He understands English very well; his language is excellent, but evidently borrowed more from reading than from conversation. He makes use of words never used in common *parlance*, but always well and forcibly applied. He carries you along with him in his travels, presenting before you the different scenes he has witnessed, and pointing out those customs and manners still in use,

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which prove the truth of Scripture. His descriptions at times are very forcible, and his account of the lives of St. Augustine and other holy men very interesting.

* * * * * *

A lady brought Mr. Wolff to call upon me, he being anxious to see my collection Hindu idols. On his arrival, he introduced himself in these words:—"I am of the tribe of Benjamin, and Benjamin was a ravening wolf,—and so, they call me Wolff!"

On Sunday he preached, or rather gave us a homily, which was sufficiently startling for even us Indians. What you sober people in England would think of it, I know not. We dined at Mr. F——'s house, and met Mr. Wolff. After dinner, he was very anxious all the ladies should write their names in his Bible, which is seldom out of his hands, and was in such a state I did not like to touch it. Should he visit Hampshire, he will give lectures: they are worth hearing. Perhaps he will repeat the story of the mother of St. Augustine. All that I recollect of it is, the mother, weeping bitterly, spoke to some holy man respecting her son, whose conduct gave her pain. He answered, "The child of a mother of so many tears cannot be lost." This child was afterwards St. Augustine. It is very beautiful, "The child of a mother of so many tears cannot be lost!"

I gave Mr. Wolff two Hindu idols, with which he was much pleased: he interests himself in the Muhammadan religion, but is entirely ignorant respecting the worship of the Hindus.

For our readers at home, we shall quote her account of the Gypsies:—

THE NUT LOG.

19th.—Yesterday, some wandering gypsies (Nut Log) came to the door; they were a family of tumblers. Nut is the name of a tribe who are generally jugglers, rope-dancers, &c. There was one girl amongst them whose figure was most beautiful, and her attitudes more classic and elegant than any I have ever beheld; Madame Sacci would hide her diminished head before the supple and graceful attitudes of this Indian girl.

A man placed a solid piece of wood, of the shape of an hour-glass, and about eighteen inches in height, on his head; the girl ran up his back, and standing on one foot on the top of the wood, maintained her balance in the most beautiful attitude, whilst the man ran round and round in a small circle; she then sprang off his head to the ground. After this she again ran up his back, and kneeling on the hour-glass-like wood on his head, allowed him to run in the circle; then she balanced herself on the small of her back, her hands and feet in the air! After that, she stood on her head, her feet straight in the air, the man performing the circle all the time! The drapery worn by the natives falls in the most beautiful folds, and the girl was a fit subject for a statuary: I was delighted.

They placed a brass vessel, with dust in it, behind her back on the ground, whilst she stood erect; she bent backwards, until her forehead touched the dust in the vessel, and took up between her eyelids two bits of iron, that looked like bodkins; the brass pan in which they were laid was only about two inches high from the ground! She threw herself into wonderful attitudes with a sword in her hand. A set of drawings, illustrating all the graceful positions which she assumed, would be very interesting; I had never seen any thing of the kind before, and thought of Wilhelm Meister. The Nut Log consisted of five women, one little child, and one man, who performed all these extraordinary feats; another man

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beat a tom-tom to keep time for them, and accompanied it with his voice; the poor little child performed wonderfully well. She could not have been more than six years old; the other girl was, I should suppose, about eighteen years of age.

Another exhibition worth seeing is an Hindustani juggler, with his goat, two monkeys, and three bits of wood, like the wood used in England to play the devil and two sticks. The first bit of wood is placed on the ground, the goat ascends it, and balances herself, on the top; the man by degrees places another bit of wood on the upper edge of the former; the goat ascends, and retains her balance; the third piece, in like manner, is placed on the top of the former two pieces; the goat ascends from the two former, a monkey is placed on her back, and she still preserves the balance. I have seen this curious performance many times. The man keeps time with a sort of musical instrument, which he holds in his right hand, and sings a wild song to aid the goat; without the song and the measured time, they say the goat could not perform the balance.

The hero of the work, however, or rather of the first volume, is Colonel Gardner, and its greatest novelty is an account of his Zenana. We confess that we have no sympathy with the enthusiasm of the authoress, and that we find her details of the interior of the Zenana the dullest part of the book. Colonel Gardner was a soldier of fortune, who succeeded, by an unscrupulous use of his position as an ambassador from a paramount power, in forcing himself into an alliance with the family of a native prince, by a marriage with a little girl, only twelve years old. He adopted in his family native habits and native usages; and, though his children were educated nominally as Christians, his son married a Mussulman princess, whom he carried off from under his father's roof; and his grand-daughter, Susan Gardner, apparently much against his inclination, became the wife of a dissipated and needy Shahzadah, allied to the royal family of Delhi. No body can be a better authority than Colonel Gardner on life and manners, as they are found in the Zenana; and we shall give his account of them in his own words:—

LIFE IN THE ZENANA.

"They have ponies to ride upon within the four walls of the Zenana grounds. Archery is a favourite amusement; my son, James Gardner, who is a very fine marksman, was taught by a woman.

"A silver swing is the great object of ambition; and it is *the fashion* to swing in the rains, when it is thought charming to come in dripping wet. The swings are hung between two high posts in the garden.

"Fashion is as much regarded by the Mussulmani ladies as by the English; they will not do this or that because it is not the fashion.

"It is general amongst the higher and the middle classes of females in Hindustan to be able to read the Kuran in Arabic (it is not allowed to be translated), and the Commentary in Persian.

"The ladies are very fond of eating fresh whole roasted coffee. When a number of women are sitting on the ground, all eating the dry roasted coffee, the noise puts me in mind of a flock of sheep at the gram trough.

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"The most correct hour for dinner is eleven or twelve at night; they smoke their huqus all through the night, and sleep during the day.

"Nothing can exceed the quarrels that go on in the Zenana, or the complaints the Begums make against each other. A common complaint is 'Such an one has been practising witchcraft against me.' If the husband make a present to one wife, even if it be only a basket of mangoes, he must make the same exactly to all the other wives to keep the peace. A wife, when in a rage with her husband, if on account of jealousy, often says, 'I wish I were married to a grass-cutter,' *i. e.* because a grass-cutter is so poor, he can only afford to have one wife.

"My having been married some thirty or forty years, and never having taken another wife, surprises the Mussulmans very much, and the ladies all look upon me as a pattern: they do not admire a system of having three or four rivals, however well pleased the gentlemen may be with the custom."

The poor old man seems to have been keenly sensible of the miserable lot, to which his own weakness condemned his child. Mrs. Parks tells us, that—

When the moment arrived for the Prince to carry off his bride, the whole of the women in the Zenana came round her, and cried and wept with all their might and main; even those who did not regret her departure cried and wept most furiously. Colonel Gardner was sitting there, looking pale and miserable; when he embraced his grand-daughter, whom he loved, the old man trembled in every limb, the tears dropped from his eyes, and he could scarcely stand. He called the Prince to him, and told him that, according to his treatment of his child should be his own conduct towards him; that if he made her happy, he should want for nothing; but if he made her unhappy, he would make him miserable. Colonel Gardner then said to me, "When I gave her sister to young Gardner, I knew she would be happy; but this poor girl, who may prophesy her fate? However, she wished it; her mother and the Begum had set their hearts upon it; and you know, my beti (my child), women will have their own way."

We turn from this melancholy sacrifice, wretched in every case, but most degrading to a Christian and an English gentleman, with a mixed feeling of sorrow and shame. The whole story has its own moral; and we will not injure it by comment or remark. The ladies seem to have been happy enough in their way; and the following description of one of them, Mrs. James Gardner, otherwise Mulka Begum, the mother of the bride, is in Mrs. Parks's peculiar manner—lively, picturesque, and characteristic:—

THE MULKA BEGUM.

A short time after our arrival, Mulka Begum entered the room, looking like a dazzling apparition; you could not see her face, she having drawn her dopatta (veil) over it; her movements were graceful, and the magnificence and elegance of her drapery were surprising to the eye of an European.

She seated herself on the gaddi, and, throwing her dopatta partly off her

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face, conversed with us. How beautiful she looked! how very beautiful! Her animated countenance was constantly varying, and her dark eyes struck fire, when a joyous thought crossed her mind. The languor of the morning had disappeared; by lamplight she was a different creature; and I felt no surprise, when I remembered the wondrous tales told by the men of the beauty of Eastern women. Mulka walks very gracefully, and is as straight as an arrow. In Europe, how rarely—how very rarely does a woman walk gracefully! bound up in stays, the body is as stiff as a lobster in its shell; that snake-like undulating movement,—the poetry of motion—is lost, destroyed by the stiffness of the waist and hip, which impedes the free movement of the limbs. A lady in European attire gives me the idea of a German mannikin; an Asiatic, in her flowing drapery, recalls the statues of antiquity.

I had heard of Mulka's beauty long ere I beheld her, and she was described to me as the loveliest creature in existence. Her eyes, which are very long, large, and dark, are remarkably fine, and appeared still larger from being darkened on the edges of the eyelids with surma: natives compare the shape of a fine eye to a mango when cut open. Her forehead is very fine; her nose delicate, and remarkably beautiful,—so finely chiselled; her mouth apppeared less beautiful, the lips being rather thin. According to the custom of married women in the East, her teeth were blackened, and the inside of her lips also, with missi (antimony); which has a peculiarly disagreeable appearance to my eye, and may therefore have made me think the lower part of her countenance less perfectly lovely than the upper: in the eye of a native, this application of missi adds to beauty. Her figure is tall and commanding; her hair jet black, very long and straight; her hands and arms are lovely, very lovely.

On the cloth before Mulka were many glass dishes, filled with sweetmeats, which were offered to the company, with tea and coffee, by her attendants. Mulka partook of the coffee; her huqu was at her side, which she smoked now and then: she offered her own huqu to me, as a mark of favour. A superior or equal has her huqu in attendance, whilst the bindah khana furnishes several for the inferior visitors. Mrs. Valentine Gardner, the wife of Colonel Gardner's brother, was of the party; she lives with the Begum.

Mulka's dress was extremely elegant, the most becoming attire imaginable. A Musulmani wears only four garments:—

Firstly, the angiya: a boddice, which fits tight to the bosom, and has short sleeves; it is made of silk gauze, profusely ornamented.

Secondly, the kurti: a sort of loose body, without sleeves, which comes down to the hips; it is made of net, crape, or gauze, and highly ornamented.

Thirdly, pajamas: of gold or crimson brocade, or richly-figured silk; made tight at the waist, but gradually expanding until they reach the feet, much after the fashion of a fan, where they measure eight yards eight inches! A gold border finishes the trowser.

Fourthly, the dopatta: which is the most graceful and purely feminine attire in the world; it is of white transparent gauze, embroidered with gold, and trimmed with gold at the ends, which have also a deep fringe of gold and silver.

The dopatta is so transparent, it hides not; it merely veils the form, adding beauty to the beautiful, by its soft and cloud-like folds. The jewellery sparkles beneath it; and the outline of its drapery is continually changing according to the movements or coquetry of the wearer. Such was the

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attire of the Princess! Her head was covered with pearls and precious stones, most gracefully arranged: from the throat to the waist was a succession of strings of large pearls and precious stones; her arms and hands were covered with armlets, bracelets, and rings innumerable. Her delicate and uncovered feet were each decorated with two large circular anklets composed of gold and precious stones, and golden rings were on her toes. In her nose she wore a n'hut, a large thin gold ring, on which were strung two large pearls, with a ruby between them. A nose-ring is a love-token, and is always presented by the bridegroom to the bride. No single woman is allowed to wear one.

In her youth Mulka learned to read and write in Persian, but since her marriage has neglected it. Music is considered disgraceful for a lady of rank; dancing the same:—such things are left to nâch women. Mulka made enquiries concerning the education of young ladies in England; and on hearing how many hours were devoted to the piano, singing, and dancing, she expressed her surprise, considering such nâch-like accomplishments degrading.

This is very pretty and very picturesque: but the truth is that the poetry and romance of the Harem exist only in warm imaginations, and in that propensity of our nature, which lends to the unknown a beauty and a charm, which the prosaic hand of reality rudely tears away. A zenana is (oftener than any thing else) a collection of dirty, quarrelling, coarse-minded, and uneducated women, who spend their time in cooking, dressing, match-making, and debasing intrigues. The beauty of the women is merely physical, and rapidly degenerates: their passions are oftenest those of the animal; and their minds, with a few rare exceptions, have no scope for healthy exercise, or ennobling pursuit. Hence it is, that they hold such a subordinate place in the social scale; and they will never rise above it, until the men feel and appreciate the surpassing value of Christian companionship, and household confidence and affection.

We have seen something of "*la crême de la crême*" of Mussulmani female society, in a family allied with the blood royal of Delhi; and our highly favoured pilgrim is able to introduce us into the zenana of a scion of Hindu monarchy, a lady, who had sate on the throne of Gwalior, as queen regnant for nine years:—

THE BAIZA BHAI AND THE GAJA RAJA.

We found Her Highness seated on her gaddi of embroidered cloth, with her grand-daughter, the Gaja Raja Sahib, at her side; the ladies, her attendants, were standing around her; and the sword of Scindia was on the gaddi, at her feet. She rose to receive and embrace us, and desired us to be seated near her. The Baiza Ba'i is rather an old woman, with grey hair and *en bon point*; she must have been pretty in her youth; her smile is remarkably sweet, and her manners particularly pleasing; her hands and feet are very small, and beautifully formed. Her sweet voice reminded me of the proverb, "A pleasant voice brings a snake out of a hole." She

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was dressed in the plainest red silk, wore no ornaments, with the exception of a pair of small plain bars of gold as bracelets. Being a widow, she is obliged to put jewellery aside, and to submit to numerous privations and hardships. Her countenance is very mild and open; there is a freedom and independence in her air that I greatly admire,—so unlike that of the sleeping, languid, opium-eating Mussulmanis. Her grand-daughter, the Gaja Raja Sahib, is very young; her eyes the largest I ever saw; her face is rather flat, and not pretty; her figure is beautiful; she is the least little wee creature you ever beheld. The Mahratta dress consists only of two garments, which are, a tight body to the waist, with sleeves tight to the elbow; a piece of silk, some twenty yards or more in length, which they wind around them as a petticoat, and then, taking a part of it, draw it between the limbs, and fasten it behind, in a manner that gives it the effect both of petticoat and trowsers; this is the whole dress, unless, at times, they substitute angiyas, with short sleeves, for the tight long-sleeved body.

The Gaja Raja was dressed in purple Benares silk, with a deep gold border woven into it; when she walked, she looked very graceful, and the dress very elegant; on her forehead was a mark like a spear-head, in red paint; her hair was plaited, and bound into a knot at the back of her head, and low down; her eyes were edged with surma, and her hands and feet dyed with henna. On her feet and ancles were curious silver ornaments; toe-rings of peculiar form, which she sometimes wore of gold, sometimes of red coral. In her nostril was a very large and brilliant n'hut (nose-ring), of diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, of the particular shape worn by the Mahrattas; in her ears were fine brilliants. From her throat to her waist she was covered with strings of magnificent pearls and jewels; her hands and arms were ornamented with the same. She spoke but little,—scarcely five words passed her lips; she appeared timid, but was pleased with the bouquet of beautiful flowers, just fresh from the garden, that the lady, who presented me, laid at her feet on her entrance. These Mahrattas are a fine bold race; amongst her ladies in waiting I remarked several fine figures, but their faces were generally too flat. Some of them stood in waiting with rich Cashmere shawls thrown over their shoulders; one lady, before the Maharaj, leaned on her sword, and, if the Ba'i quitted the apartment, the attendant and sword always followed her. The Ba'i was speaking of horses, and the lady, who introduced me, said I was as fond of horses as a Mahratta. Her Highness said she should like to see an English lady on horseback; she could not comprehend how they could sit all crooked, all on one side, in the side-saddle. I said I should be too happy to ride into camp any hour Her Highness would appoint, and show her the style of horsemanship practised by ladies in England.

Never does the lady appear more in her glory, than when in that celebrated ride, she "witched the world with noble horsemanship," contending on equal terms with the fairy Gaja Raja, making the unseen "great unknown" lose sight of discretion, and feeling as if she could have "jumped over the moon." Our readers must have the ride:—

THE RIDE IN THE ZENANA.

I mounted him, and entering the precincts of the Zenana, found myself in a large court, where all the ladies of the ex-Queen were assembled, and anxiously looking for the English lady, who would ride crooked! The Ba'i

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was seated in the open air; I rode up, and, dismounting, paid my respects. She remarked the beauty of the Arab, felt the hollow under his jaw, admired his eye, and, desiring one of the ladies to take up his foot, examined it, and said he had the small, black, hard foot of the pure Arab; she examined and laughed at my saddle. I then mounted, and putting the Arab on his mettle, showed her how English ladies manage their horses. When this was over, three of the Baiza Ba'i's own riding horses were brought out by the female attendants; for we were within the Zenana, where no man is allowed to enter. The horses were in full caparison, the saddles covered with velvet and kimkwhab and gold embroidery, their heads and necks ornamented with jewels and chains of gold. The Gaja Raja, in her Mahratta riding dress, mounted one of the horses, and the ladies the others; they cantered and pranced about, showing off the Mahratta style of riding. On dismounting, the young Gaja Raja threw her horse's bridle over my arm, and said, laughingly, "Are you afraid? or will you try my horse?" Who could resist such a challenge? "I shall be delighted," was my reply. "You cannot ride like a Mahratta in that dress," said the Princess; "put on proper attire." I retired to obey her commands, returning in Mahratta costume, mounted her horse, put my feet into the great iron stirrups, and started away for a gallop round the enclosure. I thought of Queen Elizabeth, and her stupidity in changing the style of riding for women. *En cavalier*, it appeared so safe, as if I could have jumped over the moon. Whilst I was thus amusing myself, "Shah-bash! shah-bash!" exclaimed some masculine voice; but who pronounced the words, or where the speaker lay *perdu*, I have never discovered.

"Now," said I to the Gaja Raja, "having obeyed your commands, will you allow one of your ladies to ride on my side-saddle?" My habit was put on one of them; how ugly she looked! "She is like a black doctor!" exclaimed one of the girls. The moment I got the lady into the saddle, I took the rein in my hand, and riding by her side, started her horse off in a canter; she hung on one side, and could not manage it at all; suddenly checking her horse, I put him into a sharp trot. The poor lady hung half off the animal, clinging to the pummel, and screaming to me to stop; but I took her on most unmercifully, until we reached the spot where the Baiza Ba'i was seated; the walls rang with laughter; the lady dismounted, and vowed she would never again attempt to sit on such a vile crooked thing as a side-saddle. It caused a great deal of amusement in the camp.

It is but fair, however, to acquit Queen Bess of such a piece of "stupidity." Nearly two hundred years before her day, the side saddle was introduced into England by Anne of Bohemia, the fair and beloved queen of the luckless Richard II.: so, we trust, our bold equestrian will never breathe such "scandal against Queen Elizabeth again."

In spite, however, of all this outward glitter, there are passages in the lady's book, (which we dare not quote, and will not indicate,) proving the foulness and real barbarism, that lurk beneath; and another glimpse at the Gaja Raja will show clearly the gulf, that separates the high-born and high-bred Mahratta princess from the lowliest English peasant girl:—

THE GAJA RAJA DOING PUJA.

Picture to yourself the extraordinary scene. The young Princess doing

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pûja before the shrine of Mahadeo, a descent on earth of Shivu, the destroyer. Her delicate form, covered from head to foot with a mixture of ashes and Ganges mud; her long black hair matted with the same, and bound round her head like a turban; her attire the skin of a tiger; her necklace of human bones, a rosary in her hand, and a human skull for an alms-dish,—a religious mendicant; or making discordant music on a sort of double-headed hand-drum used by fakirs, and wandering about within the canvas walls of the Zenana tent like a maniac! The skull borne by religious mendicants is to represent that of Brumha. Shivu, in a quarrel, cut off one of Brumha's five heads, and made an alms-dish of it. As the Gaja Raja appeared as a religious mendicant, the form in which the lord of the Bhutus appeared on earth, I hope some of the ladies represented the latter, a number of whom always attended Shivu. The Bhutus are beings partly in human shape, though some of them have the faces of horses, others of camels, others of monkeys, &c.; some have the bodies of horses, and the faces of men; some have one leg, and some two; some have only one ear, and others only one eye. They would have made charming attendants on the little Princess, who, wrapped in a tiger's skin, and wandering like a maniac, performed, before the shrine of Mahadeo, the vow made in her name by her mother at her birth!

Turning over the leaves at random, we light upon the following description of "a north-wester." It is an exquisite picture —graphic—vivid—the very reality in a verbal embodiment:—

AN INDIAN TUFAN.

High and deep clouds of dust come rushing along the ground, which, soaring into the highest heaven, spread darkness with a dull sulphureous tinge, as the red brown clouds of the tufan whirl swiftly on. It would almost be an inducement to go to India, were it only to see a hurricane in all its glory: the might and majesty of wind and dust: just now the fine sand from the banks of the river is passing in such volumes on the air, that the whole landscape has a white hue, and objects are indistinct; it drives through every crevice, and, although the windows are all shut, fills my eyes and covers the paper. It is a fearful gale. I have been out to see if the pinnace is likely to be driven from her moorings. The waves in the river are rolling high with crests of foam; a miniature sea. So powerful were the gusts, with difficulty I was able to stand against them. Like an Irish hurricane, it blew up and down. At last the falling of heavy rain caused the abatement of the wind. The extreme heat passed away; the trees, the earth, all nature, animate and inanimate, exulted in the refreshing rain. Only those, who have panted and longed for the fall of rain, can appreciate the delight, with which we hailed the setting in of the rains after the tufan.

Here is an account of an interview with a family from the Rajmahal hills, an interesting relic of the aboriginal races of Hindustan:—

A FAMILY FROM THE HILLS.

As we were tossing the bones to the little spaniels, we met with an adventure, which, bringing for the second time in my life uncivilized beings before me, quite delighted me. The footpath from the interior of the hills

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led to the place where we were seated. Down this path came a most delightful group, a family of savages, who attracted my attention by the singularity of their features, the smallness and activity of their bodies, their mode of gathering their hair in a knot on the top of their heads, and their wild-looking bows and arrows. We called these good-natured, gay-looking people around us; they appeared pleased at being noticed, and one of the women offered me some young heads of Indian corn, which she took from a basket she carried on her head, containing their principal provision, this boiled and mashed Indian corn. She also carried a child seated astride upon her hip. A child is rarely seen in a woman's arms, as in Europe. The same custom appears to have existed amongst the Jews: "Ye shall be borne upon her sides, and dandled upon her knees."—*Isaiah*.

The party consisted of a man and three boys, apparently eight, twelve, and sixteen years of age, two women, and a little girl. The man said he had come from a place four coss within the hills, by our calculation eight miles; but, hill measurement of distance being generally liberal, I should suppose it double that distance. Their descent at this time to the plains was to help in gathering in the present crop of uncut rice, for which purpose the owners of the fields had asked them to come down. The man appeared to be about five feet in height, remarkable for lightness and suppleness of limb, with the piercing and restless eye that is said to be peculiar to savages. His countenance was round and happy; the expression had both cunning and simplicity; the nose depressed between the eyes, and altogether a face that one laughed to look at. His black hair drawn tight up in a knot on the very top of the head, the ends fastened in with a wooden comb. His only clothing a small piece of linen bound around his middle. He carried a bow of hill bambu, the string of which was formed out of the twisted rind of the bambu, and the four arrows were of the common reed, headed with iron barbs of different shapes; one of the barbs was poisoned. The hill-man said he had bought the poison into which the barb had been dipped of a more remote hill tribe, and was ignorant of its nature: he begs us not to handle the point. The natives will not mention the name of the plant from which the poison is procured; it appears to be a carefully-guarded secret. On each arrow were strips of feather from the wing of the vulture. The boy was similarly dressed, and armed. The woman, who carried the child, appeared to be the favourite, from the number of ornaments on her person. She was extremely small in stature, but fat and well-looking. Unlike the women of the plains, she wore no covering on her head, and but little on her body. Two or three yards of cloth passed around her waist, and descended half way below the knees; whilst a square of the same was tied over her shoulders like a monkey mantle; passed under the left arm it was drawn over the bosom, and the ends tied on the shoulder of the right arm. Her hair was tied up in the same fashion as the man's. Around the rim of each ear were twenty-three thin ear-rings of brass; and three or four necklaces of red and white beads hung down to her waist in gradations. Her nose-ring was moderately large in circumference, but very heavy, pulling down the right nostril by its weight; it was of silver, with four large beads, and an ornament of curious form. She had thick purple glass-rings on her arms, called churis, of coarse manufacture, and other ornaments which I forget, something of the same sort.

She talked openly and freely. I took the man's bow, and shot an arrow after the English fashion; at which the whole family laughed excessively, and appeared to think it so absurd that I should not draw a bow in the style of a mountaineer. I begged the man to show me the proper method;

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he put a sort of ring on my thumb, placed my right forefinger straight along the arrow, and bid me draw it by the force of the string catching on the thumb-ring. I did so, and shot my arrow with better aim than when pursuing the English method. His happiness was great on my giving him a rupee for a bow, two arrows, one of which was the poisoned one, and the thumb-ring. He said his employment consisted principally in shooting animals at night by lying in wait for them. He crouched down on the ground to show the way of lying in wait for wild hogs. On seeing a hog near, he would immediately spring to his feet and shoot his arrow, drawing it quite to the head. Sometimes they kill hogs with poisoned arrows; nevertheless they feed upon the animals, taking care to cut out the flesh around the arrow the instant the hog falls. He told us he had but one wife, his tiri, the hillman's name for wife, whom he had left at home; perhaps the tiri was an abbreviation of *istiri*, or *tiriya*, wife.

After our long conversation with the savages, we bade them adieu, and my parting present was a pink silk handkerchief for his tiri in the hills.

We have reserved for our concluding extract the story of the Cocky-olli-bird. Did ever any of our readers hear of the Cocky-olli-bird? "Alas for the wickedness of the world! Alas for the pilgrim!"—

THE COCKY-OLLI-BIRD.

I saw a beautiful Persian kitten on an Arab's shoulder; he was marching with a long string of camels carrying grapes, apples, dates, and Tusar cloth for sale from Cabul. Perched on each camel were one or two Persian cats. The pretty tortoise-shell kitten, with its remarkably long hair and bushy tail, caught my eye:—its colours were so brilliant. The Arab ran up to the Stanhope, holding forth the kitten; we checked the impetuous horse for an instant, and I seized the pretty little creature; the check rendered the horse still more violent; away he sprang, and off he set at full speed through the encampment, which we had just reached. The Arab thinking I had purposely stolen his kitten, ran after the buggy at full speed, shouting as he passed Lord Auckland's tents, "Dohai, dohai, sahib! dohai, Lord sahib!" "Mercy, mercy, sir! mercy, Governor-General!" The faster the horse rushed on, the faster followed the shouting Arab, until, on arriving at my own tents, the former stopped of his own accord, and the breathless Arab came up. He asked ten rupees for his kitten, but at length with well-feigned reluctance, accepted five, declaring it was worth twenty, "Who was ever before the happy possessor of a tortoise-shell Persian cat?" The man departed. Alas! for the wickedness of the world! Alas! for the Pilgrim! She has bought a cocky-olli-bird!

The cocky-olli-bird, although unknown to naturalists by that name, was formerly sold at Harrow by an old man to the boys, who were charmed with the brilliancy of its plumage,—purple, green, crimson, yellow, all the colours of the rainbow united in this beautiful bird; nor could the wily old fellow *import* them fast enough to supply the demand, until it was discovered they were *painted sparrows!*

The bright burnt sienna colour of the kitten is not tortoise-shell: she has been dyed with henna! her original colour was white, with black spots; however, she looks so pretty, she must be fresh dyed when her hair falls off; the henna is permanent for many months. The poor kitten has a violent cold, perhaps the effect of the operation of dyeing her; no doubt,

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after having applied the pounded menhdi, they wrapped her up in fresh castor-oil leaves, and bound her up in a handkerchief, after the fashion in which a native dyes his beard. Women often take cold from putting henna on their feet.

We have now "said our say." Mrs. Parks's two volumes are a perfect panorama of India, through all the extent of the Bengal presidency. Its scenery, its temples, thrones and monuments, its productions, animal and vegetable, its outward life and habits, its celebrities, foreign or domestic, are pourtrayed with the hand of a master, and seem to stand out from the page before us. Everywhere we find the traces of a quick, active, observant mind, and of a wonderful variety of accomplishments. Yet we leave these brilliant and amusing volumes with a painful impression. Passing over those few, but fatal, pages, which defile and pollute the work, we have searched in vain through the journal of this accomplished and gifted lady for any indication, that one thought or one wish for the welfare or advancement of the Hindus ever entered her mind. It would seem as if she had no higher aim, and had reaped no better fruit, during twenty-four years in India, than the gratification of a restless curiosity, and the pleasure of describing what she had seen, in the spirit of the clever exhibitor of a raree-show.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Analogies Constitutives de La Langue Allemande avec le Grec et le Latin, expliquées par le Sanskrit; par C. Schœbel. Paris. 1846. *(Constitutive analogies of the German Language with the Latin and Greek, explained by the Sanskrit.)*

The writer of this work is Professor of German in the College of Rheims, which, though in a secluded part of France, sends up its quota to the joint-stock contribution towards Oriental Literature made on the continent. The object of the author is "to trace the progress of ideas through the march of words" and to carry out into practice the remark of Champollion,—"the study and comparison of languages offer means of resolving many problems connected with the history of the human race. Comparative philology leads us in fact to the cradle of mankind, and enables us to trace the steps by which mankind in language mounted from sense to spirit."

Monsieur Schœbel has entered on the question of the lexico-graphical comparison of languages in that spirit of philosophical earnestness, which has so distinguished linguistic researches on the continent since the days of Leibnitz, and which certainly has not abated under the auspices of such men as Eichoff, Bopp, &c. The author of this work announces that he intends to publish a Sanskrit Grammar also. We rejoice at all efforts of this sort; for one of the first steps towards spreading a knowledge of Sanskrit must be the dispensing with the existing native grammars for beginners, which seem to have been constructed on the principle of accumulating every possible kind of obstruction at the portals of Sanskrit lore.

While Williams has smoothed down the difficulties of Sanskrit Grammar, works like Schœbel's facilitate the study of Sanskrit lexicography. In the national schools of England, the etymology of the English from the Latin and Greek is studied. We believe ere long the study of Sanskrit roots in connection with the Greek will be introduced into our classical schools. The most popular Greek lexicon in England (Scott's and Riddel's) gives the Sanskrit etymons of Greek words: and, as the study of German is on the increase in England, such a work as this of Schœbel's will be in demand. We think, however, that he has resorted too much to conjectural etymology, and has not trodden in the safe and cautious footsteps of Bopp, who has pointed out so clearly the analogies, that ought to guide us in comparing groups of languages. Still there is a wide field to enter on in comparing German and Sanskrit; and, as there is an evident re-action in England in favour of using a phraseology cast in the Saxon, rather than in the Latin, mould, the more the richness of the German languages is pointed out, the greater will be the respect paid to the primitive stock of our mother-tongue.

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Magistretiya Upadesh. (The Assistant Magistrate's Guide, being an abridgement of the Criminal Regulations, and Constructions of the Nizamut Adawlut in Bengal; by F. Skipwith, B. C. S.) Translated by Udai Chandra Adhya. Calcutta. Purnachandraday Press.

POSTERITY will scarcely credit the fact that the British Government should so long have perpetuated the Persian language, as the language of Courts in which only Bengali was spoken. Yet so it was until lately. The main aim of the Musalmans was to *denationalize* the Hindus. Hence they insisted that Persian, a totally *foreign* tongue, should be the organ of communication with the conquered race —acting on the principles of the Kaliph Walid, that Arabic should invariably follow in the track of the Crescent. In this they signally failed. Persian now is little used or known beyond the walls of Madrissas. Lord W. Bentinck, by his noble measure of making the Bengali the language of the Courts in the Lower Provinces, has placed matters in a proper position. Such works as the *Magistrate's Guide*, &c., are among the fitting fruits of this benevolent act. Darogas and Deputy Magistrates will find such compilations of much use.

It is, we think, rather a mistaken notion to consider that even natives, acquainted with English, easily understand our works relating to professional pursuits, and particularly those on law and medicine. These have borrowed almost all their peculiar phraseology from the Greek and Latin, which are not likely to be much understood by Hindus. Mr. Mason, in his *Natural Productions of Burmah*, says well that the borrowing technical terms from a foreign language of a totally different genius from the one into which a translation is made "casts a deep shadow over the signification of the passages in which they occur, and sometimes wraps it in impenetrable darkness." How very difficult it must be, even for our best native scholars, to familiarize themselves with the Latinized nomenclature of Botany or Geology! We believe the day may come when those terms will be taken from the learned languages of the East; and thus, by compounding terms of home-growth, make them descriptions in themselves. The translator of the present work has experienced great difficulty here. In fact, the language used in the Courts is such a jumble of bad Persian and corrupt Bengali, as to deserve the name of a *patois*, generally unintelligible even to the peasantry. It will, we trust, be gradually purified, as the Europeans gain a better acquaintance with Bengali, and as the Hindus feel an increased sense of the injury they are doing to their own interests, by tolerating a slang for the benefit of cunning *amlas* and wily *vakils*, who seek to mystify the people by the use of a jargon known to few besides themselves.

The translator is the editor of the *Purnachandraday* newspaper, one of the best productions of the Bengali press, and one which is

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calculated to foster a healthy taste among the Hindus for correct and solid information.

Muhammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre. Aus handschriftlichen Quellen und dem Koran geschöpft and dargestellt, von Dr. Weil. Stuttgart. 1843. [*Muhammad, the Prophet: his life and doctrine, &c. By Dr. Weil.*]

THERE has been no deficiency of biographies relating to Muhammad in the English language. Prideaux, a century ago, wrote on the subject; but his facts are all made to bend to a theory, and he sat down determined to condemn Muhammad as a vulgar impostor. Maracci wrote in a similar spirit. Savary and Gagnier have given us, in French, a fair and, on the whole, impartial view of his character: but it has been reserved for the German perseverance of Dr. Weil, the Librarian of Heidelberg University, to take the subject up in a philosophical spirit, basing all his statements on the evidence of Arabic writers themselves. When Dr. Weil gave lectures on Muhammad in 1837, he found the need of resorting to *original* authorities; though he has made free use of the writings of Reinaud, Gagnier, Hottinger, and Reland. In 1840 he made a literary pilgrimage to Gotha, to consult many Arabic MSS. there. Washington Irving, in his *Life of Muhammad*, cites largely from Weil; and, in addition to the historical verity of the original statements, arrays them in all the beauty of his poetic genius. His *Life of Muhammad* unquestionably seems the book most adapted for popular reading, and far superior to either Green's or Taylor's.

Modern historical research seems to be doing justice to the views both of Cromwell and Muhammad. While it points out their ambitious and selfish designs, it yet relieves them from the imputation of being those moral monsters, that party-writers were so fond of painting them. Whether we look at the career of Cromwell or Muhammad, there is quite sufficient in their public character to condemn, without creating a sympathy for them by unmeasured abuse. Muhammad seems, like Cromwell, to have been quite sincere in the beginning. He saw his country devoted to idols; its tribes engaged constantly in intestine war; and Christians occupied in mere sensual worship. It seemed to him, therefore, a very legitimate object to restore the doctrine of the Unity of God. Like Rammohan Ray, he professed not to introduce a new religion, but simply to aim at a revival of primitive truth—the *Ekmebidityan*, one God without a companion. Enthusiasm may have led him to announce himself as a prophet; but we do not see how he can be acquitted of the charge of imposture, in his announcements regarding his interviews with Gabriel, and the authoritative way in which he proclaimed his communications as coming from God, and, most of all, in his rendering these messages subservient to

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his passions by sanctioning his concubinage and polygamy; for, while he restricted others to four wives, he allowed himself fifteen.

Though an aristocrat himself, Muhammad well understood, like Napoleon, the principle of elevating his generals from the ranks, and distinguishing talent, though in the lowest grades of society. Hence one reason of the impulse given to his soldiers:—like the troops in the wars of the French Revolution, they knew that the highest posts were opened to the poorest man, provided he possessed the requisite energy. Muhammad in his whole career was noted for his affability and sympathy with the common people. Like the priests of Buddhism, he devoted much time to street preaching, and, in consequence, cultivated the gift of oratory: indeed the beauty of style in the Koran contributed very much to spread its doctrines among a race, who prized poetry and eloquence beyond any people in the east.

The day is rapidly passing away, in which our views of ancient history are to be limited to the Greeks or Romans; it is now pretty well established that there are "other heroes than those of Greece and Rome, sages as contemplative, and a people more magnificent than the iron masters of the world." We have no admiration for mere conquerors as such; and we see not why the sympathies of youth should be engrossed by such men as Hannibal, Scipio, and Alexander. Muhammad in his influence rises far above a conqueror. He founded a system, which is still powerful in some of the finest countries in the world. No conqueror, not even Napoleon, has left such permanent institutions as Muhammad has done. The Code of Napoleon is almost the only memorial left of the former: but the latter imprinted such almost indelible traces of his genius and laws on many of the noblest countries of the world, as enabled them to resist the military power of the Crusades, and the concentrated proselyting influence of Rome in its palmiest days.

Educational and Missionary institutions in this country are brought into contact with Muhammadans, and it is of great importance to form a proper estimate of the character of their prophet.

It is surprising indeed, that so little interest is taken in the career of Muhammad and his successors. The English have succeeded to the Muhammadan conquerors of India, who have stamped their genius so distinctly on its various institutions, that many of them cannot be clearly understood without some knowledge of Muhammadan history. On the other hand, Russia is wasting away the Moslem power in Northern Asia and Constantinople, and France in North Africa.

The life of Muhammad, like that of Ram Chandra, the pioneer of civilization in Southern India, has been so clouded with poetic and mythic statements, as to render it very difficult in some cases "to extract the historic truths out of the nimbus, in which they are veiled." Muhammad, like Xavier, has had a number of acts and sayings imputed to him, which he would have thoroughly repudiated: as for instance, in the case of miracles, which Muhammad

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stated he had not the power of working, and yet the Musalmans gravely tell us, that he brought the moon down one of the sleeves of his coat, and that it passed out through the other; and that a shoulder of mutton spoke.

Dr. Weil points out clearly that Muhammad was subject to epileptic fits, which in many cases gave rise to a popular report that he was under the influence of inspiration, like the priestess of the Delphic oracle. It must be obvious how much these fits were calculated to confirm the statement, which Muhammad propagated, that he was honoured with trances, in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made disclosures of an important kind. This work is a most valuable addition to Muhammadan literature, and we hope some day to see an English translation of it. The author has bestowed great labour in verifying facts and citing original authorities.

Programme of the Bengal Vernacular Translation Society. 1851.

We deeply regret that, at the present time, when every effort is required for the promotion of general education, an old controversy should be revived, calculated to produce discord among those who ought to spend their time in working out the great problem of the enlightenment of the masses. While, we believe, the Vernacular Translation Committee of Calcutta are warm friends to the diffusion of English among all those natives, who have leisure and opportunity for pursuing the study of it; and while they consider that, were English spread twenty fold more than at present, it would be a great boon to the country; yet they cannot resist the conviction that, beyond that circle, there will be at the least *twenty millions* of people using the Bengali language, who can gain knowledge only through the channel of their mother-tongue, and who cannot devote seven years to the study of a foreign and difficult language.

It has been objected by some, that translations into the Vernaculars are absurd, because they cannot transfuse all the shades of thought of the original; that the Bengali is the rude tongue of a semi-barbarous race; that dialects are already too numerous in India; and that we ought to abandon translations, and teach the people through English alone.

Let us not be misunderstood on this question. We are ardent friends of universal education and linguistic studies. So far from restricting natives to their mother-tongue, we would have them cultivate, not only English, but, as far as possible, German, French, Latin, Hebrew, &c. We would place no shackles on the wings of knowledge. But this we are decidedly opposed to—a mere *smattering* of English—that amount of it only which qualifies a native to be a mere copying machine in some merchant's office. This is the knowledge, which the great mass of natives in our English schools rest satisfied

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with. It may be said of the small number, who attain such acquaintance with English as to qualify them to read our authors with ease, without the constant bore of a dictionary,—

"Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

We know from painful experience and observation, that of those natives, who attend English schools in general, many, when five years have elapsed after they leave those institutions, are unable to read English books with ease and intelligence, and have to resort to the Vernacular media for information. On the other hand, very few of them can write a letter in Bengali, which is not daubed with bad spelling and bad grammar. Should this state of things continue? We would not have English learned a whit the less, but we would have Bengali properly attended to. We do not wish to see the old system of the Eton and Westminster schools repeated on Indian ground, where students composed beautiful Greek poetry, while they could not write a letter in correct English. We have seen an instance recently of a native student from a college in Calcutta, who could not read Bengali in giving a deposition before the Magistrate. It is natural for a nation at first to run all on imitation, as has been the case with the Russians during the last half century; but the tide has turned there; and attention is particularly paid at present to adopting the vernacular as the language of the court and polite society, so as to identify to a greater extent the sympathies of peasants and peers, and give the upper classes an impulse for the cultivation of a national literature. We hope that in this country those Babús, who are the leaders in native society, will not spurn from them that tongue, which is a link between the Zemindar and Rayat, the college student and the village peasant.

We shall take up the various objections urged against the Vernacular Translation Society *seriatim*.

1. "There are so many dialects in India." There are only *five* principal tongues to a population of 150 millions;—Bengali, the language of 25 millions, Urdu, spoken from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, Telugu, Tamul, and Mahratta. Now, the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society's labours may be of use to 30 millions, and those of the Bengal Translation Society to 25 millions—a greater number than speak the Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, and Polish languages respectively. Would any of the nations using these languages tolerate a proposition, that no translations should be made into them, because they are used by a limited number? Are we to have no translations made from German or French into English, because the number of readers is limited? So far from it—we see even our American friends devoting a considerable expenditure of time and money to a series of translations from German into English, even though only a limited number will avail themselves of these.

2. "The Bengali is the rude dialect of a semi-barbarous race." We leave the Bengalis themselves, on the ground of patriotism

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or nationality, to deal with the latter part of this proposition. But, we ask, can that be a rude dialect, which has been made to convey, expressively and suitably, the truths of natural history, chemistry, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, and above all, which has been found fully equal to express the mysterious dogmas of revelation, the lyric effusions of Isaiah, and the lofty strains of the minor prophets of Scripture? Besides, the Bengali, in its derivation from that noble tongue, the Sanskrit, possesses unbounded resources for borrowing terms and phraseology and is gradually increasing in its capabilities. The Moslem power has not been able to extirpate it; and all the energy of an Aurungzebe could not drive it from the homes and hearts of the people. By its close affinity with their venerated Sanskrit, it preserves the lingering rays of the long-faded glories of their ancient literature. Without touching on its merits as a translation, we would refer to Yates's translation of the Bible in Bengali, as a monument of the degree of elegance and expressiveness to which the Bengali language has attained.

3. "We ought to teach all the natives through English; and then translations would not be necessary." We do not now treat of what is *desirable*, but of what is *practicable*. We think it very desirable that there were only *one* language in the world, and regret that the confusion of tongues ever took place; but we have to deal with a different state of things. We are in a country, where the Europeans are but a handful compared with the natives; where we have to encounter the antipathies arising from difference of race, creed, manners; and where, with few exceptions, the Hindus regard us with feelings of jealousy, though conscious of the benefits we have conferred. We have therefore to do with the *practical*. Ample supplies of books are imported from England for those natives, who understand English. Are we to do nothing for the millions in the present generation, who will have no opportunity of reading these books? The Calcutta Bible Society has spent probably more than four lakhs of rupees in Bengali translations of the Scriptures: but an intelligent reading of the Scriptures requires other books explanatory, as the Bible abounds with references to subjects of Geography, Natural History, Ancient History, Jewish Customs, &c. Now, these books have to be translated; and, if translations are to be condemned, it virtually amounts to condemning translations of the Scriptures, and to pronouncing useless the exertions of Missionary Societies, who in rural districts have to instruct the people through the medium of their own language. Indeed, if England itself, which possesses such a rich indigenous literature, has provided so many translations from other tongues into its own, *a fortiori*, Bengal, with its poor Vernacular literature, requires translations much more urgently.

4. It is said, that "translations do not convey the full force of the original." Very true; and this is simply an argument for advising all, who can consult original works, to do so; but leading ideas,

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and historical facts admit of being easily transferred into another tongue, and particularly into such a language as Bengali, which has such unbounded resources in compounding terms. But even in the most difficult class of works to be translated, viz. the poetical, the English people insisted on having translations, as in Mickle's Lusiad, Carey's Dante, Pope's Homer, Fairfax's Tassos, Dryden's Virgil, &c. Unless a design is entertained to extirpate the Bengali language, translations must be adopted.

Let us hear on this question the voice of History. We have seen lately that, the Protestant Church had been established in IRELAND for three centuries, and hitherto has proved a signal failure in one of the objects it had in view, viz., to unite England and Ireland by one religion, as well as one language—and that, after the experiment has been tried there for three centuries on the part of Protestants of conveying religious knowledge solely through English, they now admit that a wrong step had been taken, and that they should have begun with education and translations into the Vernacular, as had been the practice of the Romish priesthood there. Among the WELSH, the feeling even now is so strong, that their remonstrances succeeded in inducing the Government lately to appoint a Bishop, who could preach in Welsh. The English Church has been a comparative failure in Wales, owing partly to its clergy not being acquainted with the language of the people, and despising the Vernacular. We are not advocates ourselves for perpetuating the colloquial use of the Gaelic and Welsh ; we think it far better that Ireland and Wales should use the noble English language : but we adduce it to shew how difficult it is to eradicate a Vernacular language, and particularly when it is identified with the historical recollections and literary glory of a people. Queen Elizabeth proscribed under a severe penalty the use of the Irish language; and the Mussulmans applied every means to extirpate the Vernaculars of India. What have been the results, with respect to the Bengali in particular? It is increasing in richness and energy of expression every day, and is now much superior as a language, to what English was in the days of Chaucer.

In ITALY, the indigenous tongue was the Latin in Roman days, the use of which has been maintained subsequently with all the influence and supremacy of the Church of Rome. All the municipal acts of the towns were recorded in Latin ; public acts, solemn deeds, education, literary and scientific intercourse, all were carried on in Latin. Boccacio and Petrarch wrote their most elaborate works in Latin, despising the "lingua volgare," the language of the mob;—(their Latin works are now forgotten, and only what they have written in the *vulgar* tongue *survives*.) Every thing, therefore, seemed to favour the perpetuation of the Latin.

But was the formation of the Italian Vernacular, which rose on the ruins of the ancient Latin, prevented? No ; the influence of one man gave the impulse. Dante arose. Deeply read in classic lore, and

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appreciating the beauties of the Augustan age, he longed to impart them in the "lingua volgare," and to unseal to the many what had been only known to the few: hence his immortal "Commedia," which, like Milton's Paradise Lost, will ever remain as an example of the influence of a great mind in making a language great, in wielding vulgar phrases by the magic pen of genius, and making them capable of expressing the most sublime ideas. Dante is justly called "the Father of Italian literature," as Lorenzo de Medici may be styled its foster parent, from the encouragement he gave to literary composition.

GERMANY comes next, where literature was at such a low ebb in the days of Frederic the Great, though Luther had ennobled and fixed the language by translating the Bible into it. Frederic the Great, not content with his military conquests, aimed at superseding German literature by French: but he succeeded as little in his efforts against the Vernacular, as the Musalmans did in India. The moment he laid his head on the pillow of death, the German nation rose as one man in defence of their national tongue; and we see, in the prodigious strides that German literature has made since, the truth of the remark—

"Naturam furcâ expelles, tamen usque recurret."

SPAIN presents another strong case. The Roman and Moslem conquerors there had given every ascendancy to their languages. Yet, in spite of all social and political obstacles, the Spanish language was formed and finally gained the predominance.

We hope there may be no necessity again to recur to this subject, but that all the friends of native education will co-operate on the grand basis of giving every opportunity for the attainment of a complete education both in English and the Vernacular, so as to make the former the medium for acquiring, and the latter of diffusing, ideas.

Lives of the Governors-General of India; by J. W. Kaye. London. Bentley.

A SERIES of Lives of the Governors-General of India can scarcely fail to be a popular and generally interesting work; and we believe, from a knowledge of Mr. Kaye's talent and opportunities, and the abundant materials in his possession, that it has a fair chance of being very successful. The following extract from a letter, received from Mr. Kaye by the last mail, will fully explain the nature and design of the series; and we have much pleasure in recommending the appeal, he makes, to the favourable consideration of our Indian

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readers. Any documents, sent under cover to our publishers, will be carefully forwarded to Mr. Kaye:—

In some of the London papers has appeared an advertisement of a series of "Lives of the Governors-General of India," with my name appended to it, as the author, and Mr. Bentley's, as the publisher of the work. In what, perhaps, you will think, a rash moment, I have undertaken to write this work, in eight or ten octavo volumes, by serial instalments: the two first volumes to appear at the end of this year. I am not now going in search of materials, because I have undertaken to write this work; but I undertook to write the work, because I possessed materials. The history of the matter is briefly thus: I was asked, some time ago, if I would like to write a Life of Lord Cornwallis—because, if I were willing to undertake the work, materials would be placed in my hands. It happened that I had long desired to write such a work. The idea first took shape in mind, I believe, in the Town Hall of Calcutta; and I had from that time never abandoned it. I believed it to be a great desideratum, and I was anxious to supply it: and now, unexpectedly, the suggestion was made to me by others, and a large mass of valuable materials was placed in my hands. I sought and obtained more; and, in the course of my search, accumulated so large a body of interesting matter, illustrative of the careers of other Governors-General (especially Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Minto), that when my friendly publisher called to see my stores, it occurred to him (as indeed it had occurred to me) that I had at all events a fine foundation for a series of Lives of the Governors-General; and, pleased with the idea, he suggested that I should write the work in eight or ten volumes, the first two volumes to appear at the end of the year. The agreement was soon made. I was encouraged by other promises of contributions of the most valuable kind: and I was soon convinced that, if the work, I had undertaken to write, should lack interest, the fault would be entirely my own. It has since occurred to me—and here, I come, my dear friend, to ask your aid—that there must be in India, in the hands of the children, or relatives, of deceased public officers, many interesting letters and documents illustrative of the Lives of your Governors-General—many, doubtless, in the hands of the friends and supporters of the *Calcutta Review*—friends, who, perhaps, would not be less unwilling to assist me in such an undertaking, because I was the originator, and am the proprietor of a work, which, I trust, has afforded them some amusement, and done them some substantial good. I hardly like to put forth any direct appeal to the Indian public—and, yet my object being simply that of rendering as complete, as it can be rendered, the series of Biographies which I have undertaken to write—a series which, if worthily executed, will, I may say, without presumption, constitute an acceptable addition to Anglo-Indian literature—I do not see why I ought to shrink from inviting friends and strangers alike to make common cause with me in this literary undertaking, by contributing any documentary or other information which they may happen to possess. I do not so much want public documents, which are always obtainable, as private letters, anecdotes, reminiscences of personal incidents, &c., such as will give vitality to the page, and bring the subject of my memoirs with life-like prominence before the readers. Nor is the information, which I seek, limited to information, directly relating to the several Governors-General. I am equally desirous to obtain information relative to the principal officers of the State, civil and military, by whom our Governors General were surrounded, and whose conduct and opinions may have had any influence in shaping the conduct and opinions of the chief rulers themselves. Can you assist me in bringing this matter before the friends of the *Calcutta Review*, and the Indian public at large? Communications might be addressed to me, through my agents, whom you know—and I trust that I need not even refer to the confidence, which (both in aid of the preparation of this, and of another, work which will precede it) has been reposed in me by the bearers of some of the most distinguished names in recent Indian history, to prove that I may safely be trusted with anything they may have to confide.

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., TYPS., NO. 14, LOLL BAZAR.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Report of the Committee of Public Instruction for 1849-50.

We refer again to this Report; but merely in connection with one subject—the position of the Sanskrit College. This is a very opportune time for discussing the subject, as we understand that reforms of an extensive nature are contemplated in connection with the College.

Doubts have of late been raised as to the utility of the study of the Sanskrit, and as to the expediency of the measures of Government for its encouragement. As a correct view of the question is important, not only in a theoretical point of view, but also in its practical bearing, it will not appear superfluous to refer to the grounds on which the study of the Sanskrit is advocated.

To dead languages we cannot assign, as to living ones, the advantage of being a means of communication; for although, under particular circumstances, they may be employed in this manner, yet there is no necessity that they should. A living language will, in the majority of cases, answer this purpose much more adequately; and it is an incontrovertible fact of history, that a nation only enjoys intellectual freedom, when it uses its own language as the medium of its literary and scientific pursuits. The use of dead languages is therefore restricted to their literature, and to their furnishing (by it, and by its grammar) a means of education, which, in any other manner, could not be obtained, or not be obtained in so perfect a degree. With regard to literature, none of the modern nations stands by itself alone; in its intellectual pursuits each is connected with nations that are past, and are yet to follow its career. Its intellectual horizon, in science and literature, is founded upon that of former ages. It can therefore never isolate itself, or found a literature, independent of any influence of the past. Hence the necessity, if a nation will continue to be counted among those advancing the progress of mankind, to study the literature of past nations, which have in any way contributed to the object of intellectual development. It is this study which connects the literature and scientific pursuits of the nations of Europe. They have left the narrow bonds of nationality; their sciences are the sciences of mankind; and the other parts of their literature are more and more approaching the same goal.

A dead language furnishes a means of education, if its literature is rich and adapted to the objects of education, and if its grammar is exact and various in its forms. In respect of this end the dead languages have universally, in all countries of Europe, been preferred to the spoken languages; as the grammars, for instance, of the Greek and Roman languages are much more elaborate, and ex-

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press, by their mere grammatical forms, the modifications of thought much more exactly, than the grammars of modern languages. Moreover, they compel the mind by contrast to attend to the various grammatical forms, to compare, and to combine; and they give thereby a facility in using the various forms of language, which could not be obtained in the same degree by instruction in one's own language, where all the forms are already known by use.

Beside this, there are three principal points, in which the study of a dead language may be of great importance, viz., if it furnishes materials for history; if it forms the basis, from which living languages have sprung; and if it has a special bearing upon the science of language.

None of our present languages contains the first sources of history. Every nation is descended from former nations, to which it has to refer as to its origin and its first development; but the historical documents of ancient nations are to be found in their languages alone. Thus the history of mankind, from its first recollections to its gradual development in separate states, and to their mutual connexion, depends upon the documents transmitted to us in the dead languages: and we cannot give up their study, if we will not give up our first information about ourselves. As it is with general history, so with the history of science. No science is the possession of a single individual; it is not the production of his own device or exertion; it is made over to him by the previous exertions of thousands in his own nation, and other nations, long before his existence. Therefore, only by knowing precisely what has been done in a science before, is it possible to advance it consistently and systematically. To any science, its history is indispensable; and this commences from the time that it takes its share in literature. Nay more; our religion is not our own production; its sources are writings and tradition; but tradition, for the most part, is lost to us; at least such traditions, as are also embodied in writings, are no more any independent source, as they cannot be distinguished from the written statements; and traditions, independent of written documents, are by the nature of things very precarious. Therefore, for the foundation of our religion, as far as it is not confirmed by the internal evidence of its truth, we cannot dispense with historical researches, and the study of the languages, in which these records are deposited.

It is not necessary to expatiate here on the advantage of the study of a dead language for the improvement of any living language derived from it; as it is self-evident that the latter may be constantly enriched by the introduction of new words from the stock of the former, in accordance with the established rules of adaptation.

Lastly, every dead language furnishes materials for Comparative Philology, which has to enquire into the affinity which languages have in reference to their roots and grammar, and to decide the question, whether all languages branched off from the same root, or whether several bases must be assumed for them. With these ques-

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tions is closely connected the Ethnographical question, whether all nations descend from the same stock, or from several distinct races. Comparative Philology, new as it is, has already solved many questions in Ethnography, which could not have been solved with the same precision by any other data at present at our disposal.

In judging, therefore, about the more or less extensive use of a dead language, we shall have to look for the following points, whether it possesses a rich literature and an elaborate grammar; whether it influences the development of living languages, supplies documents for history, and gives leading facts for the science of Comparative Philology.

According to these antecedents, it would be easy to judge of the claims of the Sanskrit to a more or less extensive study. But there appears to present itself a difficulty of some weight. To prove that Sanskrit literature has obtained a high degree of perfection, and that its language comes up to the standard, necessary for a more general study of a dead language, we should have to write a work of considerable length; in fact, we should have to give a sketch of the whole of Sanskrit literature. To give, on the other hand, the opinion of Sanskrit scholars would appear to the opponents to prove nothing, as the followers of any branch of learning are inclined to over-rate its importance in the department of literature. However, the difficulty is not real; for Sanskrit literature has not been studied, as the Roman and Greek were, at the revival of classical learning in the 15th century, when all critical, historical, and aesthetical appliances had to be created, but in the very zenith of our philological and critical studies: and it had the rare advantage, that those who introduced the Sanskrit into the Pantheon of European learning, were men of genius and vast acquirements in other branches of philology, literature, history and science; as the names of Jones, Colebrooke, F. Schlegel, A. W. Schlegel, W. Humboldt, Mill, Wilson, Burnouf, Bopp, Lassen, &c. will fully bear out. Moreover, about the merits of some of the branches of its literature we have the verdict of competent judges;—of poets, as of Goethe, Rueckert, &c.—of philosophers, as of Cousin, J. W. Windischmann, &c., &c;—and we may therefore confidently say, that there exists already (in Europe) an unanimity of the most competent judges, as to the rank, which the Sanskrit holds in comparison with other literatures. Yet we shall, in the following rapid and imperfect sketch, allude as little as possible to the opinion of those eminent Sanskrit scholars, but rather quote the views of such scholars and literary men, as, although not Sanskrit scholars, by their general knowledge and eminence in literature, were well qualified to form an unprejudiced and correct opinion.

The range of Sanskrit poetical literature is very extensive; it has made attempts in almost all branches of poetry, from the simple fable to the epic, from the comedy to the drama, from the song to the highest flight of lyric inspiration. We need only call to mind the Rámayana and Mahábharata—poems embodying a world in

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themselves; the many collections of fables and narratives, among which are the Pancha-tantra and Hitopadesâ, which have been translated into almost all the languages of Asia and Europe; such poetical creations, as Kálidás's Seasons, the Cloud Messenger, Sakontala, Vikrama Urvasi, or Bhavabhuti's admirable dramas, "Malati Madhava," "Uttara-rama-charitra," and "Mahávira-charitra," &c.; in all of which a high poetical genius, a lofty imagination, a delicacy of feeling, an elevation of sentiment, and a close observation of nature and of human character are apparent. In like manner the poems of Sri Harsha, Sri Bháravi, Bhartrihari, Jayadeva, Sundara, &c. have been pronounced classical by competent voices. We cannot forbear to quote, with reference to Sanskrit literature, the opinion of a highly gifted man of science, of European reputation, the friend of Schiller and Goethe, who is acknowledged also to be an eminent judge of poetry:—

"In referring here, as I did in my public lectures, under the guidance of my brother and other Sanskrit scholars, to individual instances of that animated and frequently expressed feeling for nature, which breathes through the descriptive portions of Indian poetry, I would begin with the Vedas, the most ancient and most valuable memorials of civilization, and of the veneration and praise of nature. The hymns of the Rigveda contain the most charming descriptions of the "roseate hue of early dawn," and of the aspect of the "golden-haired sun." The great heroic epics of the Rámayana and Mahábharata are of more recent date than the Vedas, but more ancient than the Puránas—the adoration of nature being associated with the narrative, in accordance with the character of epic creations. In the Vedas, the locality of the scenes, which had been glorified by holy beings, was seldom indicated: but, in the heroic poems, the descriptions of nature are mostly individual, and refer to definite localities, from whence they derive that animation and life, which is ever imparted, when the writer draws from the impressions he has himself experienced. There is a rich tone of colouring throughout the description of the journey of Ráma from Ayodhya to the residence of Janaka, in his life in the primitive forest, and in the picture of the anchorite life of the Panduides. The name of Kálidása was early and widely known amongst the western nations. This great poet flourished in the highly cultivated court of Vikramáditya, and was consequently the contemporary of Virgil and Horace. The English and German translations of Sakontala*

* On Sakontala the following beautiful distichs of Goethe were written in 1792:—

Willst du die Blüthe die frühen, die Früchte der späteres Jahres—
Willst du was reizt and entzückt—willst du was sättigt und nährt—
Willst du den Himmel, die Erde, mit einem Namen begreifen?
Nenn'ich, Sakontala, dich—und so ist alles gesagt.

The following is a rough translation:—

"Wilt thou express in one word, the bloom of the Spring and the fruit of the Autumn—all that attracts and entrances—all that feeds and satisfies—the Heaven itself, and the earth? I name thee, Sakontala!—and it is done."

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'have added to the admiration, which has been so freely yielded to 'that poet, whose tenderness of feeling and richness of creative fancy 'entitle him to a high place in the ranks of the poets of all nations. 'The charm of his descriptions of nature is strikingly exemplified 'in the beautiful drama of Vikrama and Urvasi, where the king wan- 'ders through the thickets of the forest in search of the nymph 'Urvasi, in the poem of the Seasons, and in that of the Cloud Mes- 'senger. This last poem describes, with admirable truth to nature, the 'joy, with which after a long drought the first appearance of a rising 'cloud is hailed, as the harbinger of the approaching season of rain. 'The expression 'truth to nature,' of which I have just made use 'of, can alone justify me in referring, in connexion with the Indian 'poem of 'the Cloud Messenger,' to a picture of the beginning of 'the rainy season, which I sketched in South America, at a period 'when Kálidása's Megha-duta was not known to me through the 'translation of Chezy."—*Humboldt's Cosmos, Engl. Transl., Vol. II*, *p.* 404.

But it is not only in poetry and light literature, that the Sanskrit occupies a distinguished rank; in philosophy, in mathematics, and in the science of language, it will bear a comparison with the foremost nations of antiquity.

We find the most ancient monuments of Hindu philosophy in the Upanishads; but here it is mixed with much extraneous matter, with narratives, the explanation of ceremonies, myths and allegories. The philosophical idea appears not in its purity, as the result of methodical thought, but rather as proceeding from a mystical intuition. The exposition also is not systematical, but rather abrupt; and often symbolical. Still we must recognize the principle as philosophical, because it is independent of conceptions of a revealed religion. We may recognise also the ground-work of the later systems. From the Upanishads branched off the six (so called) Darsánas, or systems of orthodox Hindu philosophy, each of which has its own extensive literature. These systems are evidently not the first productions of the philosophical genius of the Hindus, but of a period already far advanced in philosophical speculation. Their first attempts are unfortunately lost, so that we are not able to trace historically the train of thought which led from one system to the other; but, from the Sutras, or aphorisms of the founders of those systems, we can mark a decided progress and a development of these doctrines themselves. From a careful examination of those systems, it appears that the Hindus made considerable progress in philosophical thinking; that their systems show more method than any of the Greeks, with the exception of those of Plato and Aristotle; that they are therefore worthy of general attention; and that a knowledge of them is indispensable to the student of philosophy.

With regard to them, says Cousin (*Cours de la Philosophie*, Vol. I.):—

"En effet, la philosophie Indienne est tellement vaste, que tous les 'systemes de philosophie s'y rencontrent, qu'elle forme tout un monde

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'philosophique, et qu'on peut dire à la lettre, que l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde est un abrégé de l'histoire entière de la philosophie.—*P.* 180.

"Vous voyez que ce sont précisément les catégories d'Aristote (the 6 or 7 categories of the Nyáya). Voilà donc Aristote dans l'Inde! Nous l'y retrouverons encore.—*P.* 203.

"Voilà encore le second chef d'œuvre d'Aristote retrouvé sur les bords du Gange...(the syllogism).—*P.* 205.

'Mais si l'esprit humain a pu très bien produire le syllogisme dans l'Inde, il n'a pu le produire en un jour; car le syllogisme suppose une longue culture intellectuelle. Le premier fruit de l'esprit humain est l'enthymème. Dans une idée l'esprit en entrevoit une autre, et cela par l'intermédiaire d'une troisième idée plus generale, qúil saisit rapidement, et si rapidement qu'elle lui échappe, alors même qu'elle le domine. Il y a une majeure dans tout raisonnement, quel qu'il soit, oral ou tacite, instinctive ou développé; et ce'st cette majeure, nettement ou confusément aperçue, qui détermine l'esprit; mais il n'en rend pas toujours compte, et l'opération fondamentale du raisonnement reste longtemps ensevelie dans les profondeurs de la pensée. Pour que l'analyse aille l'y chercher, la dégage, la traduise à la lumière, et lui assigne sa place légitime dans un mecanisme extérieur, qui reproduise et répresente fidèlement le mouvement interne de la pensée dans le phénomène obscur et complex de raisonnement—certes il faut bien des années ajoutées à des années, de longs efforts accummulés; et le seul fait de l'existence du syllogisme régulier dans la dialectique du Nyáya est une démonstration sans replique du haut degré de culture intellectuelle auquel l'Inde devait être parvenue."

On the advancement of the Hindus in mathematical studies, I quote the words of Colebrook;—

"As to the progress which the Hindus had made in the analytic art, it will be seen, that they possessed well the arithmetic of surd roots; that they were aware of the infinite quotient resulting from the division of a finite quantity by a cipher; that they knew the general resolution of equations of the second degree, and had touched upon those higher denominations, resolving them in the simplest cases, and in those in which the solution happens to be practicable, by the method which serves for gradation; that they had attained a general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree; that they had arrived at a method for deriving a multitude of solutions of answers to problems of the second degree from a single answer found tentatively, which is as near an approach to a general solution of such problems as was made until the days of Lagrange, who first demonstrated, that the problem, on which the solutions of all questions of this nature depend, is always resolvable in whole numbers. The Hindus had likewise attempted problems of this higher order by the application of the method, which suffices for those of the first degree,—with indeed scanty success, as might be expected.

"They not only applied algebra both to astronomy and geometry,

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'but conversely applied geometry likewise to the demonstration of 'algebraic rules.

"The points in which Hindu algebra appears particularly dis-'tinguished from the Greek, are, besides a better and more compre-'hensive algorithm, 1. the management of equations involving more 'than one unknown term; 2. the resolution of equations of a higher 'order, in which, if they achieved little, they had, at least, the merit of 'the attempt, and anticipated a modern discovery in the solution of 'biquadrates; 3. general methods for the solution of indeterminate 'problems of the first and second degrees, in which they went far, in-'deed, beyond Diophantus, and anticipated the discoveries of modern 'algebraists; and, 4. the application of algebra to astronomical inves-'tigation and geometrical demonstration, in which also they hit upon 'some matters, which have been re-invented in later times."—*Mis-'cell. Essays., Vol. II., pp.* 436-37.

The Sanskrit language, it is well known, is one of the most refined and richest in the world—from the number of its roots—from the precision, with which other words may be derived from them through affixes and suffixes—from the variety of its grammatical determinations, and the facility of forming compound words. Its grammar is elaborate; and although the grammar, which the Hindu Pandits composed, cannot be compared with the grammatical system of our own time, it still holds a high rank. We quote the opinion of one of the most competent judges. Lassen, in his "*Indische Alterthums Kunde*," Vol II., pp. 480-481, says :—

"If we leave out those two defects (viz., that the rules of grammar 'do not succeed each other in such an order as they ought to do in a 'scientific arrangement, and, 2, the complicated and clumsy manner 'of joining the terminations and derivative affixes, or in forming the 'flexions of derived words), the Indian grammarians may boldly chal-'lenge a comparison of attainments with those of the Greeks and 'Arabs, who, besides the Europeans, have alone a science of language of 'their own. They need not even be apprehensive of a comparison with 'European grammarians, for the long period, during which, in the treat-'ment of their own languages, they had not broken through the fetters 'laid upon them by the authority of classical antiquity. With neither 'do we find so complete and exact an enquiry into the rules of eupho-'ny, or so thorough a treatment of the doctrine of derivation and of 'the different ways of forming compound words, of which the Greek 'possessed a considerable number, and the Arabs none. Of the former, 'they have the advantage in having ascertained correctly the primary 'form of the noun—the roots; although it remains for European 'science to rectify several points of the latter. In these respects they 'have prepared the way for the scientific investigation of language; 'and their doctrines have had a considerable influence on the origin 'and development of comparative grammar. This is a merit, which 'will remain to them for ever—although it must be admitted, that 'the peculiar organism of the Sanskrit was of great assistance to

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'them, since the rules of euphony are more developed therein than 'in any other language, and the origin of grammatical forms is so 'evident. Only in syntax, the Hindus have been left behind by the 'Greeks, Romans, and Arabs; the cause of which is, that generally 'only simple sentences are formed in Sanskrit."

The results of the study of Sanskrit have been immense. They have changed the whole ground of comparative philology; and the Sanskrit has given the key for the solution of many problems, which it was impossible to solve from the basis of the classical languages. From a comparison of the languages of the Greeks, Romans, Germans, Celts, Sclavonians and the Persians with the Sanskrit, it is an incontrovertible conclusion, that they are derived, in their roots and grammar, from one and the same language; and that those nations therefore descend from the same parent-stock.

In historical literature the Sanskrit is grievously deficient. The Hindus wrote at no period historical works of such a kind as are left to us by the Greeks, Romans and Arabs. The historical works of the Brahmans, still extant, are all of a later time, and mixed up with myths and fables. They are all chronicles of single countries, as of Kashmir, of Orissa, of the Dekhan, of Malabar, &c. &c. None of them treats of the history of whole India, nor of the political and social development of the Hindus. They are therefore unfit for any general use. Still to the student of history they are of great importance. There are, however, abundant historical materials dispersed throughout the whole of Sanskrit literature, which mark their social, political and religious conditions at different epochs. These are to be found in inscriptions, on rocks, stones, coins, &c.; and, to show the important results, which have sprung from a critical investigation of these appliances, we need only call to mind the addition to our historical knowledge by the beautiful discoveries of Prinsep, which have given us an insight into the political relations of India in the times of Alexander the Great and Asoka.

The influence of the Sanskrit on the development of most of the present languages of India, is infinitely greater than that of Latin has ever been on the Italian. The Sanskrit supplies the greater number of their roots; and it is in many cases impossible to know the meanings of the words without reference to Sanskrit. The grammar of those languages also frequently depends on the Sanskrit. In the Bengali, for instance, the rules for the composition of words, the formation of the past participles, the power of the cases, the rules for euphony, and almost the whole syntax, are the same with those of the Sanskrit. It will, therefore, be very difficult for any one, even a native, to understand the Bengali without some knowledge of the Sanskrit; and the development of the language will always depend upon the judicious use of the Sanskrit in the Bengali.

We have observed before, that a dead language can never become the instrument of general communication, and that consequently its study must be limited to certain classes of a nation, or of the learned

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generally. How far this limit is to extend, will depend upon its ability to satisfy the conditions we have stated. From the high rank of Sanskrit literature—from the progress of scientific research among the Hindus—from the peculiar connexion of the Sanskrit with other languages, which sprung from the same source,—and from its relations to the present languages of India; it is evident, that its study is at least as important as that of any other dead language.

Who, then, are especially called upon to study it? and upon what grounds?

1. To scholars the use of the Sanskrit is indispensable, on account of its literature, and its use in comparative philology and historical researches. It must be still for a long while their task to publish the unedited works of its literature, of the Vedas, of philosophy, grammar, mathematics, astronomy, and of poetry, and to supply the materials gradually to be introduced for the researches of science.

2. The study of the Sanskrit will be of great assistance to the young civilian, who is to have so great an influence upon the destinies of the natives. It is he, who is to exercise the highest functions of administration and judicature, and to whom the present and future generations will especially look for the improvement of their country. He should therefore have an intimate knowledge of the disposition and character of the natives, of the motives which regulate their actions, and of the objects of their aspirations—a knowledge, which he will best derive from the study of Sanskrit literature, as embodying the social and moral condition of the Hindus for many centuries. He has also generally to transact his official duties in the language of the natives. It is therefore essential to him to know it thoroughly; and nothing can give him a more solid preparation than the knowledge of the Sanskrit. In this respect it would be as well, if the study of the Sanskrit (and of the Persian) was alone pursued by him in Hayleybury; for there his study of the living languages of India must necessarily remain deficient; at any rate, he can learn in a few months more of those languages in India, than in so many years in England. The same is not the case with the Sanskrit. The Pandits can give him at the commencement of its study little or no assistance in acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. On the other hand, under good tuition in Europe, he may lay a thorough foundation in the Sanskrit; and, on arriving in India, the study of any of the native languages will be to him a comparatively easy task. The immense advantage he derives from this previous study, is, that he knows the roots, a great many words, and their exact meaning. In studying the languages in India, without the knowledge of Sanskrit, it is certain that he does not learn the exact meanings of words; and it will be difficult to supply this deficiency by any amount of study.

3. Also, those, who wish to improve the moral and religious condition of the natives, should know Sanskrit literature, and through it the Shastras and traditions, which guide the faith of the natives,

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together with the religious observances which regulate their whole life. To induce the natives to give up what they have cherished from their childhood for another religious belief, one should well know and have examined the system which he wants to remove.

4. For the educated natives of this country, the study of the Sanskrit is of vital importance: for the improvement of all the languages, whose basis is the Sanskrit, will depend on the continuation of its study. The Sanskrit is as yet the condition of their perfection. It is the inexhaustible source of their roots; the meanings of them are to be decided by the sense they have in Sanskrit, especially of all the words bearing a reference to science. Now, he who ignored the Sanskrit, while attempting to improve any of those languages, would be a bold adventurer indeed; and would soon find his mistake in trying to carry out a scheme, without having regarded the nature of things.

Lastly if we enquire, whether Sanskrit is as widely studied as it ought to be, and in a manner to derive the greatest advantage from it, we must say, it is not. It has gained indeed one step; for it is received among the learned languages. It is taught at many of the universities of the continent, and cultivated even in America; to its literature is assigned a high rank; and the results of the civilization of the Hindus, as exhibited in the Sanskrit, may have powerful influence on the development of the human mind. In India, however, where Sanskrit should be cultivated and patronised in its greatest extent, Government have acted wisely, and bestowed a great benefit on the country, in establishing some institutions for the study of the Sanskrit; in collecting a number of teachers, distinguished for their attainments; in providing places of refuge for the treasures of Sanskrit literature; and in showing to the Hindus, that their present rulers are inclined to advance, more than their own sovereigns ever did, their best intellectual interests.

But this is not enough. The system of instruction in the Sanskrit colleges is founded on a false basis, and ought to be remodelled: and the Sanskrit should be made a branch study, not only in the Sanskrit, but in all the other colleges of Government.

The only advantage, which the Government Sanskrit colleges have above institutions of the same kind among the Hindus, is, that almost the whole circle of Hindu science is taught in them, while in the learned schools of the Hindus only one branch of science is imparted to the students. But this is all. They are mediæval institutions. The sciences taught in them are those of a former age; for, with the Hindus, no science has made any progress for many centuries. There are indeed very few among the learned Hindus, who are able to teach astronomy, or mathematics, or the Sánkhya or Vedanta system of philosophy. The learned excel now only in those studies, which belong to language, poetry, explanation, and logic. Compared, however, with the science of Europe, the science of the Hindus is only in its commencement; its notions are those of the middle ages; its technical terms, cumbrous;

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its methods complicated. To teach mathematics, astronomy, logic, philosophy, &c., as these sciences have been cultivated by the Hindus, is not only useless, but an obstacle to a state of better things; because the mind of the student gets accustomed to look upon them as the *ne plus ultra* of perfection. We have seen many talented and clever Pandits, pupils of the Sanskrit college, highly advanced in their own studies, and fully equal to European scholars in their philosophical attainments, but abjectly ignorant of the results of European science, and incapable of making an adequate use of their acquirements; for, in the present state of civilization, they cannot be useful to their own countrymen, with the limited instruction they now receive. To remedy these defects, Sanskrit should be taught in those colleges with the same view as Latin and Greek are taught in Europe, viz., not to make all the students Pandits, but to acquaint them with Sanskrit literature, and to enable them to go on in any of its branches, if they think it advisable.

The study of Sanskrit grammar should be entirely reformed. Sanskrit grammar, as composed by the Hindus, although exact and of admirable ingenuity, is tedious; its acquirement takes several years, and is enough to terrify many from its study. Moreover, it makes men dull with regard to other studies, and favours more the development of memory, than of other mental faculties Grammar should therefore, be taught according to European principles, as it has been long the custom in respect of the Latin and Greek languages, which are not taught according to the grammatical system of the ancient, but according to the more perfect, method of modern time.*

Special pains should also be taken, that the students should receive a much more thorough instruction in the English language than they do at present; and that they should know its literature, as well as the pupils in the other colleges. A knowledge of the English would be, in the present condition of the Hindus, of the highest value to the students; for, besides its importance for actual life, it would make them acquainted with the treasures of one of the finest and most extensive literatures, and initiate them into the whole learning of Europe. The addition of one language more to their studies would not exceed the mental strength of the pupils; for, in a European college, the learning of four languages and more is not considered too much; and the time, gained by simplifying the study of grammar, would be quite sufficient for this purpose.

European science should be introduced into the course: and there should especially be given thorough instruction in mathematics, geography and history, and an introduction at least to natural philosophy.

* By the introduction of the European method in teaching grammar, a knowledge of the grammatical system of the Hindu grammarians would not be made superfluous; but it would only devolve on those, who made a special study of the language; as European Sanskrit scholars, although they learn Sanskrit grammar according to the European system, know very well Panini's grammatical system, of which they make afterwards a special study.

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According to this view, the usefulness of the Sanskrit colleges would be immeasurably extended; for while it makes possible the most thorough study of the Sanskrit, it connects it at the same time with actual science and life.

If then, on the one hand, we would limit the study of the Sanskrit literature in the institutions at present dedicated to it, we would, on the other, ask Government to extend a greater patronage to it by introducing it into all the colleges as a branch of study. If the study of Latin and Greek is thought indispensable for the learned professions in Europe, surely the Sanskrit is much more so for the Hindus as it is intimately connected with a knowledge of their religion, laws, customs, history and language. The knowledge of the Sanskrit would give a new impetus to their other studies, and make their results more useful than they now are. It would give to the student ready means to introduce into his own language the treasures of European science and literature. But now there is the anomaly—that there are institutions, which teach European science, but take away from the students the means of communicating their ideas, by which only they can be useful to themselves and the public; and that there are institutions, which give the means of communicating science in its purity, withholding, however, from them the matter, for which language itself is instituted.

Account of the great Hindu Monarch, Asoka, chiefly from the Indische Alterthumskunde of Professor Lassen. By the Hon. Sir E. Perry.

We are glad to see our Bombay friends maintaining their character for zeal in Oriental pursuits. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has long been noted for the value of its Researches and Literary Journal; and while on this side, since the days of Sir W. Jones, we have had few judges, who took an enlightened interest in points connected with Asiatic history or antiquities, we are rejoiced to see there, in this *brochure* of Sir E. Perry's, a pledge and promise of a better state of things.

The subject chosen by Sir Erskine is one affording much to excite curiosity—a glimpse into what may be called the middle ages of Hindu history—the period when Buddhism was predominant through Northern and Western India. Asoka was a most zealous propagator of this system. Originally a votary of Brahmanism, on his conversion to the Buddhist faith, he became as active a propagandist, as Muhammad himself, though resorting to different means. He set in motion an itinerant agency, preaching to the people in every place of public resort through their vernacular tongue. He convoked a great Synod of Buddhists, which determined on adopting that system of foreign propagandism, the effects of which are still to be seen in the islands.

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of the Eastern Archipelago, and in the mountain fastnesses of Western India. Unlike, however, the prophet of Islam, he used moral suasion alone as the instrument of propagating his creed. The inscriptions on the *Laths* and pillars in various parts of India bear witness to the energy of his faith and his desire of gaining the ear of the common people. They are widely scattered from the frontiers of Kabul and Kattywar to Nepal and Orissa, and the pillars appear to be all alike. We are indebted to Prinsep and Lassen for decyphering the inscriptions, containing the edicts of Asoka, and for pointing out to us what were the prevalent vernacular languages of that day. Sir E. Perry has rendered useful service in this work by collecting what has been scattered through various volumes. We trust the perusal of it may kindle a desire in the minds of many to investigate a very interesting question—the history and propagandism of Buddhism in India.

The following long extract will put our readers in possession of an epitome of Asoka's reign, and serve also as a fair specimen of the manner in which Sir E. Perry has executed his task:—

It was 283 years after the death of Buddha, or 260 B. C., that *Asoka* adopted the important step of embracing Buddhism. Having done so, he set no bounds to his zeal in endeavouring to propagate his new religion, and the laws and virtues enjoined by it, not only throughout his own territories, but in all adjoining countries. Many of his proclamations have this object in view. In one inscription he enjoins that a meeting should be held every fifth year, both in the countries conquered by him, and in those in alliance with him.* There, confession was to be made by each individual, and the leading men were carefully to expound the laws—such as obedience to father and mother, liberality to friends, relations, Bramans and Sramans, abstinence from killing any living being, from prodigality, and from evil speaking.

One of the most important events of *Asoka's* reign was the third Synod of Buddhists, which he assembled in the 17th year of his reign B. C. 246 †. It was then determined to propagate the faith by missions to foreign parts; and the heresies which intriguing Bramins, insinuating themselves into the *Viháras*, under the guise of Buddhists, had been studious to introduce amongst the faithful, were then extirpated. Amongst the *Sthaviras* or Leaders (the *Thero* of the Mahawansa) then sent abroad, *Mahadharmaraxita* is mentioned, as having been despatched to *Mahárashtra;* and Lassen observes that this is the first occasion on which the latter name appears in Indian history, and that it, probably at this period, only comprehended the narrow ancient seat of the Mahrattas in Baglana to the north of the Godavery. The Missionary however in this small district made 1,70,000 converts; and 10,000 priests devoted themselves to a spiritual calling.

Asoka was also most successful in his missionary efforts in the adjoining kingdoms on both sides of the Himalayah, and seems especially to have succeeded in extirpating the previous snake worship which had existed in Cashmere and Gandhára. This latter fact appears in the native history of Cashmere, as well as in his own inscriptions. But it was not to India alone that he confined himself. For *Aparántaka* (some place on the western frontier), *Suwarnabhúmi*, (either Burmah

* Girnar Inscription, III. 1.

† The first Synod was held by Kásyapa, whom Buddha had nominated as his successor, immediately after the latter's death B. C. 543, and at this Synod the sacred books of the Buddhists were collected. The second Synod was held B. C. 433; and 12,00,000 *Bhikshu*, or devotees, are said to have been present.

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as Turnour supposes, or the Arabian or Persian coast according to Lassen,) and above all Lanka, or Ceylon, received the *Wheel of the law* * with alacrity.

To this latter island *Asoka* despatched his own son *Mahindra*, a youth of twenty, who had devoted himself to the priestly calling and a missionary life with an enthusiasm equal to his father's. These efforts were crowned with success; and the Ceylon authorities are full of most minute details of the mode, in which the king *Devânâmpriya* and the inhabitants of Ceylon were converted to the new faith; the royal family having previously been Braminical in their worship, as belonging to the great Arian race of conquerors, and the majority of the Singalese being probably snake-worshippers.†

It is clear also that *Asoka* exerted himself to introduce Buddhism amongst the different Greek monarchies into which Alexander's conquests had been broken up. Thus in the Girnar inscription we find him asserting, that "The king of the *Javana*, and, further, the through him (becoming) four kings, *Turâmaya*, *Antigona*, and *Magâ*, universally follow the prescripts of the Law of the god-beloved Rajah." ‡

The name of Antiochus has disappeared from the Girnar inscription, but is found in the corresponding one at *Kapur-ki-giri*, as well as those of Antigonus and Magas.

This mention of contemporary Greek monarchs is most important for Indian history. Maga, king of Cyrene, died 258 B. C.; Antiochus II. of Syria, 247; Ptolemy II. of Egypt, 246; Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, 239; and it is not improbable that *Asoka* sent ambassadors to all these monarchs, on ascending the throne in 263 B. C. We learn, from the Greek authorities, the desire which the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies displayed, to open up diplomatic relations with the powerful Hindu kingdom on the Ganges; and, although we may ascribe to oriental vanity *Asoka's* statement as to the adoption of *the Law* in the kingdoms of the West, we may well imagine that the enlightened and tolerant Greek monarchs, in their desire to attract eastern commerce to their new empires, would readily encourage *Asoka's* efforts at proselytism.

A remarkable institution was created by *Asoka* in the 17th year of his reign, and which deserves the more notice, as the want of a similar office has often attracted the attention of statesmen in England. Officers, called *Dharma-Mahâmâtra*, or Ministers of Justice, were appointed to superintend the promulgation and obser-

* Bombay travellers, who have visited Ellora and Ajanta, will recollect the frequency of this Buddhist symbol.

† These accounts are interesting in another point of view, as showing the intercourse between Ceylon and the kingdoms in the interior of India at that early period. But Lassen does not appear to have been struck with the speed, at which the journies were made. Thus, the ambassador from Ceylon embarks at Jambukola near Jaffna, and in seven days makes the north coast of India in the Bay of Bengal, which, although it would be respectable work for a modern clipper, is perhaps not too much for a native craft, such as we now see them in the fishing boats of Bombay harbour, during the S. W. monsoon. But then he reaches Pataliputra from the Bengal Coast in seven days more, which not even the Governor-General, with all the appliances of the empire, could now accomplish.* So also, when *Asoka* sent down to Ceylon a branch of Buddha's sacred pipal tree, which miraculously found itself in a golden basket of the Maha-Rajah, the vessel, which bore it, reached the mouth of the Ganges in seven days from Pataliputra; and in another seven days the vessel containing the holy cutting reached Jaffna on the coast of Ceylon.

‡ Girnar, XIII. The fourth missing name appears in the *Kapur-di-giri* Inscription to be Alexander; but Mr. Norris (8 As. Journ. p. 303) remarks that the name is not plain.

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* This is a mistake. The ordinary dâk from Calcutta to Patna takes only four days. But the time assigned for the river journey downwards is somewhat more than apocryphal; more especially as all the journeys and voyages are accomplished in the same unchanging period of seven days.—Ed.

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vance of the law in all parts, both of the kingdom, and of allied states. They were directed to be in attendance at all public places, at markets, and even in the *Zenanas* of his own family. * *Mahámâtra* also appeared to have accompanied his sons, and other great officers as advisers, when placed in charge of a province.†

Lassen remarks with justice on the extraordinary value which *Asoka's* inscriptions possess, from the numerous minute circumstances which they detail, and which enable us to obtain a tolerably accurate view of the condition of Indian Society at that period, and which at the same time display, in the most favourable light, the beneficial operation of Buddhism on the actions of the monarch. It is desirable, therefore, to notice in some detail the remaining inscriptions, which have not been hitherto mentioned; and I will do so nearly in the words of the distinguished German scholar.

The influence of Buddhism displays itself in the most pleasing form in the anxiety of the Rajah to devote his whole time to the furtherance of his people's welfare both in this world and the next. He reproaches himself for having previously neglected public business, and for not obtaining information of what was going on. With a view to this latter object, he appointed special officers, called *Prativedâka*, or informers, who were at all times to bring him intelligence, whether he was in his private cabinet, or amusing himself with his wife and children, or promenading in his garden, so that he might at once dispatch the affairs of State. Orders emitted either by himself, or by his *Mahámâtra*, he first of all laid before a Council of State, and obtained their opinion upon them. He states, that he was not at all satisfied with his own exertions for dispatching business, that he was always at work to promote the good of mankind, and he exhorts his sons and grandsons to observe the same course. But this noble-minded man ought to be allowed to speak in his own simple words.

"For there is no content to me in the discharge or completion of business, and the noblest thing to accomplish is the good of the whole world. But the groundwork of this is the discharge and completion of business; there is no higher duty than the good of the whole world. All my efforts are to remove sin from created beings, to make them happy here below, and to enable them to gain heaven hereafter. For this purpose I have inscribed the present law; may it be long preserved—and may my sons, my grandsons, and my great grandsons in the same manner strive after the good of the whole world! This is difficult to accomplish without the greatest exertions." *Girnar Inscr. VI.* 8, *after Westergard's transcript.*

The *Rajaka* were another species of officers: and their duties are made known to us by the pillar-inscriptions. They are characteristic of one of the most remarkable institutions of Buddhism. These officers were especially appointed to promote the good of the people, to obtain information of their condition, whether prosperous or unprosperous, to enjoin observance of the law, and to prevent its infraction quietly and firmly by gentle persuasion; it would seem that they were not allowed to employ severe punishments. They were directed to station themselves near topes of *pípal* trees, so highly reverenced by Buddhists; and, as these trees are found usually in the neighbourhood of villages, and by their grateful shade afford an excellent baiting place for travellers, the *Rajaka* could not select a better locality for mixing with the people, and ascertaining their condition. Their duties were not confined to this object however, for in another passage they are directed to expound the ordinances of the law to the faithful people.‡

The inscriptions themselves must also be looked upon as an instrument for promulgating the law, and for enforcing the virtues enjoined by it, as well as for

* Girnar Inscription, V. 6.—Dhauli, V. 4.

† Hereditary Bramin officers called *Dharm-adhikari* are still to be found throughout the Deccan, in Kandesh, and even in some parts of the Concan; but I learn from Dadoba Pandurang, Superintendant of Government Schools, that their jurisdiction merely comprises breaches of rules of caste, for which they levy fines, or ordain penance, and even proceed to excommunication. It is possible that, as all this country was formerly a stronghold of Buddhism, we may here see one of Asoka's institutions transformed and adapted to subserve the great system of Bramin supremacy.

‡ Dhauli Inscription, V. 1.

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preventing forbidden actions, and the sins arising out of them: for the Rajah not only recounts his actions, but expressly assigns this end for his engraved monuments. It is not only future happiness, but present, that *Asoka* exerts himself to procure for his people: and he displays himself to us in these inscriptions as one of the justest and most benevolent rulers of mankind that the world has ever seen. He regards all good men as his children.* He does not limit his cares to men alone, but, in accordance with the fundamental law of Buddhism, the *Ahinsa*, extends them also to animals. To numerous birds and beasts, terrestrial and aquatic, he showed special favour, and absolutely forbade the killing of certain specified classes For the comfort of the outer man, he planted mango topes and *pipal* trees on the highway, and, at the distance of every half *krosa (kos)*, he dug wells, and erected rest-houses for the night. In many places, inns (or Durramsalas) were established for the use of man and beast.

The chief end of his exertions however was the increase of *Dharma*, in the comprehensive sense of the word which Buddhists ascribe to it; for with them it signifies not only the religious law, but also the law of nature and duties of every kind. This increase was to be effected by the observance of the two great branches of duty —submission to the law, and freedom from sins. To the first branch belong charity, liberality, obedience to elders and teachers, respect to Bramins and Sramans, kind treatment of servants, and other similar virtues. Under the second branch the chief duties are the non-destruction of any fabricated thing, and non-killing of any living being: under this must be included, anger, cruelty, cowardice, envy and similar bad passions.

He died after a reign of thirty-seven years (B. C. 226), and his vast empire rapidly fell to pieces. On his death, it was broken up into small principalities; and fifty years later, the Maurya dynasty seems to have become extinct.

Unfortunately, some degree of doubt rests on the identity of Asoka with the monarch of the *Laths* and inscriptions; and Professor Hayman Wilson boldly denies that they are the same.

He grounds his objections, partly on the fact that the name of Asoka nowhere occurs in the inscriptions, where the monarch is always designated as *Piyadasi*, "the benevolent," or "pleasant looking;" and partly, because, if Piyadasi was the contemporary of Antiochus the Great, his reign must have been later than Asoka's. As the name however is evidently an appellative, and is said to be applied to Asoka in the Dipawansa, the oldest Pali historical work, the first objection has not much weight: and the second is thus disposed of by Sir E. Perry:—

Professor Horace Wilson, however, departing from the course of careful philosophical scepticism which he had previously adopted, gets warmed, by investigation of the subject, into positive assertion: and, on discovery of a supposed anachronism, he lays it down "that Piyadasi was the contemporary of Antiochus (the Great), or even posterior to him, is evident from the inscription, (Girnar XIII.); and *therefore Piyadasi and Asoka are not one and the same person.*"

But this bold conclusion depends entirely on the assumption of the Professor, that the Antiochus, mentioned in the inscriptions, is Antiochus the Great, and not his predecessor, Antiochus Theos, who was *Asoka's* contemporary. It certainly seems difficult to understand on *à priori* reasoning, how any relations should exist between the latter monarch and *Asoka*: but any difficulty on this score is exceedingly enhanced, when the case of a petty ruler on the Mediterranean sea-board is considered; for undoubtedly no two monarchs of antiquity can be pitched upon more remote in interest, as well as in geography, than the

* "Every good man is my offspring." Dhauli Inscription, XVI. 5.

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sovereigns of Cyrene in Africa, and Palibrothra on the Ganges. Yet all scholars agree that the *Magá*, or *Máka*, of the inscriptions means Magas, king of Cyrene. This conclusion seems to teach us, that we ought not to attempt too curiously to reason on the existence or non-existence of facts from inherent probabilities, if the facts themselves are clearly made out to us. So difficult is it to account for the causes and motives that lead to human action, that, even inthe commonest occurrences of life, and where the most stringent interests exist for eliciting "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," indisputable facts occur, which baffle all the powers of human reasoning to account for. The disposition to deny facts, which clash with a pre-conceived theory, lies deep in the human breast, and has been happily ridiculed by Moliere in L'Amour Medicin, where the waiting maid's empiricism is too much for all the arguments from Hippocrates,—"Je ne sais pas si cela se peut, mais je sais bien que cela est."

If, of the four Greek sovereigns named in the inscriptions, three of the same name are proved clearly to be contemporaries of *Asoka*, the obvious conclusion is that those are the parties intended, although there is little or no trace of the causes which brought them into connection. The fourth name, *Alikasunari*, or Alexander,* is enveloped in obscurity; it appears only in the *Kapur-di-giri* inscription: and an exact transcript and critical study of the text are admitted, both by Horace Wilson and Lassen, to be still wanting.

The general scholar therefore may probably rest satisfied, that *Asoka's* story is placed on a sound historical basis: though, as to certain details, there is room, no doubt, for much scholarly discussion; and much additional information may still be brought to light.†

The Tinnevelly Mission of the Church Missionary Society, by the Rev. G. Pettit, late of the Tinnevelly Mission. Seeley, London, 1851. *Thacker, Calcutta.*

TINNEVELLY has been called the Garden of India; and it is likely to be so in a moral sense, for Christian Missions have gained (what may be called) an indigenous footing there, and to a certain extent a self-supporting one. A native agency has been worked out there, and with great success; the difficulties connected with the neighbourhood of a great and luxurious metropolis have not to be encountered in Tinnevelly; and Native Christians there are not in danger of adopting those expensive European luxuries, which make agency in India so costly. Mr. Pettit, in this book, which is written in an interesting matter of-fact style, gives the result of experience in raising up

* It may refer to Alexander II. king of Epirus, who was driven out of Macedonia by Antigonus Gonatas: and, as there was war also between Magas and Ptolemy, probably Asoka may have interfered in both cases.—ED.

† Dr. Stevenson, of our Society (and there is no one in India more competent to form a sound opinion upon the subject) informs me that to give to the world satisfactory transcripts of the *volumes* of inscriptions, which the Buddhist caves of *Nasik, Junir, Keneri, and Carli* present, and which would undoubtedly throw light upon many points now enveloped in darkness, would occupy ten years of the time of a competent scholar. As the Government of Madras, with great liberality, has devoted for years past the services of a very able officer to the caves of Ajanta, where there are no inscriptions (or very few), but merely frescoes, what a noble opportunity it would be for the Government of Bombay to promote the knowledge of Indian antiquities, by devoting a yearly expenditure of half the amount to their Western caves! An allowance of £300 a year, for a few years, would probably secure the services of one of those enthusiastic scholars of the school of Lassen, whom only a German University Town, or Paris, with its noble public libraries, seems capable of producing, and who would make known to us these valuable documents now daily perishing before our eyes.

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a body of native Catechists and Ministers in the district. Madras was appointed at first as the location for a head Seminary: but the Missionaries, who knew best the actual wants of the country, preferred its being away from large towns: and it has been established at Palamcottah.

Without entering much into statistical details, Mr. Pettit simply gives, in chronological order, the result of his own experience, which is probably more interesting to general readers. He takes up also the following points—the Romish Missions—Rhenius's disputes with the Church Missionary Society—the description of the country of Tinnevelly—Itinerancies—Superstitions of the country—Opposition of the Heathen—Discipline on caste.

There are several points, in which the Tinnevelly Missions differ from those in Bengal. The Missionaries devote nearly the whole of one week in every month to instructing and counselling the Catechists, who come in from the districts to the central station. These Catechists are selected, not so much on account of their book knowledge, as of their good sense and willingness to work in remote villages. They in fact correspond to that class of agents, whom John Wesley raised up in England, last century—plain men, with not much of this world's wisdom, but full of zeal and sympathy for the religious elevation of the masses. The spirit of Young Bengal does not seem to have in the least infected the Catechists and Readers in the Tinnevelly district.

Prizes are given to the Catechists for the best essays on certain subject in Tamul. This encourages them to write, and is calculated to afford materials for useful vernacular books. We believe the Church Missionary Society's Missionaries in Bengal have lately adopted a similar plan. Systematic sermons are not preached; and the general practice is to adopt the mode of catechetical preaching, *i. e* interspersing observations with questions in order to secure attention.

The Satyárnab, Vol. II., No. I. Calcutta Encyclopædia Press, 149, Cornwallis Square. Ostell and Co.

This is the age for cheap periodicals, and particularly for illustrated ones. The *Penny*, *Saturday*, and *Chambers' Magazines* led the way, and great success has followed; for people will read short articles in magazines, when they would not sit down to a big book. We do not *always* agree with the writer, who said "Magnus liber, magnum malum;" yet we think that people are often induced to form a taste for reading by perusing short papers in periodicals, when they would be repelled by books. In America and France, the popular taste evidently prefers periodicals, though we think they devote too much time to them.

The fact that there are eighteen different newspapers published in Bengali, and the extensive sale that Bengali brochures meet with, shew that the Hindus also are disposed to reading works in the

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shape of periodicals. How often the spectacle is presented of a man in a shop at night, by the dim-light of a *chirág*, conning over some well thumbed two or three *anna* Bengali book. We urgently need *cheap* books, and for that, as a preliminary, *cheap printing*. Now, if we look at the Bengali books printed in Calcutta during the last 8 years, and particularly those connected with Religious and Educational Societies, we generally find that the books have been printed at one or two favoured presses, who have practically had the monopoly of printing: and monopoly is too often attended with high prices, which of course is not agreeable to the public, who wish work to be both cheap and good.

In reference the *Satyàrnab*, the printing and execution of it are highly creditable to the Encyclopædia Press,—a press which is managed by Native Christian lads, thus affording a useful training in industrial habits to a class, who might otherwise have been thrown as wanderers in the world. This press deserves encouragement therefore on this ground; and it is also as moderate in its terms as any of the Calcutta presses: besides (which is of great importance) proper attention is paid to correcting the press. Various useful works have, during the last twelve months, issued from it. It now issues a weekly Bengali newspaper called the *Sudhanśu*, this monthly magazine, the *Satyàrnab*, and a quarterly publication, under the patronage of the Asiatic Society, the *Markandya Purána*, in Sanskrit and English.

The *Satyàrnab* has an ornamented cover, representing part of a Gothic building, with a Bible and rays of glory at the top. There are also two wood-cuts, one of Magna Charta, and the other of the Camelopard: these drawings are taken from English plates, kindly furnished by a friend in Calcutta. The articles are on the plan of the *Saturday Magazine*, intended to combine general, with religious and moral instruction. The following are the contents of the present number:—*Magna Charta*, with a drawing; *On Caste*, (this is chiefly a translation of an article on caste, by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, which appeared in the foregoing number of this Review); *The historians of the plague; The mischiefs of delayed repentance; Treasure; The Camelopard*, with a drawing; Biography of *Rev. H. Martyn; Prayer*. We wish success to this, and every effort of the kind for diffusing useful knowledge among the natives, through an agreeable medium.

A Practical Treatise on the Management of Diseases of the Heart, &c. By Norman Chevers, M. D., Civil Assistant Surgeon, Chittagong. Calcutta. R. C. Lepage and Co. 1851.

We have been favoured with a copy of a work on the management of diseases of the heart and its principal vessels, with special reference to their occurrence in India. It is the production of a young Assistant Surgeon, Dr. Norman Chevers, and exhibits in a

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most favourable light his professional acquirements, and the very creditable manner in which he devotes his time and attention to the advancement of knowledge. We have heard that he was formerly a distinguished pupil of Guy's Hospital, and that the basis of the present monograph is founded on a series of very careful observations, originally published in the valuable reports of that Institution.

The subject and treatment of the work are too exclusively professional to be discussed in our pages; nor could we profess to review it in such a manner as its intrinsic merits deserve. It will, perhaps, be deemed sufficient by most of our readers for us to state, that an important and difficult subject has been treated in a clear and satisfactory manner:—that valuable practical counsels are delivered without any attempt at mystification, or the recondite jargon, in which professional ignorance is too frequently cloaked;—and that Dr. Chevers has not followed the questionable example of some of his brethren in this country, of addressing himself to popular audiences on subjects, which require a long course of careful professional training to be properly understood.

As a favourable example of the style and manner of the author, we quote the following remarks upon the subject of dress and climate in heart disease:—

The influence of a judicious system of adapting the dress to the age, mode of living, and health of individuals in different climates; and the operation of various modes of dress in the development of particular diseases, and especially those of the vascular system are, in great measure, neglected subjects, the importance of which renders them well deserving of the strictest investigation.

It is greatly to be feared that a large proportion of the deaths from heart-disease and aneurism, which occur in the English Army, are the direct results of the mode of clothing, which is still enforced among our troops with almost equal strictness at home and abroad. From the time at which men ceased to consider the strength of their unarmed bodies sufficient defence against the personal attacks of their enemies, the habiliments, with which the disciplined soldier has been compelled to invest himself, whether for protection in battle, or as a distinguishing mark of his office, have been amongst the chief of the causes which have rendered his life, in a vast majority of instances, a painfully toilsome and a prematurely brief career. Many judicious improvements have of late years been made in Military costume; but the judgment which invested the soldier's body in heavy plates of steel and folds of quilted leather, rendering him alike miserable in himself and horribly noisome to others, was scarcely more questionable than that which, besides loading the Foot Soldier with more than fifty pounds' weight of accoutrements, sends him forth, upon long and fatiguing marches, tightly clothed in thick stuffs of the colours which are most calculated to absorb heat, with his chest and waist confined by heavy straps of the strongest buff, and his neck fixed in an unyielding collar of impervious leather. Several Military writers have animadverted strongly upon the ill-adaptation and injurious effects of the present style of soldiers' dress, especially in the East and West Indies: but it is to be regretted that the subject has never been represented to Government with sufficiently convincing argument. Dr. R. H. A. Hunter, Surgeon of the 57th Regiment, observes that he has found the average mortality, by cardiac and aortic disease in India, to be 3 per 1,000 annually, and in nearly equal proportions, though he has seen it as high as 5 per 5,000 (1,000 ?) He is persuaded that, in this country, the connection of cardiac disease, with acute rheumatism, is extremely unfrequent. "The disease is evidently, in the first instance, a subacute arteritis in by far the majority of cases;" and, in his opinion, is attributable to over-exertion in the tight dress and accoutrements of the soldier. In an "Introductory Lecture to a Course of Military Surgery," delivered in May 1846, and subsequently published, Sir J. Ballingall mentions having a short time previously observed, at Prague,

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numerous bodies of troops at drill, dressed in blouses or smock-frocks, a fashion of which he greatly approves, as being well-suited to the heat which then prevailed (in the month of August). I believe that a similar plan might be most advantageously adopted in our own Army, throughout the year, at home and abroad. The loose uniform frocks for the hot weather being made of white or blue linen, cotton or stuff, with the proper distinctive facings : and those for the winter season of stout cloth, lined or otherwise according to climate, would prove excellent and handsome substitutes for the thick and tight coats of the infantry, and the inelastic braided jackets and heavy laced or furred pelisses of the Cavalry.

I feel confident that opinions of recognised medical authority upon this subject, submitted in the proper quarter, would at once meet with the most humane and liberal consideration.

Most of the present fashions of Civil Dress are as little calculated as possible to favour free venous circulation ; and are as accurately adapted to conduce to the production of vascular and cerebral disease in advanced age, as if they had been cunningly devised with a view to the destruction, rather than to the defence and comfort, of the body. While a man is in the prime and vigour of life, it may be that he is right in thinking, as a large proportion of men appear to think, that his clothes can scarcely be too tight, or his boots too small ;—but, as his nervous power diminishes, and his smaller arteries become rigid and inelastic ; when his thorax no longer plays with freedom, and his waist has incontestibly ceased to exist, except in his own and his tailor's imagination ;—his system begins to feel the warning, although his mind may never recognise it, that the costume of thirty is ill-adapted to the failing vascular and muscular energies of threescore.

Our ancestors of the 15th and 16th centuries judged better than we do in these matters. Ancient portraits afford us evidence that, in those times, the man of advanced age was not ashamed to assume a style of dress well suited to his comforts and to the condition of his system. The flowing gown well lined with fur, the wide-sleeved, full-skirted doublet, the elastic woven hose, and the capacious round-toed shoes, which altogether form so dignified an *ensemble* in Holbein's portraits of aged noblemen, appear to have been absolutely adapted at once to the bodily ease and to the distinguished and venerable aspect of their wearers. The dress, however, which appears to have been most suited to the comfort of men of all ranks and ages was—apart from its redundancies—the civil costume of the period of Charles the First and the earlier part of the reign of his successor.

The adoption of warm clothing in the form of that

> "—fair undress, best dress ! which checks no vein,
> But every flowing limb in pleasure drowns,
> And heightens ease with grace,"—

is a matter of absolute necessity with the subject of organic disease of any part of the vascular system.

There is something peculiarly unfortunate in the position of an European, who becomes the subject of heart-disease in India. He must not continue to toil in this country, and the climate of his native land is that which is least favorable to the mitigation of his disease. I am inclined to believe that a life of tranquillity and entire immunity from professional cares in Bengal is, upon the whole, remarkably well-suited to patients suffering from organic heart-disease ; but, as in Northern climates the congesting force of cold is most injurious to such patients, so, with us, the exhausting influence of heat is liable to be the most operative in these cases. A patient with phthisis or heart-disease, residing in Bengal, out of the influence of the hot winds, escapes in a great measure the risk of rapid death from internal congestion or inflammation which he would incur at home : but he is rendered infinitely more susceptible to all depressing influences. The sudden and irresistible approach of exhaustion is the leading danger which besets him here.

In this difficulty, the adoption of the Dædalian maxim is, doubtless, the wisest course that can be pursued. The Cape, Australia, Italy and the South of France, and Madeira afford the safest places of refuge. Unfortunately, a rather strong popular prejudice appears to exist against the Cape of Good Hope, as a residence for persons suffering from heart affections. I cannot perceive, however, that this idea is founded upon any sufficient grounds. The only valid objection to the place seems to be its contiguity to the Sea. It is doubtless true that a considerable number of

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fatal cases of cardiac and arterial disease do occur at the Cape. This is an almost uniform characteristic of all mountainous regions; but the fact applies mainly to the Natives and long residents of that and similar districts, and in a very slight degree indeed to those invalids, who repair thither with a full determination to confine themselves absolutely to the level ground.

Many parts of Australia seem to afford the most absolute advantages of climate; but their comparative inaccessibility, the uncertainty of obtaining medical assistance, and the absence of a large proportion of those innumerable comforts which are so essential to the invalid, at present render a resort to most of the healthiest districts of that colony unadvisable.*

The atmosphere of the Hill Sanitaria of India is too rarefied to be well adapted to imperfect hearts and faulty lungs.

Nearly every one is aware of the acceleration of respiration and quickening of the pulse which are experienced at considerable heights above the level of the Sea. M. Parrot gives the following as the ratio of increase of the pulse with the degree of elevation, the pulse at the level of the Sea being 70,

3282	...	75		
4875	...	82	Cherra Poonjee and Mahabaleshwar Hills,	4500
			Almorah	5520
6500	...	90	Landour,	6500
			Darjeeling	6957
			Neilgherries, (Ootacamund,)	7400
8124	...	95	Simla,	7486
13000	...	110		

I have added the heights of the principal Sanitaria.

It is not probable, however, that these rules of increase are either invariable, or permanent. Allowance must be made for differences in climate and atmospheric condition, as well as for the influence of age, sex, constitution and habits, and especially for the adaptive powers of the circulation. The sensations, which have been experienced by persons upon completing the toilsome ascent of such mountains as Etna, and the Peak of Teneriffe, do not, of course, afford a criterion in this case. An extended series of observations, made at our various Hill Sanitaria, would, however, prove of great interest and value.

In quitting the service altogether, the European, who is the subject of heart-disease, would, I believe, act most wisely in determining to spend the remainder of his life at Madeira. This island has, of late years, fallen somewhat into disrepute from the circumstance that—as nearly all the valetudinarians who repair thither are the subjects of confirmed and hopeless phthisis—the place has become more noted for deaths than for recoveries: but the sanative influence of its equable and genial atmosphere, in all cases of thoracic disease where relief can be fairly anticipated from any measure, still remains unquestionable. Should the home-sickness prove more insupportable even than the actual disease, the patient will do well to spend only two or three months of every summer in England, and to lead a somewhat recluse life in the neighbourhood of Pisa, or in the south of France during the remainder of the year.

The quotation is long, but the views are sound and sensible.

There is so little incentive to exertion in this country, and the prosecution of any scientific enquiry is attended with so much more difficulty than with the ample means at hand in Europe, that great credit is due to those, who, like Dr. Chevers, observe and record, in the early part of their career.

We hope that one, who has found materials for a valuable contribution to medical literature in so restricted a field as that afforded by a Jail hospital at a civil station, will, ere long, be removed to a wider and more important field for exertion.

* There is no lack of medical assistance, or of the comforts and luxuries of life, in Van Diemen's Land; but unfortunately heart disease is more than usually prevalent there; for phthisis, the climate is invaluable.—ED.

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